

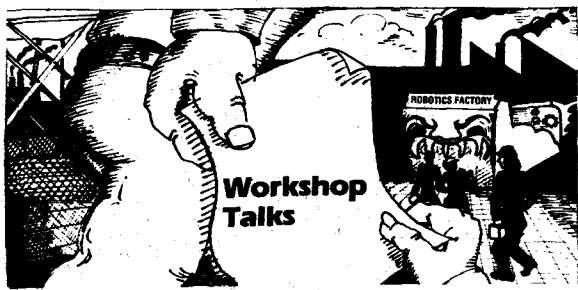
Theory/ Practice NEWS & LETTERS

'Human Power is its own end'—Marx

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Revolution is never practical until the hour of revolution strikes. Then it alone is practical, and all the efforts of the conservatives and compromisers become the most futile and visionary of human language.

— James Connolly, Workshop Talks

Concessions mean layoffs

by Felix Martin, Labor Editor

On Dec. 27, U.S. Steel announced its third major cutback in employment in three years — the permanent layoff of 15,430 workers nationwide. Even the 102-year-old South Works in Chicago will be mostly shut down. Mills in California, Pennsylvania, Ohio and New York will be cut back or shut down entirely. And it's not just U.S. Steel that is shutting down; Bethlehem Steel and Kaiser Steel are also laying off thousands.

What struck every worker, I believe, is that the lay-offs came after 3½ years of concessions and give-backs. The United Steel Workers (USW) gave back \$3 billion at U.S. Steel alone. Workers' wages dropped over \$3 an hour. That's your standard of living going; its whether you can eat or pay your bills. And all the time the company said that if workers made concessions they would keep their jobs.

Now David Roderick, president of U.S. Steel, is praising

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Black World

Significance of Marcus Garvey study

by Lou Turner

The publication of the first two volumes of the massive **Marcus Garvey and Universal Negro Improvement Association Papers** in November, 1983, is a momentous event in the historiography of Garveyism. The Marcus Garvey Papers Project, supported by the National Historical Publications and Records Commission, is under the editorship of Prof. Robert A. Hill, the director of the Project at the University of California at Los Angeles.

The entire collection of over 30,000 documents, memorabilia and interviews with original Garveyites from many countries gathered by Prof. Hill is due to be published in ten large volumes. Six volumes will contain documents on Garveyism in the U.S., two volumes on the movement in the Caribbean and Latin America, and two volumes on Africa. The first two volumes just off the press contain a total of some 1,500 pages, including Prof. Hill's overview of the whole collection, to which we will return.

THREE HISTORIC CRISES

The most exciting aspect of the collection is that we get to hear Marcus Garvey speak for himself so that the reader can both view Garvey in his own time and historical setting and judge for himself what Garvey's relevance is for our day.

Three historic crises from two quite different historic periods show the relevance that the Garvey Papers have for

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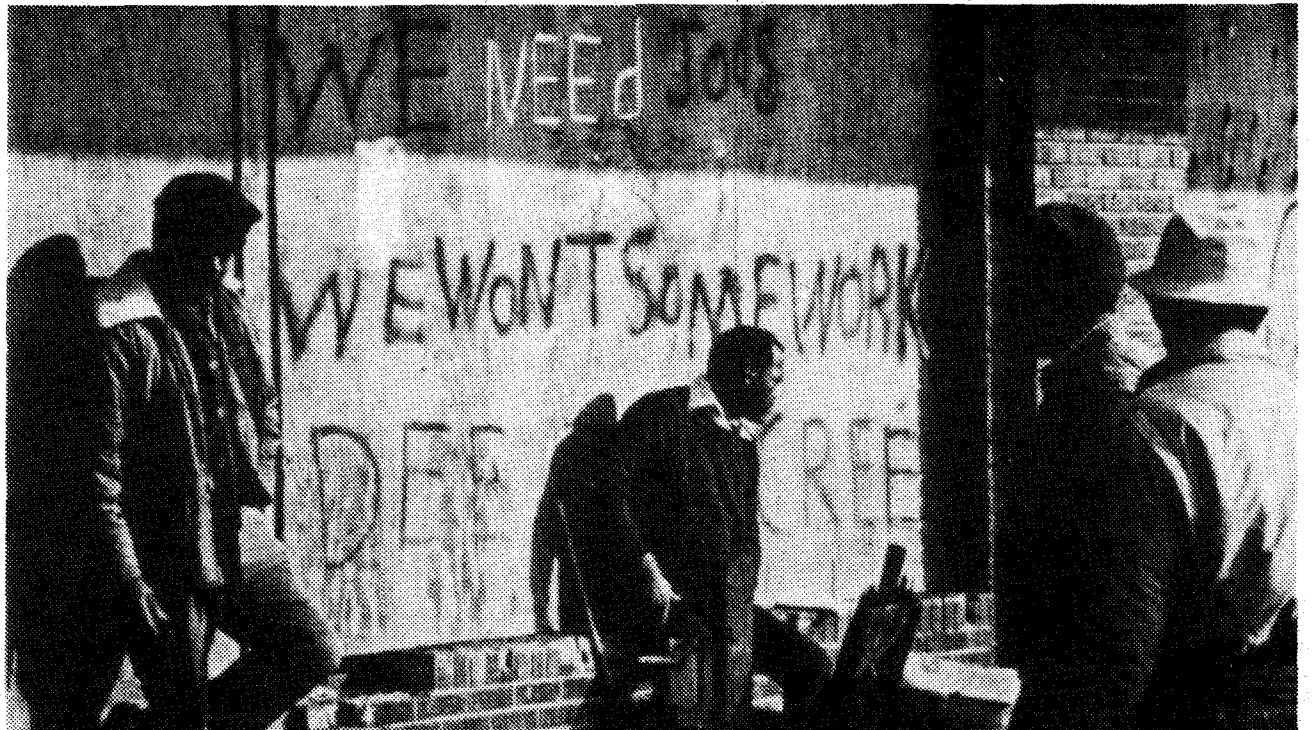
*The Marcus Garvey and the Universal Negro Improvement Association Papers, Volume I, 1826 - August 1919; Volume II, 27 August 1919 - 31 August 1920. Edited by Robert Hill. University of California Press, 1983.

Note to our readers

At a Jan. 1 expanded Resident Editorial Board Meeting the following resolution was passed:

"That the Black and proletarian dimensions of our movement continue to be represented on the front page of N&L in the form of two new columns to begin in the January-February 1984 issue: one entitled 'Workshop Talks,' to be written by Felix Martin and John Marcotte; the other entitled, 'Black World,' to be written by Lou Turner."

Real state of the union: hunger, no jobs, battered women and bloated military



Unemployment and hunger in Washington, D.C.

by Olga Domanski, National Organizer
News and Letters Committees

So great was the rage unleashed by the callous, dehumanized, pre-Christmas charge of Reagan's counselor, Edwin Meese, that reports of the rampant hunger throughout the land were not "authenticated", that it exposed to the world not only the swelling number of soup kitchens in every city of the land — including a traveling food kitchen operating within a block of the White House — but also the brutality of an Administration which dares to ask for still greater funds for its militarization while it searches for ways to make still greater cuts in food stamps for the poor. Indeed, the whole of American civilization has been put on trial, as its degeneracy pervades every aspect of its being — from its decrepit economy, to its battered wives and beaten children, to its engorged military.

If Ronald Reagan is under the delusion that his success as a strike-breaker against the militant PATCO union so early in his presidency means that he does not have to fear the threat of revolution that confronted Franklin Delano Roosevelt in the throes of the Great Depression, the mass outrage simmering in the land today will teach him differently.

No amount of media-hype, no number of newspaper headlines emblazoning the "plummeting" jobless rate, can make

the over nine million unemployed today disappear, even when the government now includes the military in the ranks of the employed; excludes from the ranks of the unemployed the nearly seven million Americans working only forced part-time, and disregards altogether the nearly two million "discouraged" workers who no longer even bother to look for work.

The use of part-time workers — long the practice of the super-exploitative fast-food chains — has exploded in the recent recession and now is also the prevalent practice in retail stores, insurance companies, and non-union factories. Adopted in large measure to forestall unionization, it allows the employer to avoid time-and-a-half requirements, eliminates fringe benefits, and has made medical care a luxury for many.

Increased Christmas retail sales without productive growth has nothing whatever to do with "growth of the economy." And productivity growth in the U.S. — which began its never-ending decline between 1965 and 1968, during the buildup for the Vietnam War — has virtually stopped over the whole last decade, as ever more and more is poured into militarization which contributes nothing to the economy.

REAL STATE OF THE ECONOMY: THE HUNGRY AND HOMELESS

Far from some euphoric claim of "economic recovery," the truth is not only that in the last week of December U.S. Steel closed down three more of its plants and partially shut down more than a dozen others — throwing 15,430 more steelworkers permanently out of work. Or that this shutdown

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North African youth, workers fight racism in France

It started in Marseilles, a proletarian center with such vicious racism present that the largest Moslem minority in Europe does not even dare to have one mosque with a minaret visible above it. It started in a country where 200 immigrants, many from North Africa, have met death in racist attacks since 1981, despite the fact that a social democratic government came to power in a landslide that year and promised increased minority rights, including voting rights.

It was a nationwide walk against racism, begun Oct. 15 to general indifference, by 32 mainly North African youths, which by Dec. 3 had become a mass march of 60,000 in Paris, whose leaders were received by President Mitterrand, who promised easier residence requirements for foreign workers, greater enforcement of existing anti-racism laws, and to "look into" voting rights for foreign residents. (Virtually all of France's racial minorities are prevented, by law, from becoming French citizens.)

MURDER OF NORTH AFRICAN

One of the march's leaders, Toumi Djaidja, had been shot by police this summer. In November, after the march began, a racist murder took place: Habib Grimzi, a 26-year-old Algerian, was murdered by four recruits on their way to join the Foreign Legion — they beat him and threw him off a

speeding train.

As the march moved slowly toward Paris, the headlines about neo-fascist election victories in several small towns on platforms advocating kicking out immigrants were taken over by something different. The anti-racist movement, dormant since 1981, rose up again stronger than ever; suddenly 2,000 sympathizers greeted the marchers in Lyon in November, and a few days later 1500 marched in support as they passed through Strasbourg — this time people marched carrying torches, with four Argentine musicians leading the way.

In Paris, it was not the usual march of well-ordered and regimented contingents from the CP, SP and trade unions. The young marchers who began the movement in Marseilles

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ON THE INSIDE

Two-way road between U.S. and Africa
by Raya Dunayevskaya p. 8
Editorial: El Salvador — Kissinger
Commission, rebel offensive p. 5

WOMAN AS REASON

by Diane Lee

For the past few years there has been an outpouring of writings by Black women who have tried to respond to the many crises that Black women face. These writings are quite varied, ranging from novels and short stories to anthologies and bibliographies on Black women, and seek to reflect the inner depth, desire and dreams that Black women have when they oppose the existing reality being forced upon them. In 1983, a Black woman, Alice Walker, won the Pulitzer Prize for her work, *The Color Purple*.

Yet I am having trouble with many of these Black women writers today. Yes, they talk about feelings, but I don't see them really talking about the conditions of Black women. It is as if the conditions of the 1960s and the Black freedom movement that arose then, which after all helped to give birth to this new generation of Black women writers, no longer exists for them.

MARIA STEWART, SOJOURNER TRUTH

And yet far beyond the talents of any writer, even when it is displayed with great creativity in some of the works, is

Silkwood appeal wins

Detroit, Mich. — On Jan. 11, the U.S. Supreme Court overturned an Oklahoma appeals court and restored \$10 million in punitive damages awarded to the three children of the late Karen Silkwood by a jury which ruled against her employer, Kerr-McGee Corp., and found it guilty of negligence in her contamination with plutonium.

The ruling, which directly opposed the Reagan Administration's position in the case, that awarding punitive damages would conflict with federal laws imposing fines for safety violations, is a victory for Silkwood's family and supporters and a vindication for Silkwood herself, who actively worked to protect the health and safety of workers in the nuclear industry. The company, however, still plans to fight the judgment.

It was this fight that led to Silkwood's death in a mysterious car crash as she was on her way to discuss serious irregularities at the Kerr-McGee Cimarron facility with a *New York Times* reporter. Her fight was not explored as fully as many of her supporters had hoped in the current film, *Silkwood*. Many feel that the impact of Kerr-McGee's constant and daily harassment of Silkwood is muted in the movie by devoting too much time to personal details of her life. While it is necessary to get a feel for Silkwood as a person, why is so much time spent on her sexual life and that of her friends, particularly women friends? The movie also does not mention the original trial or bring in any of the facts uncovered in investigations.

Despite its flaws, however, the film does create a chance to make the case of Karen Silkwood and its implications for today known much more widely. The *Karen Silkwood Fund*, (1324 N. Capitol St., NW, Washington, D.C. 20002) including supporters who worked with Silkwood's father to bring the case to trial, has asked for help in making the whole story known. They urge viewers to read the well-documented works: *The Killing of Karen Silkwood* by Richard Rashke and *Who Killed Karen Silkwood?* by Howard Kohn.

There are two Silkwood Amendments being proposed. One is the Silkwood Nuclear Reform Amendment to the Federal Atomic Energy Act, which would require a vote by local residents before a state could allow the nuclear industry to engage in any activity which would endanger them. The Silkwood Defense Fund also plans to initiate action for a new statute to the Federal Civil Rights Act which would protect activists like Karen Silkwood from private conspiracies to violate their civil rights.

Please help tell the whole story of Karen Silkwood, a heroine for both the labor and Women's Liberation movements.

— Suzanne Casey

Anchorage CLUW formed

Anchorage, Alaska — A chapter of the Coalition of Labor Union Women (CLUW) has been formed by a committee from here including restaurant workers, IBEW and the Anchorage IWW. The response from rank-and-file union women to the first three organizational meetings was most encouraging. Restaurant workers were represented by some of the active core group that is working within the local to monitor the call outs, challenge sweetheart contracts and run for office.

Women in the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers (IBEW) came because they are continuing their court battle stemming from contract negotiations in 1975 when men who were employed as linemen, installers and repairmen got 10% higher raises than women telephone operators, clericals and sales reps. They say they're not worth 10% less than men and will go to the Alaska Supreme Court to prove it. Women never will catch up if men keep getting more money just because they have traditionally made more.

Apprentices came from Plumbers and Carpenters; shop stewards from the International Association of Machinists (IAM), NALC and Anchorage Municipal Employees Association (AMEA). Women already holding office in their unions responded enthusiastically when asked to share their knowledge about conducting formal meetings and helping their sisters through the maze of tactics, strategy and basic knowledge needed to challenge the male-dominated unions.

I'd appreciate hearing from rank and file women in CLUW chapters in the "lower 48" to learn what CLUW has accomplished since its inception in 1974 and to figure out where it might go. We've gotten very little information from the national office so far.

— Ruth S.

Questions of theory for Black women writers

this rich history of Black women who have been part of, indeed inspirers of, a revolutionary movement against the racism and sexism in this class-ridden society. The activities of these women have often raised questions of crucial importance — what should our role be in a freedom movement; how do we develop our intellectual capacities; how do we build new relationships between women and men — questions that the new Black writers have failed to fully take up.

It is for this reason that I was excited to read the chapter entitled "An Overview by Way of Introduction; the Black Dimension" in Raya Dunayevskaya's *Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution*. This chapter, in part two on "The Women's Liberation Movement as Revolutionary Force and Reason," traces the dimension of Black women in the revolutionary movement in the 19th and 20th century. Two Black women orators and activists became so alive to me through these pages: Maria Stewart, who has been rarely discussed and almost completely hidden from history, and Sojourner Truth, perhaps the most "known" Black woman of the 19th century, discussed by both historians and feminists.

Both of these women seem to me to have profoundly grasped the conditions of Black women in their lifetime. What I mean by this is that their lives were not alone ones of being revolutionary individuals, which they certainly were, but of being revolutionary women who were also part of a whole movement of activity and thought in their day. The power of Dunayevskaya's presentation is that she refuses to separate the revolutionary individual woman from the movement of the day.

Take Maria Stewart. In 1831 she was the first American-born woman, white or Black, to speak in public. That year, 1831, was also the year of the greatest slave revolt in U.S. history, led by Nat Turner. For Maria Stewart, the Black dimension was very crucial both within Africa and the U.S. Here is how she described herself: "... I am also one of the wretched... daughters of the descendants of Africa... Look at many of the most worthy and interesting of us doomed to spend our lives in gentlemen's kitchens. Look at our young men... They can be nothing but the humblest laborer, on account of their dark complexion..."

FEW CAPTURE TOTALITY

It is precisely this integrality of race, class and sex that Maria Stewart constantly expressed. And yet so few of today's writers are able to capture such a spirit in their writing.

Sojourner Truth, a spellbinding orator of the 19th century, speaks to us today. As an almost legendary Black woman, she expressed a profound revolutionary spirit. Although she appears in many historical writings and has often been quoted by feminists, the question is — do we really see her as an activist, thinker and leader? And, do we

Letter from India: Marx, feminism, Third World

Ed. Note — The following are excerpts from correspondence from a feminist in India.

I will write about my work and involvement. I wish we could start regular study groups on feminism, but that is a dream at present. My involvement with the local tribal women is reduced to some informal and sporadic meetings. The small issues we take up are for very immediate needs — trying to get the medical facilities from the government which they are supposed to get but never reach them.

There are only two literate women in the whole area! With them also we have taken up the issue of property land rights in the Supreme Court. We are aware that even if we win the case, it will remain ineffective unless there is a very strong women's organization and that does not exist at present. But at least the issue has been raised, and this was unthinkable a couple of years ago.

Feminism is a recent phenomenon in India, though in the last three years it has been picking up fast, but it is rather limited to middle class women's groups in cities. I myself thought of feminism as a "bourgeois women problem" specifically of those who are obsessed with being raped. [Now] we have regular meetings with different groups of friends. Our common concern is Marxism and we discuss issues related to the present Indian situation, through Marxist analysis. In these meetings a few of us try to bring women's issues.

Coming to your last letter, I fully agree that abolition of private property does not mean an end to sexism. Marx was right in being aware of the limited freedom of women in pre-capitalist society. There is sexism and the beginning of class differences. What is very unclear to me is the beginning of women's oppression in the division between mental and manual workers as it applies to our own situation. How did this division start and how are you trying to overcome it in your own group? From where does it come?

There are some tribes in India where matriarchy exists even today. It struck me how much power they have at home — property rights, education, unlike men — but socially, men have the powers. There are many points on "Marx and the Third World" that I would like to discuss. Can you send me five copies more? I am sending you information about struggles in our area, in some industrialized pockets and the role of women in them...

*The pamphlet, *Marx and the Third World*, by Peter Hudis, is available from News and Letters for \$1.00.

"hear" her expressions today, not only as poetry, but as revolutionary theory?

The conceptions of geographical place and time take on an entirely new meaning when Sojourner Truth speaks to those who fought slavery but refused to extend the fight to include women: "My friends... I come from another field — the country of the slave. They have got their liberty — so much good luck to have slavery partly destroyed; not entirely. I want it root and branch destroyed. Then we will all be free indeed." And, "... I only count my age from the time I was emancipated. Then I began to live."

But what is new for us today is that Raya Dunayevskaya, in her work, is the first to pose a full view of Sojourner Truth's life work: "When Isabella became free and wanted to throw away her slave name, she included her entire philosophy in her new name... her name tells us more than just the fact that she had broken with male domination."

What woman writer has ever posed the integrality of the Black Dimension and Women's Liberation in this way? For today's Black women writers, it becomes necessary to seriously root one's writings in history and to see great individual women, not separated from the mass movement for freedom.

Isn't this way of capturing the revolutionary spirit one that makes a work of literature universal and part of the future movement for our liberation?



women-worldwide

Although the military dictatorship in Argentina was replaced last month by a new government headed by Pres. Raul Alfonsín, himself a human rights activist, the Mothers of the Plaza de Mayo have continued their weekly vigil as they have for seven years, demanding that more be done to locate those among the 6,000 "disappeared" not yet accounted for and joining other human rights groups protesting the new government's plans to prosecute only top junta leaders — and in military (not civilian) courts.

"Get Hitched... and Don't Stop at One." This headline announced Singapore Prime Minister Lee Kuan Yew's plans to "help" women university graduates marry and produce genetically superior and better educated children. His plan, which has outraged women, offers financial incentives only to educated women, to counteract the "lopsided" way in which educated women are having fewer children than other women, causing a "decline in levels of competence, the economy and society."

Information from off our backs

Seventy percent of the world's population has uncertain sources of drinking water, subject to contamination. Women can spend up to six hours a day hauling water for domestic use. In the Sahel region of Africa, women carrying heavy jars of water on their heads may cause complications in childbirth. For more information and a list of resources, send \$5.00 to the International Women's Tribune Centre, 305 E. 46th St., NY, NY 10017. Newsletter #20 is entitled "Women and Water."

On Dec. 1, the Roman Catholic Church released a new set of restrictions on sex education of Catholic youth. The document includes "guidelines" that attack sexuality, ban artificial birth control methods and ostracize gays and lesbians who it says have a "social maladaptation" with "no moral justification." The Vatican's neanderthal views also hold that only through the sacrament of marriage can one realize "... a love that is human, total, faithful, creative, which is marital love."

Reagan's war on poor

Concord, Cal. — Ronald Reagan's continuous domestic war against the poor is yielding heavy casualties, most of them women and children. In Contra Costa County, a region that is home to both the most affluent as well as some of the poorest residents of the East Bay, the "feminization of poverty" continues at an unprecedented rate.

Some social agencies here put the number of single-parent families headed by women at 50% or higher. Many of these same agencies report that the average wage for women is 53 cents on the dollar compared to wages earned by men doing comparable work. This is nearly six cents less than the appalling national average of 57 cents.

Working mothers are forced into low-paying jobs; at the same time they must feed, clothe and house small children. Often they must provide costly daycare in order to work.

One woman in Concord earns \$475 a month. From this she must pay \$375 rent and care for her two small daughters. The tightening of eligibility requirements for food stamps and ADC programs as well as the decreased levels of funding for these programs has forced the poor to new levels of desperation. The incidence of child abuse as well as all other forms of domestic violence is at an all-time high in Contra Costa County. The victims of domestic violence are invariably women and children.

While business and the high-income friends of the Reagan Administration may find much to be pleased about in the "rosy" economic forecasts for 1984, the deepening contradictions within the whole of U.S. capitalism continue to intensify. That intensification translates into very real human suffering, a matter of absolute indifference to the Reagan Administration.

Labor can build on Greyhound strike

by John Marcotte

I was on the Greyhound picketline in New York on Monday, Dec. 19 when word came in the ATU that the new contract had been ratified. After seven weeks of strike, in which one striker was killed and hundreds of picketers arrested, the new contract imposes a 14% cut in wages and benefits for the next three years.

"This contract is a defeat for all of us," said a bitter picketer. "All the bosses are watching. If Greyhound can do this to us, 13,000 strong, they can bust anyone now. And Reagan's behind them. The postal workers will be next, then the hospitals, then the police. It all started with PATCO."

Another picketer called the contract "blackmail:" "Greyhound said if we rejected this contract we'd lose our seniority and be out of a job. I have 15 years in this job and I have a big family, but I say the hell with it, if we fought this far we have to go all the way to victory."

BROAD STRIKE SUPPORT

Though the top union leaders' sell-out is nothing new, there was something very new about this strike, as even one hour on the picketline would show you: scores of poor people, in New York mostly Black, Latin and Caribbean, passing up Greyhound's half-price tickets and forming long lines at the Trailways counter, despite the added hardship of changing buses and round-about routes this often meant. The constant presence of transit, postal, and hospital workers, Teamsters, public employees and others on the picketlines. Five Black youth striking up a discussion with

Auto workers look for real strike solidarity

Los Angeles, Cal. — The leadership of Local 216, UAW, was approached by the leadership of the striking UAW members of McDonnell Douglas to donate \$50,000 from our local funds to their strike fund. This would appear to be the right thing to do, because the UAW International is robbing the membership of Local 216 of over \$200,000 anyway, since our GM plant is closed, and the money in our local treasury is not being used for us.

The way most of the unemployed workers of Local 216 feel about this is that they don't want the International to get their money, so it would appear that they would be willing to give it all to the strike fund of the McDonnell Douglas workers. But some had other thoughts also.

"I would be for giving it all to the strike fund if it would help labor," one said. "But the leadership of their local union has already lost that strike by letting management work and bringing in scabs through the picket line." Another worker said, "To give them more money for what — so the leadership can keep them walking the picket line longer?"

"I am for my money being spent to help the labor movement," a third worker remarked. "I would like for our money to go to organize the unorganized; I would like to see all workers in one union, controlled by the workers themselves — and that includes the unemployed. Then we could take on capitalism."

I am in agreement with these workers, because the International Union has become another bureaucracy that feeds off the working peoples' backs and has taken the grounds of management to keep workers working and the economy looking good — and to hell with the workers' lives or thoughts. I am against the union leadership controlling our money and doing our thinking for us.

What we need is a new way to fight capitalism. We can't fight capitalism by matching them dollar for dollar. We only have ourselves. Together there is no power on earth that can stop us.

— Local 216 unemployed worker

Come and participate with News & Letters in a series of classes on

A Marxist-Humanist Body of Ideas: the Other America in International Ideas of Freedom and the Black World

The focus of these classes will be the growth and development of Marxist-Humanism from its historic beginnings in Marxism and Freedom through 30 years of new objective situations and new subjective forces of revolution to 1984. The goal of the classes is not alone to learn what is Marxist-Humanist methodology, but the practice of that methodology for the urgent problems of our day in a way that will help push the freedom movement forward.

The first of the eight classes will be conducted by Raya Dunayevskaya, author of the trilogy of revolution. For information on the classes in Detroit, New York, Chicago, Los Angeles, San Francisco, please fill out the coupon below.

Detroit classes begin Sunday, Feb. 5, 3 P.M., 2832 E. Grand Blvd.

Please send me a class syllabus and starting date and place for the classes in my location.

Name _____
Address _____ City _____ Zip _____
Phone _____

Mail to: News & Letters, 2832 E. Grand Blvd., Detroit, Mich. 48211 or mail to closest News & Letters Committee. See Directory page 5.

one of the supporters about the meaning of the strike, ending in their donning picket signs and joining the line for awhile, leaving shaking hands and wishing luck.

One young woman handing a rose to one of the picketers as she hurried by, saying, "Don't take s--- from them." A supporter who liked to call Greyhound "Reaganland" told us, "Everytime there was a mass picket planned I would stand on subway platforms and as each train came in I would offer the motorman a bunch of leaflets to distribute at the barn. I never, never got no for an answer."

There is no doubt that actual, organized support at the rank-and-file level went far beyond the PATCO strike. Worker after worker at the mass rallies in New York of over 2,000 expressed strong support and concern that they were next if Greyhound workers lost. But what did ATU and AFL-CIO leaders do with all this support, the sympathy of the riding public and the strategic location of the bus terminals in the center cities?

No serious attempt was made to stop the scab buses. Picketers told me Teamster drivers deliver the fuel, and they should have been called on to honor the picketlines. The NY Transit Workers' "Committee for a Fighting TWU" called for their union to mobilize their whole membership into the picketlines and call a nationwide transport strike in solidarity and Greyhound strikers. They got no response. Even though my union, District 65, gave office space and turned out several dozen stewards and staff for the rallies, no serious attempt was made to turn out the rank-and-file.

RANK-AND-FILE HELD

A picketer told me, "Greyhound never negotiated in good faith. They said, 'it or leave it. I guess they wanted to test us.'" The Greyhound strike was a test alright. The Greyhound workers held fast, skilled and unskilled, men and women, Black, white, Latino, Asian. They and their rank-and-file supporters, passed the test. They are flying colors. They have given the whole labor movement something to build on. It is the union leaders who have once again failed.

The next labor struggle will have to take up where the Greyhound strike left off. Rank-and-file workers will have to rely more and more on themselves, find ways to bypass the union leaders and organize their own strikes, their own support and their own victories. We have all grown from this strike.

N.J. bus strikers rally

Newark, N.J. — On Dec. 8, there was a mass picket line here in Newark in support of the Greyhound strike. Several hundred people showed up, and the company cancelled its runs during the picketing.

Afterwards we went to a meeting in the plush hotel next to the bus station. The crowd was militant. The meeting was really just a rally, orchestrated by New Jersey's top labor bureaucrats. By and large, the labor officials pushed the idea of voting for Democrats to solve our problems, and had a couple of Democratic politicians give speeches.

Of interest, however, two top union officers put forward the idea of a one-day nationwide work stoppage against the employers' attacks. Everyone loved the idea, although most people knew it was demagoguery on their part. It would have been useful if the network of activists we're organizing in New Jersey were tighter. We could have shouted that they call such a strike in New Jersey (as the only real way to push for a national action). A lot of people would have backed it.

— Sam F.

UMW Convention — groundwork for 1984 strike?

Morgantown, W. Va. — Concern over a proposed selective strike strategy instead of the tradition of nationwide strikes of the United Mine Workers dominated the UMW Constitutional Convention held the week of Dec. 12 in Pittsburgh. The UMW delegates at first rejected this idea, incorporated in a package resolution backed by UMW President Rich Trumka designed to strengthen his power over both his Executive Board and the national negotiation process.

Charging that Trumka's package would give him almost dictatorial power and destroy the democratic gains achieved under the victorious Miners for Democracy reform movement launched a little over a decade ago, convention delegates voted down the package by a more than 2 to 1 vote. Stung by this overwhelming defeat, Trumka modified his proposals and reintroduced them on a piece-meal basis. This time around, he achieved most of what he wanted.

The following actions were approved by the delegates: the bargaining council was abolished; a two-thirds Executive Board vote is required to veto any strike proposal by Trumka; a strike fund assessment, 2.5% of wages until \$70 million is reached; the dues freeze was lifted and can go up from \$31.20 to \$38; political action assessment was raised from \$7 to \$10, rejecting an increase to \$25.20. The delegates beat back two efforts to raise pensioners dues.

While Trumka declined to be specific about what he would demand in the contract negotiations before the strike deadline of Sept. 30, the delegates expressed very strong sentiments for the restoration of the Health and Welfare Fund medical plan given up during the last contract, and greater strength for the safety and mine commitment. They also affirmed their determination to reject any effort on the part of the coal operators to try to turn their Retirement Fund over to private insurers, as they had done with the health care of the miners and their families.

Also approved was a Trumka proposal that would permit him to hand-pick his own negotiating team if he decides to engage in selective strike action. That is, if he decides to strike the captive mine owners, the commercial producers,

WORKSHOP TALKS

(Continued from Page 1)

workers at his plant in Fairfield, Ala. He announced that since they made extra big concessions, beyond what workers gave up at other mills, the company would create 1,500 new jobs there. And he said that the 15,000 lay-offs could have been avoided with more concessions. He is trying to play worker off against worker, right into a death trap.

The fact is that the only way a worker can live under capitalism is from the crumbs he gets from building this country. We have built the steel mills, the railroads, the mines, and now they are taking back even the roads. We have already given up what it takes to live. The capitalists today remind me of what Marx said about them over 100 years ago: they want workers to work 24 hours a day for them, and live on nothing but air. Mr. Rickard, when was the last time you had to buy groceries or pay utility bills? He understands nothing of our lives.

The union leadership doesn't understand much either. I read about one local union leader in Pittsburgh, Cal. who was surprised by the lay-offs. He said, "We were led to believe that, with the concessions, the employment of steelworkers would stay intact." If he had been listening to rank-and-file workers instead of the International, he wouldn't have been so easily fooled.

The truth is that every concession workers give finances their own destruction and lay-off. The company just uses the money to invest in automation or military production that will destroy jobs. It has never been clearer.

This concession question was also what everyone was talking about during the Greyhound strike. I had a chance to view the development of the strike close up, in talks with dozens of striking Greyhound workers at the picket lines and at a mass meeting called by the Amalgamated Transit Union (ATU) in Los Angeles.

SACRIFICE AND LOSE YOUR JOB

ATU Regional Director C.B. Robinson defended the final concessions contract, arguing "either sacrifice or lose your job." Robinson said the strike fund had only \$6 million while Greyhound had over \$80 million in assets. "The workers got caught with their pants down. They didn't expect Greyhound to hire strikebreakers," he said. Workers got restless by the end of his speech, which lasted two hours.

Then it was announced that any worker who wanted to could take the floor — so long as you spoke only two minutes. Dozens of workers walked out in disgust.

A worker told me, "I'm tired of them telling us that we can't fight now, we have to sign and wait to fight another day. There is no another day. By the next contract a lot of us will be gone. You can't feed a family on \$4,000 less a year."

Some workers said they don't expect Greyhound workers to beat the concessions all alone, that it would take unity with other workers and the unemployed. As a worker in auto for 20 years I can see a lot of truth in this, because Greyhound has so diversified its investments that it can make money even without the bus line. One worker told me, "If the workers got together in one big union like they did in Poland you wouldn't hear them talk so much about concessions."

The workers in Poland had no strike fund when ten million of them organized Solidarnosc. It is the power of millions coming together to fight the company on their ground by creating new organizations cutting through the divisions among workers that produces a power no amount of money can match. As long as workers have their union leaders doing their thinking for them, they will be blamed for every strike lost, and told again and again to "sacrifice or lose your job." Then they will lose both ways.

eastern operators or western operators, he can pick his negotiating team from anywhere he wants to without having to get approval from anyone.

The last time the tactic of selective strikes was used occurred during the historic 1949-50 miners' strike. That strike lasted for nine months, but it took the action of the rank-and-file, which took over control of the strike, to finally win that struggle. At that time, over 80% of the nation's coal was being mined by UMW workers. Today, less than 50% of the coal is mined by UMW members.

The delegates gave Trumka a lot of room to negotiate, but insisted that they would not accept any concessions.

— Andy Phillips

U.S. Steel's decline

The closing or dismantling of 20 U.S. Steel plants is but the latest indication of the collapse of the American capitalist system. Over the last decade, U.S. Steel has fought all efforts to upgrade its plants, to conform to U.S. anti-pollution laws, and to make its products competitive with the world market. It has invested its profits in other industries and blamed its problems on labor.

The basic law under which capitalism works is: you have to compete in the world market, or go bankrupt. U.S. Steel failed to invest in modern steel-making equipment as have Korea, Japan and Brazil, who have the most modern steel plants in the world. U.S. Steel complains about foreign competition from Korea, while the U.S. government maintains 40,000 troops in Korea to protect that dictatorship and its slave wages.

American capitalism cannot function without government subsidies in the fields of agriculture, shipping and numerous other industries that require protective tariffs and regulations to protect them in the marketplace. Capitalism, in its declining years cannot even sustain the structure required for everyday life. The billions devoted to war aims suck the country dry to produce useless weapons that are obsolete before they get out of the factories.

— Peter Mallory

Real state of the union: hunger, no jobs, battered women

(Continued from Page 1)

was but the continuation of the crisis which has seen the steelworkers' union membership fall from 1.4 million as late as 1979 to less than 700,000 today. (See "Workshop Talks," p. 1).

It is that what Marx foresaw as a "permanent army of the unemployed" has moved from theory to hard fact today. The real measure of capitalism's decrepit economy, in this "richest country in the world," is the rampant hunger throughout the land that no number of Presidential Task Forces can hide from view.

Not only have more and more women and whole families been seen in the bread lines everywhere, but the Salvation Army has reported that children comprise the majority of its clients, for the first time in its history. The president of the Illinois chapter of the American Academy of Pediatrics has reported a 24% increase in admissions to Cook County Hospital for malnutrition complications like wrinkled skin, diarrhea and dehydration.

And everywhere, it is the Reagan Administration which has been charged with exacerbating the plight of the poor and unemployed through the unconscionable cutbacks he had engineered in the most basic needs of the poor — from the one million cut from food stamps this year to the 2,700 schools nationwide forced to drop out of the federal school lunch programs.

Even more shocking is the swelling tide of the homeless, which the Department of Health and Human Services has now estimated to be a full two million — the very same number who were homeless in the worst days of the Great Depression. Indeed, where every city then had a shanty "Hooverville," a brand new "Reaganville" test encampment has now been erected in Lafayette Park across from the White House to bring home the plight of today's homeless.

As in the '30s, the homeless are everywhere. But their character today is new. More and more they include whole families, more women, and many more young people. In San Francisco's seven shelters the median age is only 35. Those who cannot find any shelter at all live on the streets, in abandoned buildings, in subways or parked cars. In New York City, over the three-day Christmas weekend, 16 of these homeless died from the cold as temperatures fell to sub-zero readings.

Perhaps more appalling still are the latest reports of infant mortality in the nation. While it has been steadily declining over the past 30 years, in cities like Detroit Black infant deaths have increased so drastically in the past four years in a row that they now double the national average. Nationally Black infants are twice as likely to die in their first year of life as white babies, and three times more likely to have birth defects.

Nationally, too, while the rate of unemployment did drop statistically for all other major categories of the unemployed, for Blacks it increased — from 17.7 to 17.8 percent. For Black teenagers, it has reached the shocking "official" level of 49 percent nationwide.

FEMINIZATION OF POVERTY

Nowhere is the perverted nature of this racist, sexist, exploitative society seen more sharply than in the attempt to blame the shocking poverty — of Black America, especially — on the shoulders of the women. Just as Daniel Moynihan at the height of the Civil Rights Movement in 1965 had reported to President Johnson that the growing number of Black families headed by women (then a quarter of all Black families) was the cause of their poverty, so today (when that number has doubled to half) the "breakdown of the traditional family structure" is being blamed for undoing all the Black economic gains of the past three decades.

We are evidently supposed to forget that the unemployment rates of Black and Latina women are consistently at least twice that of white males. That even with a job, women still earn only 57 percent of what men earn. That the "feminization of poverty" is not an exclusively Black condition. Women, Black and white, constitute the large majority of the impoverished today. Two out of every three adults in poverty are women, and three out of every four of the elderly poor are women.

It is this degenerate reality of capitalism today that has seen the Women's Liberation Movement addressing more and more this economic battering of poor, working-class and minority women, at the same time that it has forced exposure of the truly horrifying physical battering of women and children that has been a "way of life" — or death — for untold numbers. So horrendous has that battering become that a Federal Task Force on Family Violence has recently been appointed to take testimony from victims across the country over the next six months. Already we know that half the homicides of women, nationally, are the result of husband or "lover" violence. And homicide has become one of the five



"This year the pigeons are feeding her."

leading causes of children's deaths, with parents or step-parents responsible for a third of them.

Nor is that all — thought it surely is the ultimate! — that child-abuse includes today, when 13% of our 17-year-olds are functionally illiterate, when the poorest people in the land are the children, when one child in six gets no health care, and when a quarter of a million try to commit suicide annually.

How could Marx have foreseen the depth that capitalist society's degeneration has reached today — with its Automation and permanent unemployment, its high tech and hunger; its battering and brutalization — when he wrote, 136 years ago: "The bourgeois clap-trap about the family and education, about the hallowed relation of parent and child, becomes all the more disgusting, the more, by the action of Modern Industry, all family ties... are torn asunder..."?

REAGAN'S WARS AT HOME, ABROAD — AND IN SPACE

The utter depravity of capitalist society today is seen most starkly of all in the insane drive to war that has characterized Reagan's regime from the moment he took office

three years ago this month. Within the next few months both Russia and the U.S. will have shorter-range nuclear missiles nearer each other's territory; thousands of nuclear-armed Cruise missiles will be stationed on American submarines and thousands more on Russian ships.

Most frightening of all, the arms race is about to be launched into space — in the words of the Air Force Space Command, to "make conflict at the upper levels of military violence [doublespeak for nuclear attack] again thinkable." And in true Orwellian 1984 language, they dare to call the bill now before Congress to initiate these new Space War preparations the "People Protection Act!"

The hundreds of billions these plans would require may well make the \$250 billion President Reagan has just authorized for military appropriations — while he continues to hunt for ever more social expenditures to cut to the bone — look like a drop in the bucket.

Meanwhile, in his war at home against the American people, the "Great Communicator" has been using every means at his command to turn around the forces of revolt aligned against him:

- In his very first attack on labor during the PATCO strike in 1981, he set the line which private industry has been following ever since, as they have counted on the depth of the recession to supply them with their needed scab-labor. The assault has been launched against unions everywhere — from Phelps Dodge in Arizona to the Cunningham/Apex Drug Stores in Detroit, and from Continental Airlines to the Greyhound strike just concluded.

- While women's liberationists have increasingly joined with civil rights, peace and labor forces, and the "gender gap" has widened more and more to show women to be one of Reagan's most formidable foes, he has called upon an Hispanic woman, Linda Chavez, to be his mouthpiece. As staff director for the new Civil Rights Commission that was supposed to be a "compromise" after Reagan effectively killed the old commission in existence since 1957, her first recommendations called for major changes against affirmative action, racial quotas, court-ordered busing and bilingual education.

The masses determined to remove Reagan this year will no more be fooled by his selection of Linda Chavez than by his selection of a few Black conservative stooges to tell the world there is really no hunger in the land. They not only know that the "evil empire" they have to fight is Ronald Reagan, himself, they know that militancy — of which we have seen plenty this past year — is not enough.

Because they are the "new passions and new forces" for reconstructing society that Marx pointed to in his greatest work, *Capital*, and that our age has witnessed as a whole new movement, they are looking for those new forms of struggle that will not separate the fight against Reaganism from the total uprooting of this racist, sexist, exploitative society.

*See Flora Lewis' article, "Lemmings in Space," New York Times Jan. 6, 1984.

Who We Are and What We Stand For

News and Letters Committees, an organization of Marxist-Humanists, stands for the abolition of capitalism, whether in its private property form as in the U.S., or its state property form as in Russia or China. We stand for the development of a new human society based on the principles of Marx's Humanism as recreated for our day.

News & Letters was created so that the voices of revolt from below could be heard not separated from the articulation of a philosophy of liberation. A Black production worker, Charles Denby, author of *Indignant Heart: A Black Worker's Journal*, became editor of the paper. Raya Dunayevskaya, the Chairwoman of the National Editorial Board and National Chairwoman of the Committees, is the author of *Marxism and Freedom, Philosophy and Revolution* and *Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution*, which spell out the philosophic ground of Marx's Humanism internationally as *American Civilization on Trial* concretizes it on the American scene and shows the two-way road between the U.S. and Africa.

Where *Marxism and Freedom*, whose structure was grounded in the movement from practice throughout the 200 years from 1776 to Today, discloses Marx's "new Humanism," both internationally and in its American roots, *Philosophy and Revolution*, in recreating Marx's philosophic roots both in the Hegelian dialectic and in the actual revolutionary movements of his day, articulated these forces of revolution as Reason — Labor, Black, Youth, Women — of our day. By tracing and paralleling this age's 30-year movement from practice to theory with our own theoretical development for the same three decades, Marxist-Humanism in the U.S. has met the challenge of the "new moments" in the last decade of Marx's life by disclosing in them a trail to the 1980s. It is this trail, these paths of revolution — be it in the birth of a whole new generation of revolutionaries, including the transformation of Women's Liberation as an idea whose time has come into a Movement or the emergence of a whole new Third World — that form the content of *Rosa Luxemburg, Women's*

Liberation and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution.

This work challenges post-Marx Marxists to return to Marx's Marxism. At a time when the nuclear world is threatened with the extinction of civilization itself it becomes imperative not only to reject what is, but to reveal the revolutionary Humanist future inherent in the present.

News & Letters was founded in 1955, the year of the Detroit wildcats against Automation and the Montgomery Bus Boycott against segregation — activities which signalled a new movement from practice which was itself a form of theory. Vol. 1, No. 1, came off the press on the second anniversary of the June 17, 1953 East German revolt against Russian state-capitalism masquerading as Communism, in order to express our solidarity with freedom fighters abroad as well as at home. Because 1953 was also the year when we worked out the revolutionary dialectics of Marxism in its original form of "a new Humanism," as well as individuality "purified of all that interferes with its universalism, i.e., with freedom itself," we organized ourselves in Committees rather than any elitist party "to lead". The development of Marxist-Humanism in the U.S., 1941 to Today is recorded in the documents and on microfilm available to all under the title, *The Raya Dunayevskaya Collection*, on deposit at the Labor History Archives of Wayne State University.

In opposing the capitalistic, racist, sexist, exploitative society, we participate in all class and freedom struggles, nationally and internationally. As our *Constitution* states: "It is our aim... to promote the firmest unity among workers, Blacks and other minorities, women, youth and those intellectuals who have broken with the ruling bureaucracy of both capital and labor." We do not separate the mass activities from the activity of thinking. Anyone who is a participant in these freedom struggles for totally new relations and a fundamentally new way of life, and who believes in these principles, is invited to join us. Send for a copy of the *Constitution* of News and Letters Committees.

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EDITORIAL *El Salvador: The Kissinger Commission, the rebel offensive*

As President Reagan's Commission on Central America, led by former Secretary of State Henry Kissinger, was drafting its report calling for a "new alliance for democracy and prosperity," El Salvador continued to bleed.

At the army post of El Paraiso, the bodies of over 100 Salvadoran soldiers killed at the end of December during a rebel attack were laid upon flatbed trucks, driven ten miles to a cemetery at Chalatenango, dumped into two long trenches, with no attempt to identify who they were, and covered with earth by a bulldozer.

Two days later four cattle trucks swept into the provinces of Santa Ana and Sonsonate, forcing teenage boys onto the trucks. They were driven to the garrison in that same Chalatenango, ordered off the trucks and into the barracks and thus into military service.

Such is the manner whereby cannon fodder is produced by the government of El Salvador and its handmaiden of death, the United States.

During the period of this savage burial and new roundup for death, the U.S. State Department offered its compliments to the El Salvadoran government for its supposed forthright actions to get rid of death squads (which are in large part government-sponsored) by arresting ONE person for the death three years ago of two U.S. land reform specialists and by exiling to foreign posts TWO suspected death squad directors. For the murders of tens of thousands of Salvadorans, none have been arrested.

The draft report of the Kissinger Commission is calling for an astronomical increase in military aid to El Salvador of \$400 million in additional funds in 1984 and 1985. It calls for the repeal of the provision in the Foreign Assistance Act which bars American aid being used for support of police forces and for internal surveillance activity.

HUMAN RIGHTS DISAVOWAL

As a short-term measure the Reagan-Kissinger Commission wants to create an El Salvadoran elite rapid-reaction force of 1,000 men with an additional 1,000 soldiers in training and reserve. This force is to combine helicopter troops, parachute troops, attack aircraft and ground scouts.

The Commission's human rights proposals, which call for linking these huge increases in military aid to a requirement for periodic reports of human rights progress, was promptly disavowed by the White House. Reagan, emboldened by his invasion of Grenada, had already pocket-vetoed the Congressional requirement for semi-annual certification of human rights progress in El Salvador.

The unholy alliance which has produced this report under Kissinger's direction and with the assistance of those like UN Ambassador Jeane Kirkpatrick, is only providing a bi-

partisan cover for the genocidal policies that the Reagan Administration has been pursuing.

Former U.S. Ambassador Robert White issued his own report on behalf of the Commission of U.S.-Central American Relations which stated that in the three years since President Reagan took office, the U.S. had committed some \$228 million in military aid to El Salvador, and in that period the Salvadoran military, security and death squad forces "have murdered over 20,000 unarmed civilians."

Inside El Salvador Roberto D'Aubuisson, the death squads' foremost sponsor, has opened his campaign for the presidency, with elections scheduled for March 25.

How can this genocidal destruction of El Salvador be stopped? The death squads, the forced induction into military service, the U.S. sponsorship of war, now augmented by the Kissinger report, the phony March presidential elections, all offer no way out. Only continued death and decimation lie along those paths.

THE SALVADORAN REVOLUTION

But within El Salvador, there does lie another pathway. It is that of a full social revolution, one which has been unfolding in a number of ways including the widespread guerrilla activities of Salvadoran rebels. The guerrilla dimension of this El Salvadoran social revolution has made important advances recently. In a period of three days they destroyed the Fourth Brigade headquarters of the El Salvadoran army at El Paraiso and have blown up the Cuscatlan Bridge over the Lempa River, the major road link between the central part of the country and the four eastern provinces.

The rebels' ability to mount such operations, at a time when they are not getting substantial aid from Cuba or Nicaragua, exposes the falsehood that they fight only because they are supplied by those countries. The Salvadoran rebels have been able to carry on an intensive guerrilla warfare because of the indigenous support they have within El Salvador. Their military victories are rooted in mass support for a genuine social revolution. Only through such a revolution is a genuine peace possible.

It is this concept of a full social transformation that we in the United States need to express our solidarity with, as we oppose the further militarization of the Salvadoran conflict that the Reagan-Kissinger Commission calls for. Now is the time for support to the rebels in El Salvador as part of a movement of a whole continent, a continent aflame with the idea of freedom. Our support is not limited to exerting pressure for a U.S. withdrawal of military and economic oppression. It is as well a solidarizing with the idea and activity for a social revolution, and thus willingness to take part in a discussion of freedom ideas that are an absolute necessity to make a full social transformation a reality.

Salvadoran refugees: no freedom here or there

Editor's Note: Below we are printing excerpts from an interview with a young Salvadoran refugee about conditions which drove him to the U.S., the problems of being a refugee here and his hopes for returning to his country.

I'm a high school student who left El Salvador because of the political state that it is in. Many high school students have been murdered; just as many as workers and peasants. I had friends who were murdered. They would be taken out of their houses and would later be found strangled, tortured, etc. And others who had nothing to do with radical ideas ended up the same way. The problem in San Salvador was that, as a student, I had been marked as an enemy.

One time, hanging out in the streets of San Salvador, I saw a demonstration where innocent bystanders were picked up and beaten. That startled my senses. At school, myself and other students picketed for better educational facilities. Our pictures were taken and they were supplied to the National Guard and from then on, we were harassed.

Many of my friends were captured or ended up "disappeared." Anyone relating with them, ended up with the same fate. And then the Salvadoran army needed to find recruits. They forced youths to enter the army to fight "subversion." Neither I nor my family wanted any part of that. When they started coming to our district to recruit, my parents set up a way for me to get out of that situation.

TRAVEL TO THE U.S.

With the help of some other people, I was able to get to Mexico. I was lucky enough to get a passport and my trip was arranged via "coyotes" for entry into the U.S. via Tijuana. All this was arranged before I left San Salvador thanks to the financial sacrifices my family made for me. A lot of people back in my country don't have the opportunity for the relatively easy trip that I had. For them, they risk their lives getting out another way, much more dangerous than you can imagine. But I too, nevertheless, was in some danger of getting caught, deported, murdered.

In this country we are about 500,000 scattered all over the U.S. For many Latino refugees, the United States is the door to many opportunities. And they end up finding out that there are no jobs, no security for them. The language, the customs are all so different and this presents a critical situation for a refugee who needs a job, clothes, health care, education. Because there is none. The majority have to work and work and work to be able to survive and all the time with the risk of the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) on our backs.

The U.S. government considers us just economic refugees and not political ones affected by the lack of human rights in my country. But we're here because of that. The position they take against us Salvadorans and Guatemalans is ghastly.

Many refugees when they get caught are unaware of their rights, are read their rights which are incomprehensible to them. Or they are asked to sign papers which make it seem like they want to go back to El Salvador. But, in truth, they are signing their own death warrants.

We have to unite against things like the Simpson-Mazzoli law and try to work out solutions by soliciting help from churches, other solidarity committees, from the American public who have been generous enough to give us medical facilities, food, and clothing. The American people must also be made aware of our situation; not only our need to be recognized as political refugees and be granted political asylum, but also they must understand why we are in this situation and what their government is doing to create this situation.

NEED SOLIDARITY OF PEOPLE

Many refugees flee to Honduras only to get butchered by American-made weapons wielded by American-trained troops. The more this country gets involved in our country, the more the fear of the Salvadoran people increases, the more refugees come to the U.S. The American people must come to understand this, so they might pressure their government on our behalf; so that the situation will be improved both for us in this country as well as in our own; so that we can go back to our country.

For more information or to offer assistance, contact: The Central American Refugee Center, 123 S. Bonnie Brae, Los Angeles, CA 90057 (213) 484-4962.

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Fuera Pinochet



RETORNO A LA DEMOCRACIA

Palomas are small leaflets which are thrown from windows and roof tops, or stuffed up car exhaust pipes. It is one way of spreading ideas and calling for demonstrations in Chile. This one reads, "Out with Pinochet, Return to Democracy."

Native Americans resist government policy

Editor's Note: The Indian reservations of the Northern plains states suffered terribly in the mid-December deep freeze. We asked Shainape Shcapwe, a Lakota woman, to talk about what the conditions of this winter meant about Native peoples' fight for survival.

Families on the reservation are living on what is like federally-sponsored ADC (Aid to Dependent Children) programs. It is individual grants that allow for budgeting of individual living. But the pre-fab houses that the government sponsored were not made for this weather. Therefore a lot of people began living together in order to survive. They began communal living.

But as soon as folks began to do that, the government came in and cut the grant, saying well you are sharing expenses, so we won't give you as much. They are kind of squeezing people out of the grants and then saying you can't live in the type of individual housing they have. You are either going to freeze, or when you get together you are going to starve.

What a lot of people on the reservation are saying is that this is just one more way that the government is putting us in the position of deciding that it isn't worth living on the reservation, and forcing us off somewhere else.

I was talking to one man who lives on the reservation I come from, Ft. Totten, and he said it isn't only that they are making it hard to live in a communal way, but that they are putting the squeeze on to get us out of there. They are hoping that we will get discouraged and decide to go. There is a big effort to get folks off the reservation.

I talked to him in the midst of that terrible cold spell and he was talking about the need for blankets and for canned food and hoping that some centers would send it. He was telling me about how the organizations that used to do volunteer assistance, like the Salvation Army which would provide transportation, pick people up and take them to the clinics, were now saying that they couldn't afford to use the trucks in this way anymore.

And when the Tribal meeting occurs someone from the BIA (Bureau of Indian Affairs) comes out and talks about an alternative to living on the reservation. He felt there was a pretty determined effort to break up the reservation and that it was real demoralizing and harmful and he felt it was another form of genocide. But he also said that in spite of all this, people still felt the need of being there and trying.

He felt that the communal living was helping, because it was going back to a really shared responsibility for the problems. We may have done it out of necessity, but it doesn't mean that we didn't want to do it.

During the time of more Indian activism, the government had to be more underground in dealing with us. They spent a few years being very sneaky about it. But now the government is really out there and not feeling hesitant. The backlash against us is pretty hard. But I don't think the government is going to find it that damn easy to get rid of us.

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Subscribe to and write for News & Letters

'LIVING' IN REAGAN'S AMERICA: FOR JOBLESS, HOMELESS . . .

Is it possible that Reagan is living on a different planet than the rest of us working people? When he speaks about life in this country, it doesn't seem to have any relation to what I see in Detroit. Go down any main street in the middle of this city and you will see unemployed standing around. The other day I happened to drive by a soup kitchen and there was a line over a block long waiting for lunch! Check out the number of closed factories and abandoned houses. It is growing in every neighborhood, while GM, Ford and Chrysler announce record sales and profits. Only they are using more and more robots and fewer and fewer workers to do it.

I am sick of all the politicians and union leaders who are supposed to be fighting Reagan, and do it so timidly that he gets his way on everything. But there is a lot of hatred for this system among people I know. They do not speak timidly about it, and I think there is a battle in the making.

Unemployed worker
Detroit

The remarks Edwin Meese made about the "doubtful" hunger in this country goes right along with the thinking of the fat hogs who slop at the trough of the working class. How could those that live like parasites off the bent backs of labor think any differently? What gets me is when they have the unmitigated gall to pass judgment on those who must grovel for a crumb of food to keep themselves alive, while they keep squealing for more to be taken from the plates of the hungry.

It reminds me of what we used to say in the mountains, where I come from: It is getting to be hog-killing time. In this country, it is well overdue.

Soup lines veteran
Los Angeles

Have you seen anything on the news or in the paper about the homeless people here? Since I work at a free clinic for them, I decided to do a speech in my Spanish class about the problem. I figured out that there are over 1000 people living in downtown Seattle streets with only the clothes on their backs. About 70% of these people are Vietnam Vets! The remaining are mentally retarded, alcoholics and drug abusers, and mentally ill (that applies to the vets, too). A couple days after I gave the speech, a reporter did an article on the overcrowding at the shelter and there was some TV coverage.

Student
Seattle, Wash.

Edwin Meese's comment that Scrooge got "bad press" because, after all, Bob Cratchit lived in a house, not a tenement, his wife didn't have to work, his son had a job and they could afford a Christmas dinner, reminded me of what Marx said about the Capitalist dream of the "House of Terror" in *Capital*:

"An ideal workhouse must be made a 'House of Terror,' not an asylum for the poor. . . In this 'House of Terror,' this ideal workhouse, the poor shall work 14 hours a day, allowing proper time for meals, in such a manner that there shall remain 12 hours of neat labour.

"The 'House of Terror' for paupers, only dreamed of by the capitalist mind in 1770, was brought into being a few years later in the shape of gigantic 'workhouse' for the industrial worker himself. It was called the factory. And this time the ideal was a pale shadow compared with reality."

The worst conditions that Dickens' imagination could produce are now "a pale shadow compared with reality," just as the ideal Scrooge is "a pale shadow compared with reality" of Edwin Meese.

Spirit of Christmas Present
San Francisco

. . . AND FOLKS STILL IN SHOPS

The GM/Toyota deal at Fremont not only has the world's first and fourth largest auto companies getting together as well as the approval of the U.S. government, in an unprecedented break with its own anti-trust laws, but also the UAW International betraying its own members. All are rushing to embrace Japanese roboticized production.

The irony is that this is coming just when Japanese unions, especially Denki Roren, the All-Japanese Federation of Electric Machine Workers' Union, are breaking with cooperation with management over roboticization which they blame for the new permanent unemployment in Japan. It has especially effected the hiring of full-time female high school graduates. Denki Roren, which has over 400,000 members esti-

mates that 50,000 of their members have lost their jobs to automation. What scares them is that this loss is with the present 100,000 robots in production in Japan, while the best estimates are that by 1989 there will be between one and three million robots in place.

Worried
Oakland, Calif.

Art Steel workers remember the story they gave to N&L in Sept. that warned the foremen that they were "pushing the workers around like robots" but to remember that one day "the company will throw them out like trash." That day came very soon. After the November strike, workers went back to work but the foremen were not called back. One foreman had 35 years with the company. He reported to work but was called to the office and told, "Who do you think you are? If we want you back we'll call you."

Observer
New York

This new contract will cost us \$2 an hour. It will be a long three years. Now they will throw everything at us: lay off those with less seniority, try to make the rest work harder. They've been taking our pictures on the picketlines since November. I don't care. They know who I am. I tell you one thing, they will get less work out of us now.

Greyhound striker
New York

Wisconsin judge Dennis Flynn has found three UAW Local 72 stewards, John Drew, Todd Ohnstad and Jon Melrod, guilty of libel in a case brought against them by five foremen and ex-foremen at AMC. The judge denied the jury the chance to make the decision when he saw the case was going against the foremen. The charges are for articles in *Fighting Times*, a shop paper edited by the three. AMC is reportedly paying the foremen's legal expenses in flagrant violation of labor law.

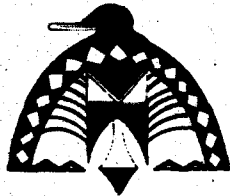
The three stewards will appeal this new and vicious tactic to shut up all workers' opposition. Their legal expenses will exceed \$50,000. Contributions can be sent to:

Union Free Speech Defense Fund
207 E. Michigan
Milwaukee, Wisc. 53202

DENBY ON MONTGOMERY 1955

Thank you for printing Charles Denby's report on the 1955 Montgomery Bus Boycott again. I had read it in his *Indignant Heart: A Black Worker's Journal*, but I guess you appreciate a piece like that a lot more when the author is gone from among us. It is a magnificent example of Denby's unique viewpoint, which was always so different from the official one of the union presidents, the civil rights leaders, or the radical parties. He never loses sight of the fact that it was the ordinary Black people of Montgomery who made the boycott; no one told them when or how. Not even Dr. King, not even Ms. Parks. It was a real beginning for the South, for the whole country, but hardly anyone realized it at the time. Denby did.

Student
Detroit



MICHIGAN
INDIANS
ORGANIZE

This year started off with a victory for Northern Michigan Ottawa and Chippewa people. On Jan. 6 they learned that their 20-year-long fight to win federal status as a reservation on the Leelanau Peninsula near Traverse City had finally succeeded. Without federal reservation status, none of the 5,000 members of the tribes were eligible for any U.S. government benefits, despite the fact that they have had about two-thirds of the land of Michigan stolen from them. The reservation as approved would only recognize 12.5 acres as theirs.

Last summer I visited Peshawbestown, the site of the reservation, and saw for myself the contrast between the summer homes of wealthy whites and the poverty of the members of the tribes. Yet I saw something else also. Indian fishermen, who had won back treaty fishing rights eight years ago, had just built their own retail fish store to sell their catch — at prices below those in supermarkets. They also opened a new tribal council office and created a beautiful pow-wow grounds behind it. Native American self-organization is still ongoing there.

Civil rights veteran
Detroit

Readers' View

WOMEN'S LIBERATION'S ONGOING DISCUSSION

I appreciated the back-and-forth on Nicaragua and the view of Adrienne Rich in the last two issues of N&L. First the way Michelle Landau went ahead and wrote about what she was thinking. Then it elicited a response, a different viewpoint, from Terry Moon. The paper needs this kind of initiative. Discussion and dialogue are so important now; they have almost been lost in the Left movement.

Central American solidarity worker
New York City

I read the pamphlets *Frantz Fanon, Soweto and American Black Thought* and *Latin America's Revolutions* and then re-read the N&L columns on Adrienne Rich and Nicaragua. I found the pamphlets really excellent — they filled in large gaps in my knowledge (also their format was very professional). In one of them I think I found something that answers the question you posed (December N&L) on Adrienne Rich. The answer lies in the distinction between "bourgeois women's liberation" and "revolutionary women's liberation." You, I take it, are revolutionary feminists. Ms. Rich is definitely, like many others in the establishment media, a bourgeois one. Such women as the latter really do not want to disturb the status quo. . . . What can they know about the full personhood that you want, and that I want, and the women of Central America want?

When thinking about this, and thinking about what was said in the pamphlets concerning Africa, American Blacks and the Caribbean, I think the main challenge we all have is to get rid of the bourgeois leadership that does not truly represent the masses . . .

Gloria
Yardley, Pa.

I liked very much the way "Feminist, Bihar, India" (*Readers' Views*, December N&L, simplifies the housewife role: "Marriage is very much of an economic institution to get free labor." Wow! USA feminists should seize on that.

Long-time reader
Hastings, Neb.

NEW DIMENSIONS, DEBATES IN ANTI-NUKE MOVEMENT

In November I participated, as a student, in organizing a successful peace march here which focused on the Euromissiles. We turned out almost 400 people, a record for this small, conservative community. Among the marchers were churchpeople, senior citizens, students and 50 farmworkers. Farmworkers and local peace activists have tread common ground before: picketing and boycotting Napa's Inglenook Winery over wage-cuts.

The Coalition has decided to stay together to build on this connection between the various constituencies. This is a particularly important milestone in the racial politics of this community. The message to white peace groups struggling with outreach to the Third World community is clear: it can be done, but the ball is in your court.

Anti-nuke student
Napa, Cal.

In response to the young Latina from L.A. who rejected the army, according to your November issue, I wish to thank you for seeing that no bargain education is worth your life or anyone else's! The armed services use various forms of bait for the young and inexperienced. You can help educate more of the victims. Congratulations, and please contact me through N&L for information on Veterans Against War.

Woman veteran
Berkeley, Cal.

About the major issue in the Peace Movement is the desire of some to water down unilateralism by diverting CND into the Freeze Campaign. All complicated by the fact that many Freeze advocates have no such intention, and really do see that as just an additional way of campaigning.

Industrially there's more sound and fury about than action. Any one confrontation might become generalized; it's hard to say. Most workers are cowed by the fear of redundancy (unemployment), and the fact that Thatcher was re-elected testifies to the

widespread mood of despair. . . . But there is also an underlying mood of bitterness and resentment, which might flare up and push leaders into real action rather than mere verbal attacks.

Laurens Otter
Wellington, England

The forms of protest in Poland are not limited to street demonstrations. The Polish punk group SS20, which later changed its name to Deserter when they could not get posters printed with their name, alters the lyrics of their songs during concerts to say, "We want to beat ZOMO" (the hated riot police) and "Don't be afraid of Jaruzelski."

Solidarity supporter
Chicago

A California judge cited five anti-nuclear protesters from the Livermore Action Group for contempt of court and threw them into maximum security at Santa Rita County Jail, Dec. 8. They were in the courtroom for the trial of 214 activists arrested in the massive June 20, 1983 blockade at Lawrence Livermore Labs. The judge had demanded that these and other activists in the courtroom remove black armbands they were wearing in protest of his refusal to allow in testimony any of the defendants' reasons for blocking.

One man, on being told he was in contempt of court when he refused to remove his armband, responded that "This court is in contempt of justice." And yet the jury still had to deliberate for 3½ hours before finding the protesters guilty, even though they had openly admitted to sitting in the road.

Laurie Cashdan
San Francisco



DEFENSE
NEEDED
FOR CHILEAN
DISSIDENTS
IN PRISON

On Dec. 29, Gen. Gordon, Commander-in-Chief of the Chilean Secret Police, informed the press that his forces had detained four opposition leaders: Rafael Ruiz Moscatelli, a social worker; Gustavo Cepeda, textile labor militant; Andres Galarnakis, ex-student leader and Vladimir Barcelli, graphic technician. No information was given in regard to the reasons of their detention, nor place of detention, because according to the laws of the dictatorship, people can be detained and held "incommunicado" for 20 days.

We are requesting that all Chileans, Latinamerican friends and Northamerican friends send urgent cables to General Pinochet. Here is a model cable: "We demand the immediate release of Gustavo Cepeda, Andres Galarnakis, Rafael Moscatelli and Vladimir Barcelli, and that their human rights be respected."

For more information, contact:
Secretaria de la Solidaridad
con Chile
P.O. Box 942
New York, N.Y. 10025

EDUCATION FOR ELITE ONLY

I liked your November youth column "Education for privileged few" because that is exactly what I've experienced. My inner city high school was so poor and understaffed that students were never paid attention to in their studies or family problems. So the majority of the students kept failing and a minority of select students were bused to better schools in white neighborhoods.

I faced the problem of getting into college. But there were no grants. Instead I found a job as a bilingual teacher. Here too there is little funding and students are forced to learn English when they have no real base in their own native language in order to learn a second one properly. The result is that these students don't learn either language well and are treated as "failures."

Latina youth
Los Angeles

GRENADA: COUNTER-REVOLUTION, REVOLUTION, AND THE NEED FOR DIALOGUE

The events in Grenada should give all of us pause. I don't just mean Reagan's invasion, but also the murder of Bishop and destruction of the revolution from within. When you consider that Grenada's revolution took place in 1979, the same year as the Iranian revolution, and then realize that both of them ended with the murder of revolutionaries from within the movement it is shocking. How many soured and aborted revolutions do we have to live through before we re-organize our philosophy of revolution?

That is, I think, the great feature of the new pamphlet, "Grenada: Revolution, Counter-revolution, Imperialist Invasion." The events in Grenada are a point of departure for Dunayevskaya's sober new view of the last three decades in which the movements from practice swept the world and declared Marx's Humanism to be its battle cry, and yet were not equal, by themselves, to the task of creating a new society. I have just begun to study her analysis, but I think that it goes a long way toward proving that the most urgent need of the movement now is a full discussion on what is Marxism, Marx's Marxism. If we don't answer that question we will be stuck with this nightmare society.

Worried
Michigan

The Dec. N&L article by Raya on Grenada was a "whodunit" with every dot and dash documented to show what a faker our President is. You can't organize an invasion overnight unless you're completely prepared for it, and Reagan was.

Old politico
Los Angeles

The question of counter-revolution within the revolution as Dunayevskaya takes it up in her Political-Philosophic Letter is a very serious one, and especially so at a time when it has been revealed that El Salvadoran leader Salvador Carpio did in fact order the murder of co-revolutionary Anaya Montes. It was a very shocking thing to many people in the movement. A worker at Art Steel said that he believes it is just a question of ego, that the leadership gets too big for its britches. Yet, I don't think we can leave it at this. In the Letter, Raya calls Bishop's attitude to the consciousness of the masses "ambiguous." There is a need to make the movement from below explicit, to say what it means for the perspectives of our movement.

Thinking hard
Manhattan, N.Y.

The Black Dimension was a very important factor in Reagan's fear of the Grenadian Revolution. You are correct to point out that when Bishop said his revolution was the first in the "English-speaking" Caribbean, what was really meant was that it could leap to inspire 30 million U.S. Blacks. That connection has been true historically.

Dubois pointed out that the Haitian revolution at the beginning of the 19th century may have helped spark slave freedom movements in the US and also forced curtailment of the open slave trade.

Black activist
California

In the Grenada situation it is important to see mistakes which the revolution of 1979 shared with Chile—the need to build a base for the revolution was not really carried out. If the people don't have the gun, and it's only a special group running things then that's a problem. Today we see the need to clarify what is the role of the people in building the new society. Can it be left to a couple of leaders at the top?

Chilean socialist exile
In the USA

Grenada

you were day and night
as if hit by a tidal wave
or an earthquake
but you are so conscious
that you were violated and mistreated
by the Yankee invaders,
fighting and spoiling with no right to you.

Grenada

never lose the faith and the hope
because there will some day
be sung in your streets
the word "freedom"
Your pain and your sorrow will turn
to joy
and what you once dreamed of
will yet come to be for you

Grenada

never cease to struggle
Your icea will always be in
every man and woman who is
conscious of
the freedom and the peace of your
people

Dominican worker
New York

I can't agree with your emphasis on the murder of Maurice Bishop by Gen. Austin and others. Yes, I am sure they did it, and yes, I am sure it opened the way for the U.S. invasion. But where does that line of reasoning lead? The main enemy is still U.S. imperialism, and I can't see getting too far off the track on other subjects. Maybe Castro was right to let the Grenadians figure it out for themselves.

Student
Chicago

What struck me very much in the Political-Philosophic letter on Grenada was the comprehensive, philosophic dimension that Dunayevskaya gives to internationalism. Here was Castro explaining Cuba's very important and very necessary help to Grenada in terms of construction workers, medical personnel and so forth,

stressing the very limited military presence of Cuba on Grenada. Castro emphasizes Cuba's non-interference in the internal disputes of the New Jewel Movement, and in fact appears not to have been informed of them by Bishop.

But Dunayevskaya asks what is internationalism if Marxist revolutionaries don't discuss the problems of a revolution. Don't discuss how a new society is constructed but reduce all to tactics, material support and so forth. It is not that these are not of crucial importance. But what it seems to me is being pointed out in the Grenada Letter is that of equal importance, in fact of greater importance, is a type of internationalism which makes no separation between material support for a revolution in the making, and the support for the development of revolutionary ideas which are a material weapon in a social revolution.

Activist
Ann Arbor, Mich.

Editor's Note: Copies of our new pamphlet, "Grenada: Revolution, Counter-revolution, Imperialist Invasion," which includes the full analysis of those events by Raya Dunayevskaya, as well as an eyewitness report of the mass freeing and army murder of Maurice Bishop, are available from N&L for \$1.00, postage included. See ad, p. 10.

'WHITE NIGHT', 1984

Thousands of angry demonstrators surged through downtown San Francisco at lunchtime and then took over the streets at night Jan. 6, when Dan White was released from prison. White served only five years after murdering both San Francisco Mayor George Moscone and gay Supervisor Harvey Milk in 1978.

Obviously many gay leaders as well as the police were afraid violence would erupt the way it did on "White night" in 1978, when gays took apart city hall. There was no violence this time but our outrage was heard as we marched through the streets blowing whistles and banging pots. I noticed that many anti-nuke activists joined the gay community demonstrations.

Furious
San Francisco

MANDEL'S STUNTED MARXISM

When Ernest Mandel recently gave a talk on "Contemporary Debates in Marxist Theory" at the Univ. of Michigan, several of his points made me angry. One was his view that the masses of unemployed workers today present a threat to the success of revolutionary working class organization. I reminded him that in Marx's Capital, at the culmination of capitalist development, Marx posed the

reserve army of unemployed as a subjective, revolutionary barrier to capitalism's continued degradations.

And to Mandel's view that only the proletariat of the industrialized world could build socialism, I brought up the ongoing influence of the Central American revolutions on the youth of societies.

Here, the serious attention that Marx gave to the non-capitalist lands of his day especially his last decade reflect a different regard for the Third World than Mandel's. In response to my questions, rather than defending his positions as the correct interpretations of Marx's views, he claimed to be a "humble student of Trotsky", passing over Marx completely.

A humble student of Marx
Detroit

NEW SOCIALIST STIRRINGS IN SMALL-TOWN AMERICA

Thanks for the copies of N&L. I am not an activist per se, but I do have strong feelings against things wrong that I share with my friends. I attend high school, and also work in a restaurant at sub-minimum wage levels. In school we are taught about the "evils of communism." (As they see it, state ownership equals communism.) I do believe a better society could be forged, to finish the revolution. This is why I'm subscribing to N&L, to hear the voices of freedom-fighters here in the USA.

There is no one I know of here knowledgeable on Marx or Lenin's thought. However, my town is a "one-street town," an agricultural community in eastern Pennsylvania, so there are not many young people who believe in Marxist philosophy here...

High school student
Rural Pennsylvania

I have been most interested in listening to the tapes of N&L and of Freedom Ideas International. I am visually impaired and this is the only way that I could have access to the type of information... It's hard to say what triggered my interest. I work with federal programs, and prior to that taught Economics. I can see clearly how the working people are treated and how so many are exploited and I am always looking for ideas to bring about needed change.

Walla Walla (where I live) is an agricultural community that is very conservative. It is hard to talk about how food stamps actually subsidize that industry rather than the seasonal workers. It is clearly not a popular view. I need fresh and different ideas to work with.

Tape subscriber
Walla Walla, Wash.

Ed. Note: N&L is available on tape cassettes for the visually impaired for the regular subscription price. Contact N&L for details. Freedom Ideas International, a quarterly movement journal, is available from Our Right To Know Braille Press, 640 Bayside, Detroit, Mich. 48217.

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New Introduction to American Civilization on Trial

A 1980s View of the Two-Way Road

Editor's Note: As part of our celebration of Black history month we are printing Raya Dunayevskaya's 1983 introduction to the new edition of the *News & Letters* pamphlet, *American Civilization on Trial*.

On this double 20th anniversary of the famous 1963 March on Washington and the first publication of *American Civilization on Trial*, the struggle continues. The planned August 27, 1983 March on Washington is taking place when the deep economic recession spells out Depression for the Black world, not only in terms of unemployment — especially that of the youth which is an incredible 50 percent — but in the whole field of civil rights, where that supreme artificer, President Reagan, is trying to roll back what civil rights struggles had achieved over the past two decades.

Reagan's retrogressionism makes it more imperative than ever not to leave these stark facts at the factual stage alone. Otherwise, all we could report is that the Magnolia Jungle we described in our first edition is as steaming as it was when Bull Connor unleashed the fire-hoses, vicious dogs and cattle prods against teenagers in Birmingham, Alabama and four young Black children were blown to bits in a church there — after which Schwerner, Chaney and Goodman were tortured and murdered in Mississippi, and Viola Liuzzo was gunned down and Rev. Reeb clubbed to death following the Selma to Montgomery March. Indeed, that jungle is still at such white heat that Black youth in Florida have erupted in revolt for three years in a row.

The truth is, however, first, that what was won through the last two decades was inseparable from the intense new forms of revolt. The turbulent 1960s witnessed the birth of a whole Third World, central to which was the Black Revolution both in the U.S. and in Africa. Secondly, inseparable from and simultaneous with that, was the Marxist-Humanist banner that *American Civilization on Trial* raised in the context of the whole 200-year history of the U.S., whose civilization had been put on trial and found guilty.

In a word, to separate a philosophy of liberation from the struggle for freedom is to doom us to yet one more unfinished revolution such as has characterized the U.S. from its birth, when the Declaration of Independence was meant for white only and left the Black enslaved. It was because this history, not only as past but as present, remained racist on the 100th anniversary of the "Emancipation Proclamation" that the introduction to *American Civilization on Trial* was entitled: "Of Patriots, Scoundrels and Slave Masters."

Historic Turning Points: Slave Revolts, Women's Dimension, Anti-Imperialism

What *American Civilization on Trial* disclosed was that, at each historic turning point of development in the U.S., it was the Black masses in motion who proved to be the vanguard. Take the question of the slave revolts leading to the birth of Abolitionism, which had created a new dimension of American character. It is not only, as we pointed out, that: "They were inter-racial and in a slave society preached and practiced Negro equality. They were distinguished as well for inspiring, aligning with and fighting for equality of women in an age when the women had neither the right to the ballot nor to property nor to divorce. They were internationalist, covering Europe with their message, and bringing back to this country the message of the Irish Freedom Fighters." It is that the vanguard nature of the Black dimension in the Abolitionist movement has much to say to us today — even when it comes to Women's Liberation.

Take so simple a matter as a name, specifically Sojourner Truth's name. Keep in mind what the question of choosing a name means in today's Women's Liberation Movement, which has discussed widely the question of not bearing one's husband's name. But did anyone other than Sojourner Truth include a whole philosophy of freedom in a chosen name? Listen to her story. She said she "talked with God," told him she refused to bear a slave name, and asked what should she do? "He" answered her as follows: Sojourner the world over and tell everyone the truth about American democracy, that it doesn't exist for Blacks. That was how she decided to call herself "Sojourner Truth."

Woman as Reason as well as Force has always been hidden from history, not to mention philosophy. Yet, as early as 1831, the very year Nat Turner led the greatest slave revolt, Maria Stewart spoke up in public — the first American-born woman, white or Black, to speak publicly. Her appeal was to:

"O ye daughters of Africa, awake! awake! arise! no longer sleep nor slumber but distinguish yourselves. Show forth to the world that ye are endowed with noble and exalted faculties... How long shall the fair daughters of Africa be compelled to bury their minds and talents beneath a load of iron pots and kettles? How long shall a mean set of men flatter us with their smiles, and enrich themselves with our hard earnings: their wives' fingers sparkling with rings and they themselves laughing at our folly?"

Total deafness to women shaping history extended into the 20th century, even when it wasn't a question of the rights of any single person, but when whole masses in motion fought — and won!

In Africa, in 1929, tens of thousands of Igbo women had self-organized against both British imperialism and their own African chiefs whom they accused of carrying out the new British edict to tax women. It took our age and a new Women's Liberation Movement to bring forth just such pages of history.¹

The vanguard nature of the Black dimension is seen also

in the struggle against imperialism at its earliest appearance. Take the question of the Spanish-American War, Blacks sensed its imperialist nature and became the very first force in the world outside of Latin America itself to organize an Anti-Imperialist League in 1899. In a word, whether the focus is on the Civil War in the U.S. or the world anti-imperialist struggles, the Black masses in motion showed their multi-dimensionality.

In the very same year that the Anti-Imperialist League was formed, in a different part of the world the revolutionary Marxist, Rosa Luxemburg, wrote:

"At present, Persia and Afghanistan too have been attacked by Russia and England. From that, the



Black Union cavalrymen bring in Confederate prisoners during Civil War.

European antagonisms in Africa too have received new impulses; there, too, the struggle is breaking out with new force (Fashoda, Delegha, Madagascar). It's clear that the dismemberment of Asia and Africa is the final limit beyond which European politics no longer has room to unfold. There follows then another such squeeze as has just occurred in the Eastern question, and the European powers will have no choice other than throwing themselves on one another, until the period of the final crisis sets in within politics... etc., etc."

The birth of a whole new Third World in our age cast a new illumination both on Luxemburg's flash of genius on imperialism's rise and on the little-known page of Black history concerning its early anti-imperialist struggles. The struggles today have reached a new intensity, and they are multi-dimensional. As we witnessed in the anti-Vietnam War struggles, it was the Black youth who first articulated the defiance as "Hell, no! We won't go!" Yet it has become clear since the 1960s that even the greatest actions need the direction that comes from a total philosophy of freedom. What is needed now is to concretize such a philosophy of freedom as the reality for our age.

Emergence of the Third World as Marx Foresaw It

What *American Civilization on Trial* reveals is both Marx's deep American roots and his Promethean vision. Take the succinct way in which Marx pinpointed the situation in the Civil War at its darkest moment, as the war dragged on and the Southern generals were winning so decisively as to produce a defeatist attitude in the North. Where others looked at the military forces, Marx looked at the forces of revolution: "A single Negro regiment would have a remarkable effect on Southern nerves... a war of this kind must be conducted along revolutionary lines..." (Letter from Marx to Engels, August 7, 1862).

From his very first break with capitalism, as he discovered a whole new continent of thought and of revolution which he called "a new Humanism," capitalism is what Marx critiqued and fought against throughout his life. Here is how he described the origins of European capitalism:

"The discovery of gold and silver in America, the extirpation, enslavement and entombment in mines of the aboriginal population, the beginning of the conquest and looting of the East Indies, the turning of Africa into a warren for the commercial hunting of black skins, signaled the rosy dawn of the era of capitalist production." (*Capital*, Vol. 1, p. 823, Kerr edition)

The unmasking of Western civilization's racism by its Black dimension in revolutionary moments of mass upsurge makes imperative a most serious return, on this centenary of Marx's death, to his critical, revolutionary unmasking of Western civilization's capitalist foundations. Just as in the U.S., so in Britain, Western civilization has been put on trial by the Black dimension. This became especially sharp with the April 1981 Brixton rebellion. Like the famous Kerner Commission Report following the 1967 rebellions in the U.S. and the current investigations into the Miami rebellions, the British government has produced its own Scarman Report on the

Black British rebellions. While the tone of the British report is more outraged than its American counterpart at the stripping away of Britain's fetishism about its vaunted "civilization," Lord Scarman nevertheless found that "the disorders, like so many riots in British history, were a protest against society by people, deeply frustrated and deprived, who saw in a violent attack upon the forces of law and order their one opportunity of compelling public attention to their grievances." Being in the business of empire longer than the Americans, however, the British authorities are more expert in recognizing historic continuities in the new forms of revolt against their rule. Thus, in its very first paragraph, the Scarman Report observed that "the petrol

bomb was now used for the first time on the streets of Britain (the idea, no doubt, copied from the disturbances in Northern Ireland)."

Frantz Fanon was absolutely right when, in our age, he wrote: "Two centuries ago, a former European colony decided to catch up with Europe. It succeeded so well that the United States of America became a monster..." The extreme urgency of dealing with that global monster today demands that the struggles be tightly woven together with a total philosophy. As we work it out for our age, what is needed is a concentration, at one and the same time, on 1) the trail to the 1980s from Marx's last decade, and 2) revolutionary Black thought.

It was in his last decade that Marx discovered still newer paths to revolution. Present-day existing state-capitalisms calling themselves Communist, like Russia and China, have totally abandoned both the philosophy and the actuality of Marx's "revolution in permanence." Marx, on the other hand, began introducing fundamental changes in his greatest theoretical work, *Capital*, which disclosed his new perceptions of the possibility of a revolution in technologically underdeveloped lands before the technologically advanced West. Take the simple word "so-called" placed by Marx in the title of the final part of *Capital*: "The So-Called Primitive Accumulation of Capital." Though that word has been disregarded by post-Marx Marxists, it touches the burning question of our day — the relationship of technologically advanced countries to the technologically underdeveloped Third World. What Marx was saying with that word, "so-called," was that it simply wasn't true that capitalism's carving up of the Asian and African world characterized only the primitive stage of capitalism.

To further stress that technologically advanced capitalism has not at all left behind the so-called primitive stage of turning Africa into "a warren for hunting black skins" and forcing them into slavery in "civilized" countries, Marx subordinated the whole section of Part 8 and made it integral to Part 7, "Accumulation of Capital." There it reached its highest point — the concentration and centralization of capital. Thereupon, Marx added a whole new paragraph to the 1875 French edition of *Capital*, which showed that this continued outreach into imperialism "successively annexed extensive areas of the New World, Asia and Australia."

As Marx then turned to study pre-capitalist societies — be it of the Native Americans, the Indians in Morgan's *Ancient Society*, or the Australian aborigine designated by Marx as "the intelligent Black," he hit out against anyone trying to transform his chapter, "The Historical Tendency of Capitalist Accumulation" into a "Universal." Marx insisted that he had been describing the particular, historic stage of Western capitalism; that other societies need not follow that path. If they did, they would "lose the finest chance ever offered by history to a people and undergo all the fatal vicissitudes of the capitalist regime."

Revolutions in Philosophy and in Fact

Marx's projection of the possibility of a revolution coming first in technologically underdeveloped lands achieved

2. Marx often singled out the deep relationship between Irish revolutionaries and all other minorities. A new projected 11-volume documentary study, covering the impact of Garveyism on the U.S., Africa and the West Indies, reveals the revolutionary relationship between Garveyism and the Irish struggles in the early part of the 20th century. Vol. 1 (1826-1919) and Vol. II (1919-1920) are due off the press in November, 1983, edited by Robert A. Hill (Berkeley, Cal.: Univ. of California Press). See also "British Civilization on Trial," in the May-June, 1981 issue of *Marxist-Humanism*, journal of British Marxist-Humanists, available from *News & Letters*.

1. See Judith Van Allen's "Aba Riots or Igbo Women's War" in *Ufahamu* 6: no. 1 (1975). An elaborated version also appeared in *Women in Africa*, Nancy Hafkin and Edna Bay, eds. (Stanford, Ca.: Stanford Univ. Press, 1976). See especially a global view of revolutionary women in Rosa Luxemburg, *Women's Liberation and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution*, pp. 79-112.

Between the U.S. and Africa

a new meaning for our age with the emergence of a whole new Third World, as well as new mass struggles and the birth of new revolutionary forces as reason. The Black dimension in the U.S. as well as in Africa showed that we had, indeed, reached a totally new movement from practice to theory that was itself a new form of theory. It was this new movement from practice — those new voices from below — which we heard, recorded, and dialectically developed. Those voices demanded that a new movement from theory be rooted in that movement from practice and become developed to the point of philosophy — a philosophy of world revolution.

Our very first major theoretical work, *Marxism and Freedom*, cast in the context of that movement from practice, was followed by a series of pamphlets in which the voices of all the revolutionary forces — workers, Blacks, women and youth — could be heard: from *Workers Battle Automation to Freedom Riders Speak for Themselves*, and from *The Free Speech Movement and the Negro Revolution to Working Women for Freedom*.⁵ Indeed, it was not only the voices of the Freedom Riders we heard in 1961, but the story of the magnificent Black women in Mississippi who called themselves "Woman Power Unlimited" and came to the aid of the jailed Freedom Riders.

American Civilization on Trial cast a new illumination on the two-way road between Africa and the U.S. via the West Indies by showing that what, to the capitalists, was the triangular trade of rum, molasses and slaves, was, to the Blacks, the ever-live triangular development of internationalism, masses in motion and ideas. This triangular development remains the dominant force to this day.

In our epoch, the dynamism of ideas in Africa comes out in sharp focus as we contrast it to the weary American bourgeois ideologues who declared the 1950s to be "the end of ideology" just when a whole new Third World emerged. As against what the capitalist ideologues wrote then, consider the 1959 speech by Leopold Sedar Senghor to the Constitutive Congress which united Mali and Senegal:

"A nation that refuses to keep its rendezvous with history, that does not believe itself to be the bearer of a unique message — that nation is finished, ready to be placed in a museum. The Negro African is not finished even before he gets started. Let him speak; above all, let him act. Let him bring like a leaven, his message to the world in order to help build a universal civilization. . . Let us recapitulate Marx's positive contributions. They are: the philosophy of humanism, economic theory, dialectical method."

It is true that Africa, too, has since undergone many retreats, as the Union of Mali and Senegal has broken up and Senghor has retrogressed in thought, as well. It is not true that the mass freedom struggles have abated. Nor is it true that Senghor represents all of African thought. Frantz Fanon was the opposite both in thought and in act, and it is his philosophy that is alive as far as South Africa is concerned and, indeed, can become a foundation for today's freedom struggles worldwide. It was this new stage in the two-way road that we presented in our 1978 pamphlet *Frantz Fanon, Soweto and American Black Thought*.

If we return to the year 1959, when Senghor made the Address to his Congress, we find that to be the same year that Frantz Fanon addressed the Second Congress of Black Artists and Writers meeting in Rome, where he said: "The consciousness of self is not, the closing of a door to com-

munication. Philosophic thought teaches us, on the contrary, that it is its guarantee. National consciousness, which is not nationalism, is the only thing that will give us an international dimension."

Furthermore, this was not philosophy for its own sake or history as past, because Fanon was contrasting the Black worker to the Black intellectual in that battle against colonialism:

"History teaches us clearly that the battle against colonialism does not run straight away along the lines of nationalism. It so happens that the unpreparedness of the educated classes, the lack of practical links between them and the mass of the people, their laziness, and let it be said, their cowardice at the decisive moment of the struggle will give rise to tragic mishaps." (*Wretched of the Earth*, p. 121, Grove Press edition)

In this, too, Fanon's vision saw far. Which is why the final chapter of the 1973 work *Philosophy and Revolution* — "New Passions and New Forces: The Black Dimension, the Anti-Vietnam War Youth, Rank-and-File Labor, Women's Liberation" — quoted the American Black auto worker who gave the philosophy of Humanism its sharpest edge: "There is no middle road anymore. The days we accepted 'we have to take the lesser of two evils' are gone. You have to go to the extreme now. Racism is the issue here, and to rid ourselves of that, to be Humanist, we need a revolution."

The Black Consciousness Movement today recognizes Fanon as a great Third World theorist, at the same time that they recognize Steve Biko's unique creativity in the Soweto uprising in 1976 and in founding their great new movement. This is precisely why South Africa's barbaric apartheid system murdered Biko in September 1977.

It was no accident that Charles Denby, the Black production worker-editor of *News & Letters* since its birth, felt impelled in 1978 to add a new Part II to the story of his life which had been published in 1952 as *Indignant Heart*. Thus, Part II of *Indignant Heart: A Black Worker's Journal* begins with the Montgomery Bus Boycott in the very year *News and Letters* Committees were born and ends with a chapter on "The Worldwide Struggle for Freedom" which discusses "the American Black identification with Soweto and Biko, with Fanon and Caribbean thought." It becomes clear why this story of Denby's life, North and South, which sums up a half century of freedom struggles, from the struggles of rural Blacks in the South to the wildcat strikes of Black workers in the North, concludes with this Black worker's declaration, "I consider my story as part of the worldwide struggles for freedom."

It is in Azania (South Africa) that the most exciting events are now unfolding, revealing how the mine workers there are both organizing and thinking their own thoughts. A simple word — "Amandla!" (Power) — tells how new a stage they have reached. It is this word which Teboho Noka, an organizer for the National Union of Mine Workers, used in order to stress that not only are they fighting for different conditions of labor and higher wages, but for "Amandla" — adding: "It shall be ours." It is that feeling of fighting for nothing less than freedom which transforms the struggle from a mere trade union battle to one for a whole new society.

Like Marx in his day, Frantz Fanon, in our age, declared his philosophy to be a "new humanism," as he developed it most originally in his *Wretched of the Earth*:

"Comrades, let us flee from this motionless movement where gradually dialectic is changing into the logic of equilibrium. Let us consider the question of mankind." (p. 254)

"For Europe, for ourselves and for humanity, comrades, we must turn over a new leaf, we must work out new concepts, and try to set afoot a new man." (p. 255)

"This new humanity cannot do otherwise than define a new humanism both for itself and for others." (p. 197)

Mass Unrest Today and the Need for Truly Human Foundations

Just as it was the Black dimension which sounded the alarm against U.S. imperialism's first adventure in the Philippines and the Caribbean at the turn of the century, so

today it is the Latino dimension which is opposing Reagan's imperialist actions in Central America and the Caribbean. The gunboat diplomacy which saw the United States invade again and again — from Cuba and Nicaragua to Panama and Honduras in the period from the turn of the century into the 1930s — has returned in a vicious new form under Reagan. His policies of installing right-wing dictatorships and attacking the nascent Nicaraguan revolution seemed aimed at engulfing all of Central America in a "regional" war — that is, getting the Latin American countries to fight each other for the benefit of U.S. imperialism. The revolutionary opposition arising from within Central America — indeed, all of Latin America — extends to the Latino dimension right here within the U.S. At one and the same time, all are united in working to stay Reagan's counter-revolutionary hand, and by seeking out and expressing the dimensions of national minorities, sex and class are creating new pathways toward social revolution, in Latin America and in the U.S. itself.

The mass unrest today throughout the world, the deep recession we are in, and the many political crises we face compel intense new activities — whether on the production line or in the massive anti-nuke campaign or in the Black revolutionary movements — unseparated from a new passion for philosophy and revolutionary direction. That revolutionary direction can be seen as we sum up how Marx worked it out concretely for his philosophy of "revolution in permanence" in relation to the Black world.

Marx's reference in the *Ethnological Notebooks* to the Australian aborigine as "the intelligent Black" brought to a conclusion the dialectic he had unchained when he first broke from bourgeois society in the 1840s and objected to the use of the word, "Negro," as if it were synonymous with the word, "slave." By the 1850s, in the *Grundrisse*, he extended that sensitivity to the whole pre-capitalist world. By the 1860s, the Black dimension became, at one and the same time, not only pivotal to the abolition of slavery and victory of the North in the Civil War, but also the restructuring of Capital itself. In a word, the often-quoted sentence: "Labor cannot emancipate itself in the white skin where in the Black skin it is branded," far from being rhetoric, was the actual reality and the perspective for overcoming that reality. Marx reached, at every historic turning point, for a concluding point, not as an end but as a new jumping-off point, a new beginning, a new vision.

In the specific case of the Civil War in the U.S., it was not only a question of theory or of national action, but one of international organization as Marx established the International Workingmen's Association to come to the aid both of the North, especially the Abolitionists, in that Civil War, and of the European working class struggles, especially the Polish revolt against Russian Tsarism. As Poland shows us all over again today, freedom fighters do not give up their struggle even when compelled to work under the whip of the counter-revolution.

There is no doubt that we are on the threshold of new revolutionary beginnings in the Black world in this Marx centenary year. The 20-year history of *American Civilization on Trial* and world development has seen not only capitalism's drive to war threaten the very existence of civilization as we have known it, but also its absolute opposite; revolutionary masses in motion. The Reagan retrogression — and the ceaseless struggles against the attempts to push back all the gains of the past two decades — gives urgency to this new fourth, expanded edition (and fifth printing) of *American Civilization on Trial*.

The absolute challenge to our age is the concretization of Marx's concept of "revolution in permanence." The Black dimension is crucial to the total uprooting of existing, exploitative, racist, sexist society and the creation of new, truly human foundations.

Raya Dunayevskaya
for the National Editorial Board of
News & Letters, August, 1983

3. This paragraph was left out of Engels' English and German editions. It is discussed in Chapter 10 of *Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution*, "A Decade of Historic Transformation: from the *Grundrisse* to Capital."

4. Marx's letter to the journal which had published a critique of his work by the Russian Populist, Mihailovsky, was written in November, 1877 but not published in Russia until 1886 after Marx's death in 1883.

5. The full development of Marxist-Humanist philosophy in the U.S., under the title "Marxist-Humanism, 1941 to Today, Its Origin and Development in the U.S." is on file and available on microfilm at the Archives of Labor and Urban Affairs, Walter Reuther Library, Wayne State University, Detroit, MI 48202.

On the 65th anniversary of the death of Rosa Luxemburg (January 1919) learn about her revolutionary life in:

Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution

by Raya Dunayevskaya

Her entrance on the German scene:

Rosa Luxemburg's very entrance, May 1898, into the German arena, center of the Second International, shook up the largest and most prestigious of world Marxist organizations — the German Social-Democratic Party (SPD). From the start, she became a subject of contention — contention that has not abated to this day.

Her anti-war writings:

In her dark and dreary prison, Luxemburg — isolated from everything that was going on outside, even though she had worked out a network for getting some news in and smuggling her writings out — at once set out to write the first comprehensive anti-war pamphlet to come out of Germany. *The Crisis in the German Social-Democracy* has retained its fame to this day, known by the signature she used as Junius.

Her dimension as feminist:

To scrupulously follow Luxemburg's life, in revolution or out, leaves no doubt whatsoever that, no matter how intense her love for Jogiches was, including even the fact that both were revolutionaries with the same theoretical and political goal, no cataclysmic change in her relationship with Jogiches would any longer direct her life.

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BLACK-RED VIEW

by John Alan

President Reagan's two-pronged attack on the tiny Black island nation of Grenada and the U.S. Civil Rights Commission has once again revealed the close connection that exists between imperialism and racism. Not since the last years of the 19th century, when U.S. imperialism defeated Spain in the Caribbean, have we witnessed such sudden welding together of jingoism and racism. Both of these aggressive acts have brought to light the Administration's ingrained racial bias and its callous determination to crush with massive military force any freedom movement that would radically change class/race relationships in the world.

The vigor and energy that the Administration put into the attempt to silence any criticism that the Civil Rights Commission might direct towards its racial policy indicated that it was not just the Commission's panel that was under attack but the very idea of Black civil rights.

Reagan is dead set against affirmative action and busing — two issues that involve the right to equal employment and equal educational opportunity. These issues have been on the agenda of Afro-American civil rights movements for ages. And for ages they have been opposed by conservatives and racists who have never stopped building political and social redoubts and trenches to stall and to subvert their realization.

The present Civil Rights Commission that Reagan would like to turn into the image of his idea of Black rights came into being because masses of Afro-Americans were beginning to right the wrongs of Jim Crow, beginning with the Montgomery Bus Boycott of 1956-57, by methods of direct action that eventually sparked the anti-Vietnam War Movement of Black and white youth.

That Black mass movement turned the country around; it put an end to more than three-quarters of a century of presidential indifference to civil rights violations, and caused Congress to enact the first Civil Rights Bill since 1875.

An important element in Reagan's rise to political power was his opposition to the Black mass movement. He was an outstanding supporter of Senator Barry Goldwater's campaign to try and defeat the Civil Rights Act of 1964. He later

Imperialism's tie to racism

justified his position by saying that he agreed with the spirit of the act but thought it was a bad piece of legislation. When he was Governor of California, he attempted to get the Open Housing Act repealed and conducted a crusade against "welfare cheats."

But just to catalogue Reagan's transgressions against Black rights runs the risk of failing to see that his racial ideology transcends him as a person and is representative of a basic, historical element that has always been a part of the social and political practice of this country, carried on by both liberals and conservatives. The so-called compromise that Reagan struck with Congress regarding the composition of the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights panel was another classic American political "solution" in determining the place of Afro-Americans in American society.

The history of Presidential and Congressional action on Black civil rights has been one continual compromise that has stood like a series of milestones marking the high tides and ebb tides of the Afro-American freedom movements. Many of us may not know that the Black mass movement that took to the streets in the late 1950s and set into motion one of the world's greatest civil rights movements demolished the Hayes-Tilden compromise of 1876 which ended Reconstruction with a "Southern solution to the Negro problem."

This solution was worked out between Northern monopoly capitalism and their Southern cohorts in a drive to trample underfoot all Black, labor and farmer opposition to its rise to dominant power in the United States. It was this concentration of economic, political and ideological power that set U.S. imperialism on the course of becoming the dominant power in the Caribbean in the late 1890s.

Frederick Douglass, at that time, became so overwhelmed by the sudden demise of Black legal rights that he asked whether "American justice, American liberty, American civilization, American law, and American Christianity could be made to include and protect alike and forever all citizens in rights which have been guaranteed to them by the organic and fundamental laws of the land."

This question is even more relevant today than it was when it was raised almost 90 years ago.

Mozambique today

Mozambique remains the most exciting socialist experiment going on today in Africa. At the December African Studies Association Convention in Boston, where Marxism and revolution was debated everywhere — on critiques of Tanzanian socialism, on women, on South African trade unions and on the legacy of Amílcar Cabral — none was more exciting than the panel on Mozambique, which drew an overflow audience.

This Black country of 13 million on the border of South Africa is facing unprecedented challenges: mass starvation, destruction and massacres by a thousands-strong counter-revolutionary army based and trained in South Africa, and bureaucratization and over-centralization in the post-independence socialist government.

MOZAMBIQUE ON THE "FRONT LINE"

After long years of guerrilla warfare beginning in the 1960s, the FRELIMO guerrilla movement founded by the martyred theoretician Eduardo Mondlane won independence from Portugal in 1975. Almost immediately, peace changed again to war as Rhodesian racist troops invaded and battered Mozambique mercilessly until the ZANU/ZAPU victory of 1980 when Rhodesia was transformed into Black-ruled Zimbabwe. Mozambique was in fact the main base area of Robert Mugabe's victorious ZANU during this whole period, and suffered as much as Zimbabwe itself from the war.

Since 1980, the focus has moved to South Africa itself, and Mozambique continues to allow the African National Congress and other groups to maintain headquarters. South African attacks have become incessant. Like Reagan in Central America, the South Africans do not directly invade Mozambique — but they train, base, and arm to the teeth the thousands of counter-revolutionaries. The latter, whose leaders live as "honorary whites" in big estates in South Africa, make no attempt to win popular support.

They seek only to demoralize and destroy by massacre and torture of FRELIMO officials and sometimes whole villages, and by destroying transports and even ambushing and otherwise stopping efforts to distribute food to starving regions. That plus a severe drought and the economic crisis has meant that no less than 100,000 Mozambicans have died of starvation in 1983, while 700,000 are in immediate danger.

REVOLUTIONARY CRITIQUE FROM BELOW

Far from giving in to this pressure, the people of Mozambique have rallied behind FRELIMO, volunteering to fight the contras, just as they withstood the war of independence and the Rhodesian terror raids. At the FRELIMO Fourth Party Congress last spring, and in its preparatory meetings in grass roots areas, the masses poured forth their anger against the privileges and arrogance of officials, against over-centralization of politics and the economy, and against needless shortages of basic goods.

President Samora Machel backed the critics from below against his own leadership, and the Congress initiated a wide-ranging series of democratizing and decentralizing measures.

It is not that Mozambique's socialist experiment should be viewed uncritically as some of the Left are doing — we can certainly question and criticize the use of flogging, as under colonialism, to punish thieves, or the policy of deporting the unemployed from the capital — but we must also recognize the tremendous achievements and potential of this long-struggling movement which is today directly confronting the South African racist war machine on a daily basis.

— Kevin A. Barry

Ex-soldier tells how to not fight Reagan's wars

Los Angeles, Cal. — Reagan's invasion of Grenada really showed me that the government is preparing itself for war. I think in this situation, every Marine is thinking about how to go AWOL. I can say that as a person who was in the Army for 11 months. The only reason I registered was that it was during peace time, and an opportunity to find employment.

But it is very difficult to last long in the Army. In the first year, many dropped out because you hear one thing from the recruiter and experience a very different reality after you actually sign up.

First, they put you in a three-month period of training in boot camp. Every morning an officer wakes you up, and gets on your case all day. You undergo the worst humiliation in those three months. Coming out of it for me was a miracle.

Then you become a soldier with a daily job. We made sure to sabotage the work as much as we could, whenever an officer was not around for even a few minutes. We all talked about how much we hated the Army and learned tricks from one another to disturb the order.

Of course, I never wanted to stay, and the minute I heard about the possibility of war in 1981, my doubts disappeared. I went AWOL four times to deliberately cause my discharge. The fourth time it worked and they let me go.

Contrary to what the government makes you believe, most youth don't enter the army to fight or go out and kill people. Many of us are Blacks and minorities who don't give a damn about this system. They tell us, "You are all one color" when we enter the service. But that is just another one of the lies that the recruiters tell you. Racism is what you face every day.

After I left the army, I was unemployed for a while and now I work in a glass factory. But this job is no better. They watch you every minute and make you work like a dog to "earn your wages."

I think a lot of young people feel the way I do. That is why we should listen more to those who go AWOL.

— Black Ex-GI

BLACK WORLD

(Continued from Page 1)

our day. The first crisis arose in the period between the 1917 East St. Louis anti-Black pogrom and the "Red Summer of 1919" when race riots swept the country and the infamous Palmer raids that J. Edgar Hoover spearheaded against "subversives" gave the Garvey movement its first impetus as it caught a new stage of Black consciousness.

Against the backdrop of these racial crises Garvey's appeal to the Black masses declared: "America, that has been ringing the bells of the world, proclaiming to the nations and the peoples thereof that she has democracy to give to all and sundry . . . has herself no satisfaction to give 12,000,000 of her own citizens . . . over the brutal murder of men, women and children for no other reason than that they are black people seeking an industrial chance in the country that they have laboured for three hundred years to make great."

The second period discloses how very different is the understanding of Marcus Garvey by a generation like that of the 1960s versus the attitude of Black intellectuals in Garvey's time. Where an intellectual like W.E.B. DuBois helped to railroad Garvey out of the country, it was the Black power generation of the 1960s which revived Garvey, although doing so without fully breaking from the "talented tenth" elitism of DuBois, who Garvey fought.

And thirdly, what emerged with the world ferment following the Russian Revolution led Lenin to recognize in national democratic movements in imperialist lands such as Garvey's, a new dialectic of liberation. In turn, Garvey had himself recognized that "Bolshevism . . . is going to spread until it finds a haven in the breasts of all oppressed peoples, and then there shall be a universal rule of the masses." Later, at the time of Lenin's death Garvey was led to eulogize him as "the world's greatest man between 1917 and 1924."

The point is that as against American Marxists, Black and white, Lenin was virtually alone among Marxists of the period who saw the revolutionary dimension of Garvey and the movement he led.

This inescapable "Red dimension" of the Garvey Papers brings us back to Prof. Hill's introductory overview to the whole ten volume collection. The comprehensiveness of Prof. Hill's grasp of the documents can be found not alone in his overview, but is seen as well in the scholarly Pan-African biographical sketches appended to Volume I and in his quite erudite footnotes to both volumes. One of the new

Significance of Garvey study

insights into the historiography of Garveyism that Prof. Hill documents is the parallel between Garveyism and Irish nationalism.

It is precisely such creative scholarship that then makes it difficult to comprehend why, in his overview, Prof. Hill didn't fully bring in the impact of the Russian Revolution upon Garvey which the documents themselves point to. In being critical of Black "talented tenth" solutions to the Negro question, Garvey was not afraid of "Red" when it meant masses in motion. Nor is it a question of disregarding the contradictions in Garvey, which makes it all the more imperative to finally examine the dialectic of Garveyism as a Black world movement from practice.*

Just as anyone seriously looking for the key to Garveyism's emergence out of the triangular movement of Black thought and revolution between the U.S., Caribbean and Africa cannot ignore the actual writings of Garvey's *Negro World* as presented so magnificently in these two volumes, so must there be as well a grappling with the birth of Black Marxism in the U.S., its relation to the Russian Revolution and to the writings of Marx. Only then can we fully pursue the dialectics of Black self-determination both as it arose historically and as it impacts upon the world today.

The originality, organizational capacity and inexhaustible posing of the question of the Black dimension as world civilization, as international dimension, is to be found within the documents of the Garvey movement. That is what brings Garvey to life. That international dimension of Garvey's *Negro World*, his seeking the Black question as a world question, is part of what impelled us to name this new column *Black World*. For Marxist-Humanism the Black dimension, as Black masses as vanguard of the American Revolution, of Black as a world color of revolution, has been an integral part of our four decades of development. That is what we hope to present in this column in the period ahead.

(To be continued)

*For a view of the development of the American roots of Marxism in relationship to the Black question see the 4th expanded edition of *American Civilization on Trial: Black Masses as Vanguard*. A quite important work on Garvey and UNIA is Tony Martin's *Race First: The Ideological and Organizational Struggles of Marcus Garvey and the Universal Negro Improvement Association*. Greenwood Press, 1976. Especially relevant to this point is Ch. 10, pp. 221-272.

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of
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in the U.S.

by Raya Dunayevskaya

YOUTH

Latin American support work

by Ida Fuller, youth columnist

The question of how to work in solidarity with Latin America has become crucial at a time when the threat of U.S. intervention is increasing every day. This is why I would like to sum up two types of solidarity work I have been involved in, to reach a direction forward.

Recently I attended a lecture by Central American trade unionists on tour. The speakers — a construction worker from Guatemala, a woman teacher from El Salvador, and a shoemaker from Nicaragua — not only showed the effects of U.S. intervention on Central American and American workers, but also expressed how they were chosen to speak for the union when they became revolutionaries. As Marta Alicia Rivera expressed it: teachers began to link their struggle with those of workers and peasants "realizing that wages and benefits for teachers meant little if most Salvadoran children were too hungry and poor to go to school."

Study and Struggle

To me these revolutionary unionists were such a contrast to union bureaucrats in this country who claim to represent the workers but only sell them out. That is something anti-intervention activists could share with striking and laid-off American workers. And that is the perspective with which I went to the next meeting of my campus group which had sponsored the tour.

But I was so disappointed to see that no time was set for a discussion including what the group was for besides "no intervention." The committee members and the new people who had come as a result of the trade unionists' talks, were just given leaflets to distribute, tables to set up, and then the agenda moved on to the next activity.

In contrast to that, look at another solidarity activity I have been involved in, with Latina high school students interested in a study of Latin America's unfinished revolutions and Marxist-Humanism. We realized that being Latino, woman, worker and youth all at the same time makes one so much more revolutionary, so we wanted to base our activities on the freedom ideas we were discussing.

This is why, when a woman was raped in school and the news was kept hidden from the students, we could respond in a total way. We had a discussion about rape and produced a leaflet out of it, not only questioning the school principal but the sexism of male students and the oppressiveness of the whole education system. Thus ending: "We want the administration to treat us like thinking human beings by immediately informing us of such incidents. We also want to get involved in the process of decision-making for our own safety."

The response was especially enthusiastic from the Black and Latino students who turned a lunch break into a discussion going beyond this single rape. They discovered another secret rape which had occurred two years before; they questioned why the number of Black and Latino students who are bused is shrinking, and why there are privileged magnet classes for a few and terrible classes for the rest.

Thus, at our next meeting, a few more Latinas joined us to continue the discussion and find out more about Marxist-Humanism. As one Latina put it: "When my parents work hard for weeks and then still can't meet our expenses and go into debt, or when our parents treat us like a piece of property and imprison us at home, to me that is rape too. What

this capitalist system has been doing to us is rape."

In contrast to the first activity when a new beginning for Central American support work was not followed through and related to the freedom struggles in this country, the second activity made the Latino dimension inseparable from the U.S. freedom struggles. Indeed we started with a discussion of Marxist-Humanist ideas and followed through with those ideas as to not separate the immediate activity from our vision of a new society.

Students against nukes

Chicago, Ill. — I went to a meeting of STOP (Student-Teacher Organization to Prevent Nuclear War) on Nov. 19. It brought out 350 kids representing 56 high schools in the Chicago area. Every race was there, with Blacks having the most representation. There were more girls than boys.

The reason so many came to the STOP meeting is that they were concerned about the nuke issue. They wanted to learn about it and what they can do. It shows that youth really are concerned about this.

They say youth have the most creative minds. Yet adults are making things so we can't use them. Reagan and Andropov are busy deciding the world's fate. They shouldn't be allowed to do that.

I've been to a lot of anti-nuke demonstrations beginning with New York, June 12, 1982. Some marchers just go out to show they are against the nukes but they don't go beyond that. If you just march, that is not enough. It is all one big web — the nukes, racism, what is happening to the steel workers. The fact that the U.S. invaded Grenada and Central America relates to nuclear policy.

You also have to think about how to get the kind of government that will work for all people. We have to think about what a society would be like. I can't say what that is. I don't think anybody can. It is up to people to get together to work that out. That has to be part of what we can do. After a government is overthrown, you can get something even worse.

— Student, Whitney Young High School

Youth in Revolt

Commemorating Karen Silkwood Day, Nov. 13, more than 400 women and children scaled a fence at the U.S. military base at Pine Gap in the Australian Outback, and fought with police, who arrested 111. They had set up a peace camp there two days before with the demands of nuclear disarmament and closing U.S. bases in Australia.

U.S. Air Force Lieutenant Joann Newak won release, at the end of August, from military prison to which she was sentenced for a lesbian relationship (see Youth column, June, 1983 N&L).

— Thanks to Citizen Soldier

Students at numerous schools in Czechoslovakia have been distributing leaflets and petitions opposing Warsaw Pact plans to station more nuclear missiles there, prompting the government to send propagandists to the schools and call for the expulsion of any students involved.

Several young people held an anti-nuclear vigil in Moscow's Lenin Hills, Dec. 11, under the guise of a remembrance of John Lennon. Police destroyed an anti-nuclear poster and arrested three youths.

In Boston, several hundred people disrupted a conference of missile manufacturers and researchers in December by picketing, sitting in, invading the conference, and releasing 1,000 cockroaches in the hotel as a reminder of just who would survive "the day after."

— Thanks to the Nuclear Resister

Students who put out a high school newspaper in Oak Lawn, Ill., have been protesting censorship by the high school administration. The students, backed by the Student Press Law Center, have threatened to sue if the principal continues prior review of the paper.

Another view of Nov. 12 Washington demonstration

Jim Mills' Youth column on the Nov. 12 protest in Washington in the December N&L did capture the spirit of many of the marchers. Yet I disagree with presenting only that positive side when I and others I marched with feel Nov. 12 showed the crisis the organized solidarity movement is in.

Numbers do not mean everything, but we do have to consider what it means that where 80,000 marched several years ago and 50,000 in March, 1981, a divided movement could only turn out 6,000 last July and now, after planning for six months and right after Reagan's terrifying invasion of Grenada, the movement could only get 20,000 to Washington.

When Mills quotes one marcher as saying this march was "more unified than the one on March 27, 1981," I have to wonder — more unified or more limited? I remember the horrible analysis of New York CISPES leaders right after the '81 march, when they reduced the march's tremendous multi-dimensionality to "El Salvador got lost in all the issues," and they set out to make damn sure the next march would be totally controlled by them.

Then to say that "the speakers on Nov. 12 did not seem to catch the newness" is quite an understatement. I believe the speakers were deliberately chosen for their political timidity or "acceptability." They were horrible. It is the old Left

Missile plant arrests

Editor's Note: Fifty-one anti-nuclear blockaders were arrested in the week of Nov. 25-Dec. 3 in front of Williams International plant at Walled Lake, Mich., where Cruise missile engines are produced. A University of Michigan student discusses her participation in the action:

I heard that there were "plants" — planted by the Oakland County Sheriff's Department — at the meeting we had, a training session on Nov. 27. All the people who were interested in action — informational and supportive included — came. It was openly advertised. At that meeting, some plainclothesmen were sent in to take notes. At the pre-trials, when some people pleaded not guilty, Williams had to show why these people should be prosecuted. Then the plants came forward.

Originally, for many of us, it was conspiracy to commit a misdemeanor they charged us with. But it was too vague, so the Oakland County prosecutor's office changed it to more specific charges of conspiracy, like conspiracy to trespass.

This is one of the things they've pushed the hardest for because it's in the spotlight. If there was a precedent, it should have been like last Easter when folks cut a hole in the fence around Williams. They were charged with trespassing and violating the injunction against protests. They served a total of five days. County Prosecutor L. Brooks Patterson likes to be in the spotlight since he's a real hardliner.

While we were in jail, we had to watch television every other day. We were alarmed by news of planes shot down over Syria, and there was a lot of discussion about that. The Middle East and Central America are a basis for starting a war that could start a nuclear catastrophe. Seeing planes shot down, we discussed the irony that the bomb could be dropped while we were still in jail.

Report on British demos

London, England — After the first Cruise missiles arrived at Greenham, there were spontaneous demonstrations there (organized through the Greenham women's network), and many arrests with the police becoming very heavy. The demonstrations lasted a few days, about 200 women were arrested while Michael Heseltine (Minister of Defense) said that any demonstrators getting into the base could be shot on sight.

He had to retract his statement later, but as Parliament discussed the arrival of Cruise and the debate around dual key, which means Thatcher would have a say also, a mass demonstration took place outside the Houses of Commons with 300 arrests as the police and horses fought to keep access to Parliament open.

These mass arrests are obviously the tactic to criminalize the movement and break its "mass character," however the whole nuclear debate has mushroomed over evidence that the Windscale Nuclear recycling plant, which receives nuclear waste from all over the world, re-processes it then dumps it into the Irish Sea. It then comes back to the shore, moving northward, dries out and becomes radioactive dust. Local people organized themselves and there has been a demonstration of a few thousand near Windscale.

The anti-Americanism got a shot in the arm over Grenada because the Labor party (always out to look more chauvinist than the Tories) was able to make political points over Reagan taking no notice of Britain, who thought it was a bad idea to invade Grenada. Labor linked this up to Cruise missiles but failed to say that British capitalism is the enemy, tied into American capital.

It seems Labor will do anything and say anything to bypass the real point, as Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament does as well, that Russia and America are equally armed up to the teeth and heading for war and the British ruling class is right in it. Raya Dunayevskaya's perspectives thesis (October N&L) that the anti-nuke movement must move to anti-war is certainly right. Revolution is the only way we can get rid of these weapons of destruction, whose production is built into capitalist production.

— Nigel Quinten

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by Kevin A. Barry and Mary Holmes

OUR LIFE AND TIMES

Racism in France

(Continued from Page 1)

had not let the Left and the trade unions or the Islamic establishment take them over. Near the front, along with the 32 youths, marched relatives of murdered North African youths, each with a placard giving the name of their murdered relative. Groups from small cities and towns who opposed racism found they were not alone. "It's tough in Dreux, no?" one woman marcher was asked (Dreux has elected neo-fascists to its city council who now constitute part of its ruling conservative majority). "No, we are resisting," she replied sharply. She pointed out that many young couples were refusing to get married by a local government which included the neo-fascists.

PEUGEOT AUTO STRIKE

In the wake of this massive Dec. 3 march against racism, the heavily North African Arab minority, who constitute nearly ten percent of France's population, shook up another section of society: the auto industry. This time it was older proletarians who for much of December and well into January, paralyzed production of the huge Peugeot-Talbot auto assembly plant.

It started in early December with the announcement that 3,000 of the plant's 16,000 workers were to be laid-off by 1984. The majority of the plant is composed of immigrant workers. Then the Communist CGT and the Socialist CFDT unions began maneuvering and got the lay-offs reduced to "only" 2,000 by pressure from the Mitterrand government on Peugeot.

But to the surprise of France's power brokers, Left and Right, the 2,000 immigrant workers to be laid-off, refused to accept it. "The lay-offs are racist, only the Moroccans are being laid off." This became the battle cry as several hundred workers struck and several times occupied the plant from Dec. 10 through Jan. 6.

The smaller CFDT union came out in support of the workers while the far larger CGT hung back. Rank-and-file workers formed their own strike committees, "to put pressure on the unions and to let the voices of the immigrant workers be heard."

The North African Arab strikers were called crazy and undisciplined, even the CFDT eventually withdrew support and helped get the police to end the occupation to avoid further violence. A company union led by foremen, the CSL, which until 1982 had ruled Peugeot-Talbot "like a banana republic," organized a back to work movement. Violence broke out as the striking workers fought to keep their jobs. Over 30 were injured in early January.

While the strike appears over and the lay-offs in place, the events of Peugeot showed the depth of revolutionary anger among the North African Arab workers who are now a crucial part of the industrial proletariat. Together with the Dec. 3 march it portends further revolutionary developments among immigrant workers challenging racism within France.

Tunisia

Thousands of jubilant Tunisians poured into the streets when the government was forced to cancel the doubling of prices of bread and basic staples, after spontaneous demonstrations erupted throughout that country.

The social tension between the poor and the privileged and middle classes manifested itself in the fact that much of the vandalism was directed against symbols of wealth. People stoned and burned imported cars, travel agencies, airline offices, television and appliances stores and other high quality consumer shops.

The demonstrations, which originated in the southern part of Tunisia on Dec. 29, quickly spread to the two major cities of Sfax and Tunis in the North. One-third of the workforce is unemployed (including many just returned from lay-offs in France), a number that increases by 60,000 unemployed youth each year. Thus the week-long demonstrations and riots included most notably the Tunisian youth in their early teens to 20s as well as unionized workers who joined in the wildcat strikes, throwing stones at public and private buildings. More than 300 demonstrators were arrested and several hundred were killed.

Tunisian workers have a history of militant struggles which dates back to 1924, three decades before the 1956 independence of Tunisia from France. The most recent revolt took place during the anniversary month of the Tunisian nationwide general strike of Jan. 26, 1978 which was bloodily put down by the para-military forces belonging to the ruling Destour Socialist party.

China

Zhou Yang, the top Chinese Communist philosopher, who in 1963 viciously attacked the concept of Marx as a humanist and wrote that Marx soon "got rid of this influence" after the 1844 Essays, certainly did Mao's bidding then. That did not save him from 11 years of vilification and imprisonment during Mao's Cultural Revolution. He was released after Mao's death.

Suddenly, at the March, 1983 Marx centennial conference in China, he stated: "Socialist society is undoubtedly superior to capitalist society, but this by no means says that there is no alienation in socialist society. Only by admitting that there is alienation will we be able to overcome alienation." He also admitted that his previous critiques of humanism had been "excessive, really incorrect" and he called for a concept of "Marxist humanism" for today's China. In so doing he was reportedly responding to the preoccupations of other, younger philosophers.

Thousands demonstrate in Uruguay



More than 300,000 people demonstrated in Montevideo, Uruguay, Nov. 27, against the fascist military regime in power since 1976. Today the democratic opposition holds the political initiative; military officers do not even dare wear their uniforms while off duty. But new arrests and torture of regime opponents are still common.

We cannot know yet how deeply rooted this concept of "Marxist humanism" is among young Chinese oppositionists and intellectuals, but its public emergence at the Marx centenary there is proof of the objectivity and world importance of Marxist-Humanism, which has emerged explicitly in yet another land in ferment.

For it is at this very time that Deng has launched a vicious anti-youth campaign against "spiritual pollution." As part of that campaign, the 75-year-old Zhou Yang was forced to take back his March, 1983 statements. But it is really the millions of restless youth that Deng has to worry about, for they are China's future.

Poland

Dec. 16 was a double anniversary in Poland: of workers shot at the Gdansk shipyard gates in 1970, and miners killed at the Wujek mine protesting martial law in 1981. The authorities were fully aware of the importance of this and riot police filled the streets of all major centers, beating 2,000 people in Wroclaw gathered on Dec. 15 to hear a call for demonstrations.

Despite the parade of water cannons and truncheons, thousands turned out to demonstrate: In Warsaw, 3,000 marched in 10 degree weather in full view of the police. In Poznan, people marched in the monument commemorating the 1956 workers' uprising. In Wroclaw, several thousand people clashes with police. In Gdansk, which was virtually under state of emergency, gatherings were difficult yet workers leaving the shipyards were chanting "Solidarity! Solidarity!"

The protesters were not only expressing their support for Solidarity, they were also opposing the most recent 40% food price rises "aimed at absorbing money people can't spend because of a lack of goods to buy." While the western press was quick to call the demonstrations a failure, since the number of participants was smaller than in previous years, the Polish government clearly understood the message — the increases have been lowered and postponed from New Year's Day 'til at least February.

British Columbia

It is difficult to call the Nov. 13 deal concluded between a select few labor leaders of Operation Solidarity and British Columbia Premier Bill Bennett anything less than a sell-out. Under this agreement, 85,000 striking government employees returned to work, with Bill 3 to repeal the seniority process eliminated from their contract. They will get a three percent raise this year, and one percent the next. But striking teachers will have to settle their contracts by negotiating with individual school boards, under the provisions of Bill 3.

Members of the Solidarity Coalition who had fought to overturn Bennett's cuts in social programs, from housing to civil rights, and who had supported the workers on strike, were not even consulted about the last-minute meeting with Bennett. The labor officials came back and said the government had agreed to a "consultative" process for discussing social needs and problems. Meanwhile, the budget cuts already made in social services will remain in effect.

A coalition member from Women Against the Budget summed up her disgust: "We want to be treated as equals, not as battered wives." The sentiment among many in the rank-and-file, both workers and community activists, is that they have not had their final say.

Grenada

The U.S. invasion of Grenada is now an occupation with no end in sight. Sir Paul Scoon and his self-appointed nine-man "council" have designated security as their main concern, assuring a U.S. military presence indefinitely. Heavy construction equipment deployed at the Point Salines airfield raises the likelihood that Reagan plans to convert the unfinished airport into a U.S. military installation.

The 300 "non-combat" troops still in Grenada bear arms and conduct security duties: they man roadblocks, help guard at the Richmond Hill prison where around 45 political prisoners are being held incommunicado, and continue to administer the arrest and interrogation of Grenadians sus-

pected of sympathies for Maurice Bishop and the New Jewel Movement.

Scoon has prepared the way for U.S.-style "democracy" by lifting the right of public assembly and allowing arrests without warrants. He retains power to proscribe employment, and to censor the press. The vaunted elections projected by the Reagan Administration are now to be held four years hence, if then — a period in which the U.S. expects to expunge the memory of the 1979 Grenadian revolution.

The Reagan Administration has dropped propaganda about being an "equal partner" with the East Caribbean invasion force. It is first now building such a force, with a program and millions in aid to train a multi-island army to patrol the area against internal unrest. This program has received particularly enthusiastic support from the right-wing governments of Jamaica and Barbados.

No one yet knows for certain how many Grenadian casualties were suffered during and after the U.S. invasion. Nor is it known when, if ever, Reagan intends to remove all U.S. troops. But is clear that the only support for the occupation is coming from Grenada's minute middle class, which expects to cash in on promised economic aid.

In Brief . . .

QUEBEC — In recent months Haitian cab drivers in Montreal have been fighting attempts to push them out of their jobs by racist white workers. One Haitian driver, Willy Ciceron, has registered a complaint with the Quebec Human Rights Commission over attempts by white drivers to prevent Haitians from picking up fares. The racist propaganda over Haitians as supposed carriers of AIDS has sparked the attacks, which range from "warning" passengers not to get into Haitians' cabs, to actual beatings of Black drivers.

* * *

SPAIN — New labor unrest, including occupation strikes, has broken out against the Social Democratic Gonzalez government's mass lay-off plans in government-owned industries, such as steel and shipbuilding. The government also wants to replace full-time workers with temporary ones in some industries because, according to Labor Minister Almunia: "For the two million officially registered unemployed, it is preferable for them to work a few months than not at all." So far the labor unions have hit back hard, saying that the government wants merely to "generalize the insecurity of employment" in the country. Only 25% of the unemployed are covered by any benefits at all.

* * *

PUERTO RICO — It has been revealed in the media with irrefutable proof that two young independence advocates were killed in cold blood by five police on a mountaintop in 1978. The youths had apparently gone there to sabotage TV equipment, were caught, and while on their knees before the police, were shot and killed.

* * *

JAMAICA — Reagan's chief Caribbean stooge, Edward Seaga, held an election Dec. 15, only nobody came. The social democratic Peoples National Party boycotted this snap election. It was called at the height of the Reagan-orchestrated anti-Left hysteria over Grenada, and without having, as promised, allowed 180,000 youth to register to vote. Seaga may have won the sham election, but the real contest will come in the streets as Jamaicans, already suffering 25% unemployment, face a new dose of austerity measures dictated by the IMF and rubberstamped by Seaga.

* * *

NIGERIA — A military coup led by Major General Mohammed Buhari deposed the recently reelected government of President Shehu Shagari. The military said it wished to end the "inept and corrupt" leadership. Buhari, an armored brigade commander, was Oil Minister of the country in 1976 during a previous military regime. The military coup is but the latest in a series of five since independence in 1960. Neither military nor civilian government has changed the huge disparity between the rural and urban poor and the oil wealth flowing into favored pockets. This latest coup promises only more of the same.

No sign of recovery on the job

by John Marcotte

A new-hired woman at my factory said, "If there was anything true about Reagan's economic recovery workers here wouldn't be so scared of losing their jobs. I was just looking for work and those application lines are so long, with so many people in front of you with college education. Even department stores give math tests and lie detector tests, ask you questions like what do you feel about unions, all for a part-time minimum wage job. That tells you there's no jobs around."

This is the other side, the human reality, of the headlines about record profits and a booming stock market. At Art Steel in the Bronx, N.Y. lay-offs continue. Where are workers with 25 years in that job supposed to go after their unemployment runs out? There is no place for them in this economy.

They keep asking, what has happened to the millions and millions of dollars the company made every year off of their sweat, for 60 years? Where has it all disappeared, now that the company says they don't have a penny to buy steel or cartons with?

And here is the reality of Reagan's economy if you do have a job. In my shop we are exposed to ear-splitting noise, toxic chemicals and the threat of injury day after day. The lift they use to get heavy barrels off the high racks has only a broken-down wooden pallet for you to step on. One warehouseman fell off and injured his back. They put another warehouseman on and he fell off, fractured his skull and ribs.

Did they do anything about the lift? No, much cheaper to get a new warehouseman for \$5 an hour. Workers are a dime a dozen in these days of Reaganomics. But let a machine jam up and strip a gear — then you'll catch hell because you're supposed to be everywhere at the same time watching a roomful of machines.

What about the unions? We just had our first union meeting in a year, though the contract calls for one every two months. Everyone had to attend to get paid the two hours. One young

(Continued on page 3)

Black World**Significance of Marcus Garvey study**by Lou Turner
Part II

No doubt, Jamaican Prime Minister Edward Seaga's "unusual request" that the Reagan Administration grant a pardon to Marcus Garvey, 57 years after J. Edgar Hoover succeeded in falsely indicting him on charges of mail fraud, appeared to come out of nowhere on Oct. 17. However, because the Reagan Administration's lies multiplied so rapidly following its invasion of Grenada, the New York Times Oct. 18 article on Seaga's "unusual request" went unnoticed.

Seaga's big lie about wanting a pardon for Garvey was designed to divert attention away from a more fantastic truth. Three days after the house arrest of Maurice Bishop and two days before Reagan set in motion plans to invade Grenada, Seaga made his "unusual request" to no one less than the Vice President of the United States, George Bush, who was in Jamaica for "talks" with Seaga. The only indication we have that those "talks" between Seaga and the former head of the CIA may, in fact, have been sealing the fate of the Grenadian revolution was the observation by Francis X. Clines in his Oct. 18 NYT article that "Mr. Seaga presented his request in the context of some sensitive international politics."

That the reactionary Seaga would, in 1984, invoke the memory of Garvey after aiding Reagan's imperialist intervention into the Caribbean has nothing to do with the revolutionary movement that Garvey led in the 1920s. It is intended to dispel the portent of revolution that Grenada symbolizes today.

In the first part of this column (January-February, 1984 N&L) we began a presentation of the "Red dimension" in the Marcus Garvey Papers which are in the process of being published as a massive ten-volume collection under the editorship of Professor Robert Hill. Our concentration there was on Garvey's relation to the Russian Revolution. In this column we wish to extend that Red dimension to see

(Continued on page 8)

In the Middle East and in Central America**Reagan's drive for Pax Americana threatens global conflagration**

by Eugene Walker

The imperial Presidency of Ronald Reagan at one and the same time fires mammoth 18-inch shells from the battleship New Jersey into the hills of Lebanon, further terrorizing and killing its population as it tries to prop up the neo-fascist Amin Gemayel, and, on this side of the Atlantic, moves to provoke the countries of Central America into a regional war that Reagan hopes would bring down the Sandinista government of Nicaragua, roll back the advances that El Salvador's rebels have made against their death squad-dominated government and further consolidate the military dictatorship of Guatemala. On both sides of the Atlantic, Reagan is intent on imposing a *Pax Americana* even at the risk of all-out conventional war, and to the brink of actual nuclear conflagration.

LEBANON AND THE WHOLE MIDDLE EAST

The war-mongering of this Administration in Lebanon has been so intense, not alone in words but in deeds, that Reagan has created the ground for a full-scale Middle East war even as he proclaims that he is moving U.S. Marines out of Beirut.

The almost total collapse of the Gemayel faction (termed the government), far from halting Reagan's war policy, only means that there will have to be a new, even more vicious one. Reagan had tried to establish with the Israeli-Lebanon peace accord, not a policy of peace for Lebanon, which hasn't known one in almost the full decade since the 1975-76 Civil War, but a policy intent on driving out of the Middle East any influence from that other nuclear titan, Russia.

Ever since Syria became the winner of that aborted '75-'76 Civil War by marching into Lebanon allegedly in support of the PLO but in actuality supporting this same neo-fascist Christian Phalange the U.S. now props up, and in opposition to the genuine Lebanese Left that the Phalange was destroying along with its massacre of PLO refugees at Tal Zaatar, a new entry point for Russia was opened up. Russia's arming of Syria, especially after Israel's genocidal march into Lebanon in the summer of 1982, made it more certain in Reagan's mind that Syria would have to be brought down to size. If that could not be done via the Gemayel government and its accord with Israel, then another way would be found. The provocative shelling of the coast by U.S. warships is but the beginning — not as cover for "redeployment of troops" but as a stage in the widening of the Middle East War.

Within Lebanon the government collapses. But this is not 1975 when a genuine Civil War could and did emerge. It is 1984 when Israel occupies the Southern portion of the country and Syria controls most of the North. No doubt an end to the minority Christian-dominated right wing rule is at hand. But Syria certainly has no intention of any Moslem majority government running itself independently of Syria (whose terror-run regime has been documented by Amnesty International), let alone moving to a socialist vision that was present among many who fought and died in 1975-76. And the Palestinian Liberation Organization, many of whom joined the Lebanese Left in that Civil War, (though its head Yassir Arafat did not throw his strength into that revolution), has now been splintered under Syrian pressure, and is under Syrian domination in Lebanon.

(Continued on page 9)

Detroit women organize against rape

Anti-rape demonstrators gather in Detroit's Kennedy-Square on Feb. 14.

Detroit, Mich. — Black women in neighborhoods throughout the city have formed community action groups in response to the growing number of rapes of Detroit schoolgirls — 47 confirmed sexual assaults since September. These groups have blasted police and city officials both for the "conspiracy of silence" which kept the community unaware of the "epidemic" of schoolgirl rapes and for officials' callousness and indifference toward the problem itself once it came to public attention.

These women have demanded action in a number of areas, especially the demolition of hundreds of vacant buildings such as the one in which the body of 16-year-old Michelle Jackson was found recently.

The Women's Action Team Against Violence, a group composed of about 30 women from Detroit and Highland Park, held a press conference at which they accused city leaders of negligence and criticized Black churches and organizations as well for failing to organize the community to stop the assaults.

The "deaf ear" and "negative statements" of city officials which the women complained of, were characterized by Police Chief William Hart, who said that the idea of a "rape epidemic" was "created by the media," and stated twice that "fear is worse than the actual crime." (Chief Hart himself, however, in a newspaper article on Jan. 15,

was quoted as saying that attacks on Detroit schoolgirls had reached "epidemic proportions")

Detroit Mayor Coleman Young, who opposed "vigilante action," finally called a "community summit" on Feb. 7, but only for 70 hand-picked civic leaders. His aides tried to turn away over 100 Detroit residents who had come to participate. Ms. Althea Grant, the director of the city's Rape Counseling Center, said that the "oversight" by which she had not even been informed of the meeting was typical of the low political priority the administration had consistently given to her efforts to address the problem of rape.

It was just this type of insensitivity and indifference that

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ESSAY ARTICLE

Eleanor Marx in America

by Terry Moon

International Women's Day this year, when the totality of the economic-political crises in the U.S. would seem to justify an Orwellian view of 1984, focuses our vision, instead, on the unfoldment of ever-new forces of revolution, none of which is more urgently present than the Women's Liberation Movement. One revolutionary feminist who greatly illuminates that inseparability of woman from revolution is Eleanor Marx, whose attempts to carry out Karl Marx's direction to go "lower and deeper" into the masses, as well as her own original contributions to what was then called "the Woman question," speak to today's movement in a way that demands a closer look at her life and work.

There is no better place to start, on this international day, than with the American tour she made in 1886 — for what Eleanor Marx brought to America was a demand for genuine internationalism that would have nothing to do with the chauvinism of all too many of the German socialists, who viewed U.S. workers as backward. She brought with her a deepening of the fight for the eight-hour day; her unique concept of revolutionary feminism; her practice of genuine Marxism.

THE MOVEMENT FROM BELOW

What was inspiring everyone at that moment in history was the movement in the U.S. of rank-and-file workers, women and men, fighting for the eight hour day — a struggle which took off after the end of the Civil War with what Karl Marx called "the seven leagued boots of the locomotive." Even the anarchists, who disagreed with the movement for the eight-hour day, were swept along because, as Albert Parsons, one of the Haymarket martyrs, explained: "we did not choose to stand aloof and be misunderstood by our fellow workers."

Because of this powerful agitation from below, the Federation of Organized Trades and Labor Unions (later to become the AF of L) made two motions at their international convention in 1884. The first established Labor Day. The second became May Day: "Resolved, . . . that eight hours shall constitute a legal day's labor from and after May 1, 1886 . . ." The method? If peaceful negotiations for an eight-hour day were fruitless — a strike! By mid-April, 1886, just in anticipation of May Day, 30,000 workers were granted the eight or nine-hour day. Come May 1, 350,000 U.S. workers struck. The first May Day in Chicago was almost a general strike, with meatpacking, the stockyards, and the railroads shut down.

It was this tremendous movement that the capitalists were trying to destroy when, on May 4, a bomb was thrown by an agent provocateur into the crowd at Haymarket Square. There, working men, women and children had come to protest the gunning down of four McCormick Harvester workers who had been picketing on May 3 to keep 300 scabs from taking their jobs. Now eight Chicago anarchists were in jail, seven condemned to death. The police declared war on the workers, breaking into homes and printing offices, smashing meetings, beating and arresting workers as well as innocent bystanders by the hundreds. It was to this Chicago that Eleanor Marx came in September, 1886.

ELEANOR MARX "SPEAKS AMERICAN"

Eleanor Marx was tremendously moved by the events at Haymarket and outraged by the so-called trial which

From Greenham Common

Greenham Common Peace Camp, England — It's like a mini-war down here. Our camp is right next to the fence of the U.S. Air Force base whose missiles we are protesting. The soldiers are mean and don't give us much peace, and there is a local vigilante group that comes round late at night sometimes.

Two women stay up every night to keep an eye on things and to look out for missile launchers being taken out to the countryside. A siren went off about 3 a.m. last week and an American voice asked all personnel to return to base. We all got up thinking this was it, the confrontation over deploying missiles off the base.

This all takes its toll on your mental energy. But the support is wonderful; people still come to visit. Over Christmas and New Years it was great.

We went to the Holy Loch, Scotland, American nuclear submarine base "Hunley." Twenty-six of us got arrested for "malicious mischievousness." The police were unbelievably bad and the jail cells were barbaric, big bare rooms with nothing except a toilet, and blood and excrement on the walls — and so cold. We had to give them our date of birth and proper address before they would let us out. Two women who gave Greenham Common and one who was a squatter were kept over, as they were not proper addresses.

Then on Saturday another friend who is involved in Irish Solidarity was arrested and strip-searched on some by-law about petitioning. She was kept for a few hours and let go. And we have this new Police Bill in Parliament; heaven knows what it's going to be like if it gets passed.

I couldn't cope with how the police men and women were so needlessly cruel, how another human being can treat you like that without any reason. I never really understood before how ten Irish political prisoners could starve themselves to death. I was more horrified that that could go on in a British prison, but after my experience of just seven hours in prison in Holy Loch, I think I've come a bit nearer to understanding why they did it.

There are now 102 U.S. Air Force bases in Britain. I feel as though we have been colonized and on worldwide terms we have no control. Internally, the government rules just to keep the masses quiet so that the arms race and war mongering can continue. The future looks bleak . . .

— Carol

blatantly condemned men to death, not for the bomb, but for their anarchist ideas. Although both Karl and Eleanor Marx had battled with anarchists all their lives, every speech Eleanor gave in the U.S. began with a passionate defense of the Haymarket prisoners. But Eleanor Marx wanted her American trip to be much more than an expression of international solidarity for the condemned anarchists. She was here to continue, on American soil, the battle of ideas Karl Marx had fought in Europe.

The American socialists — who were primarily German in origin, refugees from the 1848 revolutions in Europe — had originally invited Wilhelm Liebknecht and August Bebel to come to the U.S., to take advantage of the great new stage of labor struggles in order to build the American movement. But neither Liebknecht nor Bebel could speak good English. What was needed, Eleanor discovered, was someone to "speak English" to these German-American chapters in more ways than one — for their concept of revolution was so narrowed that many of them had made it a principle not to speak English, thus showing their contempt for the indigenous U.S. proletariat.

(Continued on Page 10)

International Women's Day

The month of March is rich in women's history. March 5 marks the birth in 1871 of the revolutionary Rosa Luxemburg. March 8 is the celebration of International Women's Day, which was first proposed in 1910 as a tribute to the struggles of American women garment workers, and March 25, 1911 was the date of the infamous Triangle Shirtwaist Fire in which 146 garment workers were killed.



Shirtwaist strikers marching on New York's City Hall in the "Uprising of the 20,000" in 1909.

For further reading:

- *Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution*, by Raya Dunayevskaya
- *Rosa Luxemburg* by Peter Nettl
- "On the Origins of International Women's Day" in *Revolutionary Feminism* (News & Letters)
- *America's Working Women*, edited by Baxandall, Gordon and Reverby.
- *We Were There: The Story of Working Women in America* by Barbara Mayer Wertheimer
- *The Triangle Fire* by Leon Stein.

Anti-rape organizing

(Continued from Page 1)

Black women at meetings all over the city organized to oppose. At a community meeting at Detroit's Northern High School, Feb. 3, the mother of a 14-year-old student who had been raped broke down as she criticized the school's principal — who had not even attended the meeting — for "slandering" her daughter by telling a television reporter that he found it "hard to believe" that a rape could have occurred in a school full of 1,300 students.

Other mothers reported that their daughters could not stay after school to take extra classes or to make up tests if it meant going home alone.

Detroit area YWCAs have formed Women Against Rape (WAR) groups which have held meetings and circulated leaflets listing their demands. One such leaflet urged women to attend the City-County Task Force meeting on Feb. 8, which over 500 attended to demand immediate action from city and school officials. Among the demands of the Women Against Rape groups are:

- That immediate action be taken to board up or tear down vacant buildings throughout the Detroit area.
- That Detroit and other school systems immediately adjust their operating hours so that children will not be required to leave home in the dark to get to school. (Detroit Public Schools now open one-half hour later in response to this demand.)
- That all citizens stop giving in to criminals by asking women and children to stay off the streets, and to take on their responsibilities of providing safe, clean streets for our children to grow and prosper in.

Women's groups have promised to continue organizing to make Detroit's streets safer for Detroit's schoolchildren and women of all ages.

Letter exposes sexism

Editor's note: Women at Medgar Evers College recently won the removal of their college president in a long struggle against racist and sexist policies at the school. (See N&L Aug.-Sept., 1982). The 75% female student body had demanded that a Black woman be selected to replace the president, so that policies more responsive to the students' needs could be developed.

After screening 95 applicants, three final candidates were chosen — only one of them a woman, Dr. Gloria Joseph, Black feminist author, activist and teacher at Hampshire College. Citing a need for "administrative experience," the chancellor chose a man to head the college in direct affront to the students' demands.

The following are excerpts from an open letter from Dr. Gloria Joseph to the Chancellor of the City University of New York:

Dear Chancellor Joseph S. Murphy:

I am responding to your letter of December 15, 1983, in which you informed me of your personal recommendation for President of Medgar Evers College. I feel obliged to express to you my political perspective with regard to your decision.

There are certain facts . . . that you choose to disregard.

— Medgar Evers College has a population of over 75% females.

— The Student Committee called for a Black Woman president.

— The students overwhelmingly called for the Black female candidate for president. (And I applaud the male students for their insightfulness, integrity, and idealism.)

— There are no Black women presidents in the CUNY system.

— Black studies was a MUST for the students of MEC . . . it was only the female candidate who strongly advocated a Black Studies Program.

Given these facts . . . the question must be raised, "Why was the woman candidate NOT chosen?"

In my effort to understand your statement about the "time spent reflecting on what you believed to be those ingredients that are needed at this special time in Medgar Evers history," I can fathom only two possible reasons for your decision. One, a lack of courage, and the other ignorance concerning the need for female leadership, Black female leadership at this particular time in history when the women's movement is a most critical social movement.

Why lack of courage? Because . . . you KNOW the woman candidate was the appropriate and correct choice! The time was right . . . Therefore, . . . there must have been some hidden agendas operating which dictated your decision.

In essence the women's network of feminists, the students of Medgar Evers, both males and females, and the Student-Faculty-Community-Alumni Coalition to Save Medgar Evers were rudely insulted. For you to appear on campus to elicit comments and recommendations and then to ignore them is tantamount to betrayal, and I feel an apology to them is in order.

Once again racism and sexism have combined to defeat a well deserving Black woman of an opportunity to fulfill the visions of a predominantly Black female college. I trust you realize the role you have played in this defeat . . .

Dr. Gloria Joseph, January 12, 1984



women-worldwide

After a nearly two-year-long struggle with the University of California at Berkeley, Merle Woo has won reinstatement with a two-year teaching contract, and a \$48,584 cash settlement. Woo was fired from UC-Berkeley in 1982 because of her outspoken activism as an Asian-American lesbian socialist-feminist (See N&L, July, 1982).

Seeking, a novel published last July in China's Yunnan province by Yu Luojin, has enjoyed great popularity among Chinese youth, because of its defense of love as the basis for marriage. The Communist Party, however, has launched an attack on Ms. Yu, accusing her of quoting "out of context" the words of Engels regarding "a marriage without love as the most immoral of marriages." Party ideologists say that this only applies in capitalist society, not in today's China, which it characterizes as a "low stage of communist society."

The Minneapolis City Council has sustained the Mayor's veto of an anti-pornography amendment to the municipal civil rights code. The amendment, drafted by radical feminists Catharine MacKinnon and Andrea Dworkin, declared pornography to be a violation of women's civil rights and instituted procedures for redress. A revised version, however, has been reintroduced to City Council, and the discussion and activity is continuing.

Information from Gay Community News and Marj Thera

Women workers in India who roll papad dough struck for the first time against Lijjat Papad, after management refused a 70-point charter of demands. The company is supposedly a cooperative managed by the women workers, but demands included a pay raise, rotation of all tasks equally, and an end to the all-male administrative staff. The strike ended with a small wage increase, but the women have vowed to continue to fight male domination and corruption.

Information from Manushi

CTA steals Chicago bus drivers' future

Chicago, Ill. — More than two years ago our bus drivers' local loaned the Chicago Transit Authority (CTA) millions from our pension fund to keep the system running. Now, when they are supposed to be putting the money back into the system, they made a new agreement with the union President, John Weatherspoon, to keep the money longer.

They are doing this while "giving" us some of our money. But the CTA is paying us with our own pension money. And it is all being done with an ultimatum — either accept this or we will begin lay-offs.

The company should never have been allowed to put its teeth into our fund. Originally the CTA went to our union president to get the money. Weatherspoon never went to us and asked us what we thought. He just came and said either loan the money or there will be lay-offs.

They even arranged for Mayor Washington to come in and support the agreement at the meeting. The company sent a letter a few days before the vote explaining the "benefits" of the agreement. I can understand why the majority of the workers voted for it. Our backs were to the wall and many workers needed the \$1,000 to help support their families.

But I think it was a sellout. This taking from the pension fund is a tactic by the company to destroy our union. Yet Weatherspoon goes along with it. He doesn't have his eyes open. If the pension fund has been doing so well what we could loan money, and have payments into it suspended, then the money should have stayed there and been given to those who are retired now.

Instead we get those ultimatums. It is really part of other problems at CTA. The working conditions are not great and

could be improved. We get suspended for minor accidents. We lose a day and have to go to retraining.

The bus equipment is sometimes unbelievable. No shocks, the buses are falling apart. You can end up driving a bus that is 25 years old with no mirror, and no heat in below zero weather. When you call control (dispatching) to complain, they say that it is better than being outside the bus in the street.

You wonder what is going to happen to our pension fund, our union, our job, if things go on this way. — CTA worker



Nearly 500 people waited in line to apply for 20 minimum-wage jobs at a Detroit store not opening till Spring.

McDonnell-Douglas strike exposes UAW bureaucrats

by Felix Martin, Labor Editor

After being on strike for 117 days, the McDonnell-Douglas workers in Long Beach, Cal. voted, Feb. 9, to accept a concession-ridden contract they had rejected twice before. The strikers felt they had little choice but to return to work, since McDonnell-Douglas was threatening to replace them with scabs.

Their struggle began in the Fall when they voted down by 84% a contract calling for wage and benefit increases only for the higher-skilled and higher-paid workers, creating a "two-tier" system in the plant. Though some crossed the picket line, most stuck it out through Jan. 31, when the workers voted down the same contract offer by 72%, in spite of McDonnell-Douglas' announcement that a "no" vote would cost the strikers their jobs.

STRIKERS' JOBS AT STAKE

A day before the vote, over 3,000 unemployed lined up at McDonnell-Douglas' hiring hall to fill out applications for the strikers' jobs. Many came from Ohio, Indiana and elsewhere in the Midwest, sent by unemployment offices who told them "plenty of jobs will open up in Long Beach." Quite a few of these unemployed didn't like being used as strikebreakers.

A few days later the local union held a demonstration demanding the company return to the bargaining table. Over 3,000 workers took part, including hundreds from other unions, from PATCO and the Continental Airline pilots to laid-off auto workers. But the McDonnell-Douglas workers were up against more than the government and the company.

Throughout the whole strike the UAW International leadership acted like strikebreakers. Owen Bieber had pressured the local union leadership into calling the second vote on the contract. The very week McDonnell-Douglas said they'd fire any worker who didn't return to work, the International cut the workers' supplementary strike benefits in half — from \$175 a week to \$85 a week — even though the UAW has a half-billion-dollar strike fund!

The result was that by Feb. 9, the workers felt they had little choice but to ratify a modified contract that at least saved them some seniority rights, since by then hundreds of workers had crossed the picket line. But the workers returned feeling different than defeated. They felt they had won something important by being out for 117 days. One striker told me, "We lost everything in this strike except our pride. And that is the important thing. We showed we could fight."

STOP ALL SCABS

I have been saying for years that as soon as a single scab is allowed to cross a picket line, a strike is as good as lost — and that includes allowing foremen to cross the picket line too. Some workers at the plant agreed with me, saying the next time around they'd have to shut the whole plant down and not let a single scab get in the door.

Others spoke of the need for a new kind of labor organization. Many were shocked to see unemployed workers brought in from the Midwest to be strikebreakers. "If we had one big union like the Polish workers had," one woman said, "they'd never be able to break a single strike."

While at the start of the strike it appeared the leadership and membership were one against the company, by Feb. 9 UAW Aerospace Director Majerus was booed loudly when he told the strikers "The international supports whatever decision you make." The workers cursed him so loud he had to leave the podium early.

For workers every struggle is a fight, and a school at the same time. It is only through the struggle that workers discover their own thoughts, their own ideas, their own pathways. The McDonnell-Douglas strike may now be over, but the 117-day experience of their strike showed the kind of power and consciousness that is brewing to be born in this age of give-backs and concessions.

Look for human work, and this system rejects you

Chicago, Ill. — Agar Foods closed four months ago, and many of us are still unemployed. Besides the difficulty of finding another job, what distresses me is the way the system tries to mold us to meet the needs of capital. If you can't be molded, you're rejected.

The job-training programs in Chicago offer primarily office and computer-related skills, as well as things like cable TV installer, telephone installer and diesel mechanic. The agencies project that those are the jobs of the future, and they want to train people for "meaningful jobs," i.e. jobs that exist.

But what if you are a woman who wants to learn to operate and repair machines? What if years ago you began to study commercial art and physical therapy and had to quit to work, but art and health care are still your real interests? What if you never learned to read well, but you want to learn now so that you can help other people?

And what if you are Black and middle-aged and no company will hire you, no matter what skill you learn, because they can't get another 20 years out of you? When a former Agar worker was filling out an application at one company, a man stepped out of an inner office and yelled at the person taking the application, "What are you doing? I told you we didn't want anyone over 35!"

A Black mechanic from Agar answered a want ad for a maintenance mechanic with a minimum of three years' experience in canning and bottling. Although he had 30 years of experience in canning, personnel wouldn't even take his resume, because he didn't know anything about bottling. Can't bottling be learned?

Because I am young and female, people often assume that I am looking for a clerical job, rather than factory work. When that happens or someone says something about "the guys" on lay-off, I assume women don't work at that plant. At one plant the security guard and two other men spent a lot of time trying to talk me out of working in a factory, offering to help me get a job in a bank, a drugstore and a lounge. They ended the conversation by saying, "We make steel here."

I wish just once it would be enough to say, "I come to work on time every day, I work hard and I'm willing to learn." That will never happen in this system. So while I'm looking for a job, I'll also be thinking about how we can change things so that society meets our needs.

— Unemployed Agar worker

MARXIST-HUMANIST ARCHIVES

Retrace 40 years of labor history as ground for today's battles, in

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The Raya Dunayevskaya Collection: Marxist-Humanism, 1941 to Today, Its Origin and Development in the U.S.

- Oil and Labor, by John Fredericks, 1948 — New technology and the oil workers.
- Coal miners meeting on general strike, 1950
- Workers Battle Automation, by Charles Denby, 1960.

Order the Guide to the Collection, \$1.00 from: News & Letters, 2832 E. Grand Blvd., Detroit MI 48211

The whole collection on microfilm is \$60 from: Archives of Labor and Urban Affairs, Walter Reuther Library, Wayne State University, Detroit MI 48202

WORKSHOP TALKS

(Continued from Page 1)

woman dared to speak up about some of the problems in the shop. Her supervisor was at the meeting too, because District 65/UAW has what they call "working supervisors."

Sure enough, the very next day he fired her, said she was a troublemaker for complaining the fumes on her machine made her sick. The union got her her job back but she went right back to the same machine, still sick. She called the union health and safety department, and on the same day the boss was told they were coming to make an inspection he fired her again.

She has been out of work a month and a half now, can collect neither unemployment nor disability, and is still waiting to hear when her arbitration date will be. Workers are so mad and disgusted with the union they swear they won't go to any more union meetings if they'll just get fired for speaking up and the union can't do anything to protect them.

At that same meeting, here is what workers thought of the union bureaucrats' five point agenda which left all our grievances and problems to the last point — "good and welfare"! We took over the first point and made the bureaucrats listen to us. Workers told them our previous organizer "had lunch with the boss too much" and "was never there when we called." When we were done and even as the bureaucrat was shouting to be heard on point two, everyone rushed up to sign the attendance and run out the door.

What is true is that if Reaganomics has laid the ground for union-busting and rolling back labor to pre-CIO conditions, there is no CIO today and even "progressive" unions like District 65 just roll over and play dead. They are the ones letting the companies break the unions every day. The road to freedom is one we will have to carve out ourselves, independent of the existing labor-management slave system.

Striker's murder inspires victory at Union Oil

Editor's Note: Union Oil workers went on strike Jan. 17 and two days later a young striker, Gregory Goobic, was murdered on the picket line by a scab truck driver. One striker told us the following at a demonstration of more than 1,000 workers from different Bay Area unions.

Rodeo, Cal. — The reason we walked out is that Union Oil was trying to force us into a two-tier wage system. That means with two workers doing the same work, one would get less pay than the other. There's no way we could accept that. That flies in the face of everything that is American — Blacks and women have been fighting for years for equal pay for equal work.

Some really didn't want this strike and weren't feeling very strong about it, but the murder of Greg Goobic brought us all together. Now they are determined to fight. I think maybe Union Oil picked this particular local because they thought we were weak. But that isn't true anymore.

You've probably seen the Union Oil commercial on TV on the spirit of '76', well this is the spirit of '76' out here. The workers were the ones who made Union Oil what it is. Union Oil likes to project a good image, but they have blood on their hands now.

They are looking at the huge numbers of people who are out of work, who are looking for a job, any job, and they'll go to work for any amount of pay. When those people come and see they are not getting paid as much as their fellow brothers and sisters, why should they stay in the union? This is a way to break the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers (OCAW) and all unions.

We've read about the PATCO strike, the Greyhound strike, and concessions from the auto workers. This isn't a distressed industry, but we knew they weren't going to give us much of an offer. Union Oil is spending billions on construction, a commercial oil shale project, and a geothermal project without even having to borrow anything.

Yet when we come to them, what do we get? For some reason Union Oil decided to push us against the wall. All the others are still talking. We're determined to fight. Good union people are dying to preserve what we've won and we're not going to go backwards.

Union Oil workers returned to work Jan. 30 under a contract without the two-tier wage system.

Ford workers were robbed

Dearborn, Mich. — Ford's announcement of \$1.8 billion in profits last year made a lot of workers angry at Rouge Steel, particularly in the Coke Oven Blast Furnace Unit. After the first concessions in 1981, workers were saying I have to get one day of overtime a week to make up for the loss of incentive pay. In 1982, after they took away paid personal holidays, workers said I have to figure out how to get two days of overtime.

Since the last concessions at Rouge Steel in 1983, workers are saying I have to get as much as I can — although even 40 hours a week is too much under these dirty working conditions. Altogether each worker at Rouge Steel has lost more than \$2,000 since our concessions took effect last Oct. 5. Yet, steel profits, like Aerospace and Glass, don't get reported with Auto and might have gone through the ceiling in 1983.

It proves the company doesn't even have to act smart to put one over on the union. It was not the company but the union that threatened that the plant might close down — initiating the first round of givebacks without getting any real guarantees,

— Rouge Steel worker

THEORY / PRACTICE

New Introduction to 1984 Edition
Marxist-Humanism and the Afro-Asian Revolutions

by Raya Dunayevskaya

"Our epoch is a birth-time and a period of transition."— Hegel, *Phenomenology of Mind**"When the narrow bourgeois form has been peeled away, what is wealth, if not universality of needs . . . the evolution of all human powers as such . . . the absolute movement of becoming."*— Marx, *Grundrisse*

The emergence in our age of a new Third World, not only Afro-Asian but Latin American and Middle East, was no mere geographic designation, as massive and substantive as that was. Rather, Third World became synonymous both with new forces of revolution and with those new forces as Reason. These new revolutionary forces — peasants as well as proletarians, Women's Liberationists as well as youth anti-war activists — saw in that most exciting color, Black, so deep a revolutionary dimension and so intense an internationalism imbedded in their national liberation struggles that, far from being a "Third" World, it encompassed the whole world.

The world of the 1960s, indeed, was aflame with rebellion, North and South, East and West. The depth of the revolt that freedom fighters in East Europe unleashed against the Communist totalitarians characterized, as well, the new generation of revolutionaries in the West, rebelling against the bureaucratic, militaristic, capitalist-imperialist world they did not make.

JUST AS THE AFRICAN DIASPORA meant not only South Africa but South USA, and Black meant not only Africa — South, West, East and North — but also Latin America, including the Caribbean, so Black Consciousness, plunging into the struggle for freedom from Western imperialism did not stop at the economic level anymore than did the East European freedom fighters struggling against Russian totalitarianism calling itself Communism. By no means did this signify a forgetting of the economic impoverishment of the masses; while man does not live by bread alone, he must have bread to live.



South African women demonstrating against apartheid's Pass laws (1958)

Once in power, however, the division between the leaders and the masses, whose revolutionary spontaneity had achieved power for them, widened. What increased the distance between leaders and ranks was the problem of how to industrialize non-capitalistically, private or state; of how, at the same time, to expand political liberties and maintain worker control of production and the state. What was disclosed was a void in the philosophy of revolution. The banner of Marx's theory of liberation, which had been so great a pole of attraction, so powerful a force of mobilization and solidarity, was now narrowed to staying in power. Indeed, all sorts of shortcuts and substitutions, religion included, were indulged in. The revolutions were aborted.

As I put it in this pamphlet in 1959: "So powerful and polarizing a force is the Marxist theory of liberation that throughout the Middle East, the Orient and Africa, there are attempts by various religions, Buddhism, Christianity and Mohammedanism, to find a bridge to it, even as there is a similar attempt on the part of Communist China and Russia." I warned that because the petty-bourgeois leaders had not faced the realities of the new stage of capitalism — state-capitalism, and had not grasped the meaning of what the masses were doing in opposition to that new tyranny,

1. First published by News & Letters in Detroit, in August, 1959, this pamphlet was republished in England in May, 1961 by the Left Group, Cambridge University Labour Club with a new Introduction and added material, as it appears here.

they would inevitably fall into the old trap of thinking the workers backward and mislead them.

IT WASN'T ONLY AYATOLLAH KHOMEINI who transformed the 1979 massive Iranian revolution into its total opposite — a counter-revolution. It was the Left itself in Iran who aided in that usurping of their revolution by bowing to the religious substitute for philosophy, whether that affected the workers, the peasants, the Women's Liberationists, or the question of education. For that matter, the same attitude of capitulation characterized the national liberation leaders in power who hung onto the state-capitalist Communist orbit of nuclear power.

The Communist world, parading its state-capitalism as "Marxist-Leninism," still serves as a pole of attraction for some revolutionaries in the Third World. And while Reagan's description of Russia as the "evil empire" convinces none outside of Reagan's capitalist-imperialistic co-rulers, because U.S. imperialism is today's reigning world Behemoth, even an Ayatollah Khomeini has succeeded in presenting himself as "anti-imperialist" and the U.S. as the "Great Satan." None have faced world crises and realities from the vantage point of the freedom of the masses. It has resulted in the degradation of the national liberation movement itself.

TAKE GRENADA, which won power on its own and maintained it for more than three years, and yet tailed one of the world superpower orbits, which meant silence on the crucial question of dialectics of revolution. The result was both that philosophy of revolution was degraded to the question of "leadership methods" and that they were so dominated by the view of the "backwardness of the masses" that all discussions were kept a secret from them. Can the Left possibly not face the fact that the first shot of counter-revolution came from within the new Party, which thus opened the road for U.S. imperialism's invasion? Nothing can erase the stark fact that the shot

2. See the collection of my eight Political-Philosophic Letters on "Iran: Revolution and Counter-Revolution," written between Nov. 13, 1978 and Sept. 25, 1981, and translated into Farsi by Iranian revolutionaries. See also English translation of the Introduction to the Farsi edition of this pamphlet on the Afro-Asian Revolutions by Raha, which was printed in News & Letters, August-September, 1983. Of the many crises in the Middle East, the most horrifying is the disintegration and destruction of Lebanon, which began even before Israel's genocidal 1982 invasion. I am referring to the 1975-76 Civil War. See my Political-Philosophic Letters of 1976, especially Letter Number 6, "Lebanon: The Test Not Only of the PLO but the Whole Left." News & Letters, Detroit, MI.

3. See my Political-Philosophic Letter of November 28, 1983: "Counter-Revolution and Revolution: Grenada, The Caribbean Today, and the Challenge from 30 Years of Movements from Practice that were Themselves Forms of Theory," available from News & Letters.

that murdered Maurice Bishop came from his co-leaders in the Party, led by Coard and Austin. Nor can anyone skip over the infantilism of making the point of debate a question of Maximum Leader vs. collective leadership and "leadership method," instead of the dialectics of revolution and the question of which road to take out of the crisis in their country, a crisis determined by the myriad world crises.



Soweto youth in rebellion (1976)

As the analysis of the battle of ideas in Nationalism, Communism, Marxist-Humanism and the Afro-Asian Revolutions shows, from the very first emergence of the Third World, I held that to assure the forward movement of this new world it is as important to work out the new stage of cognition as the new stage of economic realities. It now becomes imperative for the Left to face itself; to take a deeper look at what was truly new in the last two decades since the first publication of this pamphlet when a new world had arisen. None of the mass revolts have suffered either from lack of daring or from initiative. Nor, for that matter, have they suffered from lack of sacrifice by both masses and leaders. Nevertheless, what the past two decades has revealed is a failure to meet the challenge from the masses. What was demanded was a totally new relationship of theory to practice which was grounded in the new movement from practice that was itself a form of theory.

Just as, from the start of the new stage of production — Automation, now computerized into robotics — the American workers have asked "What kind of labor should

(Continued on Page 5)

Who We Are and What We Stand For

News and Letters Committees, an organization of Marxist-Humanists, stands for the abolition of capitalism, whether in its private property form as in the U.S., or its state property form as in Russia or China. We stand for the development of a new human society based on the principles of Marx's Humanism as recreated for our day.

News & Letters was created so that the voices of revolt from below could be heard not separated from the articulation of a philosophy of liberation. A Black production worker, Charles Denby, author of *Indignant Heart: A Black Worker's Journal*, became editor of the paper. Raya Dunayevskaya, the Chairwoman of the National Editorial Board and National Chairwoman of the Committees, is the author of *Marxism and Freedom, Philosophy and Revolution and Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution*, which spell out the philosophic ground of Marx's Humanism internationally as *American Civilization on Trial* concretizes it on the American scene and shows the two-way road between the U.S. and Africa.

Where *Marxism and Freedom*, whose structure was grounded in the movement from practice throughout the 200 years from 1776 to Today, disclosed Marx's "new Humanism," both internationally and in its American roots, *Philosophy and Revolution*, in recreating Marx's philosophic roots both in the Hegelian dialectic and in the actual revolutionary movements of his day, articulated these forces of revolution as Reason — Labor, Black, Youth, Women — of our day. By tracing and paralleling this age's 30-year movement from practice to theory with our own theoretical development for the same three decades, Marxist-Humanism in the U.S. has met the challenge of the "new moments" in the last decade of Marx's life by disclosing in them a trail to the 1980s. It is this trail, these paths of revolution — be it in the birth of a whole new generation of revolutionaries, including the transformation of Women's Liberation as an idea whose time has come into a Movement or the emergence of a whole new Third World — that form the content of *Rosa Luxemburg, Women's*

Liberation and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution.

This work challenges post-Marx Marxists to return to Marx's Marxism. At a time when the nuclear world is threatened with the extinction of civilization itself it becomes imperative not only to reject what is, but to reveal the revolutionary Humanist future inherent in the present.

News & Letters was founded in 1955, the year of the Detroit wildcats against Automation and the Montgomery Bus Boycott against segregation — activities which signalled a new movement from practice which was itself a form of theory. Vol. 1, No. 1, came off the press on the second anniversary of the June 17, 1953 East German revolt against Russian state-capitalism masquerading as Communism, in order to express our solidarity with freedom fighters abroad as well as at home. Because 1953 was also the year when we worked out the revolutionary dialectics of Marxism in its original form of "a new Humanism," as well as individuality, "purified of all that interferes with its universalism, i.e., with freedom itself," we organized ourselves in Committees rather than any elitist party "to lead". The development of Marxist-Humanism in the U.S., 1941 to Today is recorded in the documents and on microfilm available to all under the title, *The Raya Dunayevskaya Collection*, on deposit at the Labor History Archives of Wayne State University.

In opposing the capitalistic, racist, sexist, exploitative society, we participate in all class and freedom struggles, nationally and internationally. As our *Constitution* states: "It is our aim . . . to promote the firmest unity among workers, Blacks and other minorities, women, youth and those intellectuals who have broken with the ruling bureaucracy of both capital and labor." We do not separate the mass activities from the activity of thinking. Any one who is a participant in these freedom struggles for totally new relations and a fundamentally new way of life, and who believes in these principles, is invited to join us. Send for a copy of the *Constitution* of News and Letters Committees.

News & Letters

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Raya Dunayevskaya, Chairwoman,
National Editorial Board

Charles Denby Editor (1955-1983)
Felix Martin Labor Editor
Eugene Walker Managing Editor

of Nationalism, Communism,

(Continued from page 4)

men and women do?" (by which they did not mean skilled vs. unskilled, but why should there be such a division between mental and manual labor?); and just as the East European masses fighting against "work-norms" have, from the 1950s right through to today, tried to throw off the shackles of the Single Party state-plan, and thereby placed Marx's Humanist Essays on the historic stage; just so the theoretician's task is to work out a new point of departure in theory, a philosophy of revolution.

THE TASK IS NOT SIMPLY to go in for ever more activism as if that alone could achieve a full, successful, social revolution. Theory is a rigorous as well as creative activity that cannot be picked up "en route." It gives action its direction. Each age must work out for itself the principles of Marx's Humanism.

The new generation of revolutionaries cannot avoid responsibility for that by indulging in shortcuts and weightless abstractions. When, in the last decade of Marx's life, he witnessed the unprincipled, empty rhetoric for unification of two socialist organizations, he insisted, in his sharp critique, that only an internationalism unseparated from principles of revolution-in-permanence could become the ground for organization. Otherwise, Marx cautioned, the unity should be limited to unity of action against what is, while one continued to work out theory as ground for principled unification. First of all, it was necessary to clear one's head.

To meet the theoretic challenge of a new stage of cognition, one has to have full confidence in the masses, not only as force but as Reason — that is to say, confidence that their movement from practice as a form of theory does, indeed, signify that they can participate in the working out of a new theory. That is exactly what was lacking in the leadership in Grenada as they debated so-called "leadership methods" instead of the dialectical methodology which flows from a philosophy of revolution. Without that, leaders inevitably fell into the trap of hanging onto one or another state power.

There are signs of a new direction in the attempts, East and West, North and South, to restate Marx's Humanism for our age. Thus, in Nigeria, among other African countries, the Marx centenary brought out no less than a thousand scholars, trade unionists, and revolutionary activists, to discuss the "body of theories, founded by Karl Marx," a discussion which was broad enough to also focus "on the way in which patriarchal and sexist prejudices are being increasingly propagated in Africa." This recognition of a new revolutionary force is a beginning but a beginning only.

THAT THIS PAMPHLET can aid in grappling with the task today of articulating, rethinking, how to develop the unification of theory/practice with these new forces of revolution has been proved by what we have learned from Marx's last writings — his *Ethnological Notebooks*.⁴ That is to say, the presentation of Marx's Marxism as a totality, as a new continent of thought and of revolution, has been verified by the publication of those writings which touch on the problematic of our day — *The Third World*. They round out Marx's break with capitalist society and his first discovery of a whole new continent of thought as Marx articulated it in the 1844 Humanist Essays, which did not limit his revolutionary challenge to capitalism only to what he was against and meant to overthrow. Rather, in unfurling the banner of revolution, Marx's magnificent vision disclosed the new human relations he was for, from a new relationship of Man/Woman to the end of the division between mental and manual labor. In the 1850s that vision pointed to the need for a "revolution in permanence"; and by 1857 his *Grundrisse* projected humanity's as well as the individual's

4. See Marx's Critique of the Gotha Program and my analysis of this profound document in Chapter XI of Rosa Luxemburg, *Women's Liberation and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution*: "The Philosopher of Permanent Revolution Creates New Ground for Organization."

5. See report by Saidu Adamu, Conference Coordinator for the Steering Committee, in *Journal of African Marxists*, Issue 4, September 1983. The Conference was held March 14 to 19, 1983.

6. See chapter XII of my work, Rosa Luxemburg, *Women's Liberation and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution*: "The Last Writings of Marx Point a Trail to the 1980s," especially Section 2, on "The Unknown Ethnological Notebooks, the Unread Drafts of the Letter to Zasulich, as Well as the Undigested 1882 Preface to the Russian Edition of the Communist Manifesto."

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development as an "absolute movement of becoming."

What the last writings reveal are the "new moments" which round out — that is, totalize as well as concretize — his philosophy of revolution. Thus:

1) Marx insisted that the climactic analysis of "The Accumulation of Capital," in his greatest work, *Capital*, was not a Universal which the East must follow, but the description and historic truth of West Europe; that other paths to revolution could come from technologically under-developed countries.

2) Marx's multilinear view of the four historic stages of human development — the "Asiatic Mode of Production" as well as slavery, feudalism and capitalism — opened so many new roads to revolution, in such concrete ways, that the 1857 "absolute movement of becoming" was spelled out in the last decade of his life — though only in notes — as a Promethean vision of the possibility of a unity of the two extremes — primitive communism and the future developed communist society of totally new human relations.

This trail to the 1980s is not any blueprint, nor was it fully worked out for his age. It is there for us to work out for our age. This pamphlet has laid the ground for that task. When the capitalistic (private and state), exploitative, crisis-ridden imperialistic world of 1984 threatens to unloose a nuclear holocaust that would put an end to humanity as we have known it, it is clear that it is the urgency of the times which demands that this generation of revolutionaries turn to revolutionary praxis, to philosophy as action and action as philosophy.

Let us put an end to substitutionism and return to Marx's philosophy of "revolution in permanence" to create non-exploitative, non-sexist, non-racist, totally new human relations.

— Feb. 15, 1984

Newspaper editor arrested in the Gambia

The arrest on Jan. 5 of Dixon Colley, the editor of the Gambian newspaper, *The Nation*, in Banjul, Gambia, is the latest in a series of police harassment against critics of the Dawda regime. Colley's *Nation* has, since independence 20 years ago, been a forum for the critical discussion of issues affecting the political and economic development of this last of Britain's African colonies to gain independence.

However, in the last several years the government's Criminal Investigation Department has cracked down on writers for the *Nation* who have exposed corruption and administrative mismanagement in the ruling bureaucracy. The specifics of Colley's recent detention for publishing "seditious" articles surrounds a piece by Colley titled "Till Doomsday" which appeared in the Dec. 3 issue of *The Nation*.

In the same Jan. 14 issue of *The Nation*, which carries the report of his arrest and a reprint of his article, appears the government's position in the form of President Dawda's New Year's message to the country. In an allusion to the

In Brief . . .

PHILIPPINES—Demonstrations against dictator Ferdinand Marcos continue almost daily. Tens of thousands lined the streets in Manila Jan. 31 to greet runners who took part in a 75-mile protest trek, from Tarlac which is the home province of the assassinated Benigno Aquino, to the airport where he was slain. Soldiers tried to keep the runners from entering Manila. Widespread anger against the army sparked the massive welcome. As many as 10,000 union workers held a protest the next weekend demanding that Marcos resign. Workers and the unemployed are bearing the severe economic crises most directly.

INDIA—Farmers in Karnataka state blockaded railways and roads in late January for well over a week to protest low crop prices and to demand title to the government-owned land they have been farming. Over 25,000 farmers were arrested and jailed as schools and plants were converted into prisons. In Maharashtra, farmers have been demonstrating against the low prices offered them for their land which the government has expropriated for a port. They were supported by a general strike on Jan. 31 which shut down Bombay. Two million people stayed off work, and some 200,000 activists in opposition parties volunteered to be arrested in civil disobedience to support the farmers' demands.

SUDAN—The rightist Egyptian and U.S.-backed regime of General Numeiry has recently adopted an "Islamic" legal code. The Muslim majority will now get preferential treatment in court, thieves will have their hands or feet cut off, women's rights will be further curtailed, etc. Meanwhile rebels in the South—Christian and "animist"—have increased the scope of their armed rebellion for autonomy.

COLOMBIA—This "democracy" had 1,289 political murders from August 1982 to August 1983. The rural zones of Uraba, Cauqueta and the Middle Magdalena region have been hit by right-wing violence, causing one political murder a day. These areas are under military occupation. Over 169 citizens have "disappeared." President Betancur, who promised social reforms and denounced U.S. imperialism after his election in 1982, has in 1983 and 1984 turned toward appeasement of the reactionary military. (thanks to *Informe Colombiano*, Box 1284, Cathedral Sta., New York, N.Y. 10025).

Iran's hidden civil war

While much of the world media focuses on the Iran-Iraq war, in Iran a "more or less concealed civil war," as Marx put it, has been raging.

• On Jan. 1, cigarette workers in Teheran struck to protest a simultaneous lengthening of the working day and cut in wages. They were attacked by pasdaran (Khomeini's Revolutionary Guards), but it took a full day of workers' resistance and scores of arrests before the strike was broken.

• On Dec. 10, auto workers at the huge Iran National plant in Teheran went on strike and held a demonstration inside the factory yard. Pasdaran were sent against them, but the workers held out until the middle of the night. Dozens were wounded, many more arrested.

Now more than at any other time, the Iranian regime wants to seize every morsel left to feed to the war with Iraq, a war that consumes both fresh blood and hard cash. This war has so far left hundreds of thousands dead or wounded, and has cost over \$38 billion. So now the regime has turned to further exploit the source of all value, the workers.

The 1984-85 budget, devised on "the war against external enemies," has been transformed by Prime Minister Mousavi into a declaration of war against "internal enemies," condemning "excess demands" and "welfare demands," and greedily targeting the "reduction of cash money" (workers' savings). Its aim is to transform the little left over to the masses into but another element of capital accumulation.

Meanwhile, the government has unleashed a new wave of arrests and dismissals of workers. In early January, the oil minister, Gharazi, revealed a current purge going on in the critical oil fields. Workers have been dismissed, transferred and demoted. Authorities examined files on 8,045 workers; only 116 were considered "safe" by the regime. One of the fired workers reported that as of last October, 1,500 had already been fired.

—Iranian in exile

Nation, Dawda states that "it is essential that the economic situation is clearly understood so that our people are not misled by false and subversive propaganda and sensational journalism."

After publishing the President's position on the front page



of his paper, Colley goes on to reprint his own view of the state of The Gambia in the following terms:

"Quota politics to institute and reinforce tribal hegemonism is counterproductive, destructive, and dangerous. Twenty years ago, lofty promises were made to harmonize relationships between man and man, man and society, man, society and nature . . .

"Twenty years later, we witnessed an unabated process of amputation of the very institutions meant to guarantee good and prosperous living, worthy of emulation by our children, namely, a limping educational system that calls for sacrifices beyond material reach of parents; a disorganized sanitation service that seeks to engender disease outbreaks of epidemic proportions; a network of roads and nameless streets cratered by what seems like tons of explosives . . . a judiciary system seemingly politicized so that judges in order to secure their jobs must bow to pressures from above — all supposedly in the name of justice and equality before the law.

"You name it under sun, we have it, have had it in this administration. For twenty years they have ignored the persistent cry of the majority of the people of this country for positive change and productive livelihood . . .

"Instead, the administration or the government appears to lift the images and material well-being of selected groupings in a subtle form of tribalism at the detriment of national development . . .

"And unless there is a change, this trend will continue till doomsday when it would be too late to correct."

At the end of his article Colley adds the following editor's note: "This is a matter of opinion that merits a debate. At a point in this Correspondence and other matters published it is relevant to ask whether the time has come for a national debate on the root cause of the disturbance in July of 1981 (the attempted coup) in support of those engaged in finding the answer on behalf of the Government."

Having heard the charge of sedition for writing this article, Colley pleaded not guilty, not only before the court, but, by reprinting it, before the people of The Gambia.

Coming next issue —

Essay article on U.S. Black anti-imperialist leagues of 1890s

THE REAL STATE OF THE UNION — REAGAN'S USA AND OURS

Practically every day since your last issue, I have thought about the "real state of the union" you presented, as opposed to Reagan's idea of the state of the union. Now that the Presidential campaign is on, the junk from all the politicians (Reagan especially) will grow worse. Your article (Jan.-Feb. N&L) told the truth about hunger, unemployment and the conditions of women. But what I liked best was right near the beginning, when it said that if Reagan thinks "that he does not have to fear the threat of revolution that confronted FDR in the throes of the Great Depression, the mass outrage simmering in the land will teach him differently."

Student activist
New York

The day after Reagan's "State of the Union" speech to the class of the elite, I was selling N&L on the sidewalk in front of the unemployment office in Whittier, California. I had never been asked anything about what I thought in polls taken by the petty-bourgeois poll takers. As a member of the working class I decided to take my own poll. I asked each person that passed or bought the paper, "how do you stand with Reagan, tall, short or not at all?"

Out of 106 people that answered, 104 said "not at all." Two said he has the right to run for the second time, but if elected again those who elected him "deserve what they get." Sure this poll is one-sided, just like the polls taken by the rulers, but the working class should be asked how they stand on issues that concern them.

Ex-autoworker
Pico Rivera, Calif.

I appreciated your article (Jan.-Feb. N&L) on the reality of the "feminization of poverty," inseparable from a critique of those who want to blame that poverty on women themselves. I heard a shocking different perspective presented recently by the socialist-feminist writer Heidi Hartmann. The economy is improving for women, Hartmann said: after all, there are so many jobs opening up for us. True, they're minimum wage jobs, but they're minimum wage for both women and men. (1)

This is the theorist who considered Marxism "incomplete," who wrote the essay "The Unhappy Marriage of Marxism and Feminism" as her own socialist-feminist "synthesis," without mentioning one strike or action or idea of working class women themselves.

Member, Women's Liberation—N&L
Los Angeles

Congratulations are in order for the members of the UAW in Flint who obtained copies of GM's secret strategy paper last week. It revealed to everyone that GM intends to cut back its workforce by 80,000 production workers in the next two years, by a combination of increased robotization, subcontracting to non-union and foreign firms, and just plain speed-up. This would be on top of the fact that the number of production jobs at GM has already fallen from nearly 600,000 to about 300,000 since 1978.

UAW President Owen Bieber's comment on the report was to say that he was not wor-

ried, because "they will never get away with it." I am worried, and many other workers I know are worried, because the UAW these days lets them get away with anything they want.

Autoworker
Detroit

I'm graduating from college and I really want to do something useful. Some people say I'm too "idealistic" but I object to getting stuck in just surviving. I have an opportunity to work for McDonald's and get paid a high salary but what has this to do with the many people who are starving in Latin America? My wife would like to work on the problem of nutrition for pregnant women. It makes her so angry to know how the food corporations create dependency on them for profits but don't really get at the central problem of poverty itself. As a Hispanic we applied for "equal opportunity" jobs posted at the university but we found out nearly all, about 50 jobs, were phony, since they had already hired someone.

Angry Latino student
Chicago

CRISIS POINTS: LATIN AMERICA...

I want to tell you how much I needed Ida Fuller's column "Latin American Support Work" (Jan.-Feb. N&L), after the most recent Central American support meeting I attended. There were many "new" people at this meeting interested in Central American events. Yet, there was no time for discussion after a 30-minute presentation on the Kissinger Report. There was no time for discussion after the movie shown, "El Salvador, The Next Vietnam". Instead, all the "new faces" were taken away from the General Forum to learn the tasks that the support committee had laid out for them, such as stuffing envelopes and creating phone trees.

In contrast, what comes through so clearly in Fuller's column is the need to view masses as Reason, not only in Central America but here in the United States when doing support work. The discussions she's participating in with Latina high school students show so clearly the universal discrimination all women face, in Central America and the USA.

Rickie Rae
Chicago

I talked to a guy who just came back from two weeks in Nicaragua. He has been involved in the local Labor Committee on Latin America. He is a bus mechanic and very much pro-Sandinista. Yet he recognizes the state-capitalist nature of the Nicaraguan economy. He mentioned a form of worker resistance I hadn't heard about. Nicaraguan workers, forbidden to strike, but wanting to get rid of their bosses, simply locked the bosses out of the factory and went on working! It worked.

Central American solidarity worker
Arlington, Va.

...AND THE MIDDLE EAST

I heard Noam Chomsky speak at UCLA, where he spoke before 500 with 200 more turned away for lack of seats. He gave a

Readers' View

view of how the link of USA and Israel will bring on nuclear war through the confrontation in the Middle East. This demands, he says, that we critique the bourgeois press! Period. Not a word on opposition, human forces, much less philosophy of liberation.

When I took the floor to challenge him on the latter, saying that just analyzing horrors without offering an alternative is to lead one more generation down a dead-end, he responded, "Yes, maybe that's true, but things like philosophies of revolution we can get to only after the Middle East crisis is resolved." Sounds like waiting for Godot to me, only in this case it could be all-out war.

Student
Los Angeles

There is a new interest here in two Political-Philosophic Letters by Raya Dunayevskaya: on the 1975-76 Civil War in Lebanon, and on Andropov's rise to power in November 1982. Now that Andropov is dead, it is amazing that the pundits still know nothing about him, despite martial law in Poland and Andropov's repression against dissent within Russia, including the severe anti-worker laws he put into effect. It's especially urgent the anti-war movement here come to know how "Andropov's ascendancy reflected the final stage of state-capitalism's degeneracy," as Dunayevskaya puts it, so they don't get pulled onto that Stalinist ground no matter who follows Andropov.

Activists holding seemingly opposite positions (pro-Israel and pro-Palestine) are now buying Dunayevskaya's analyses of Israel, Lebanon, the P.L.O. and the Left. Marxist-Humanist
Oakland, Cal.

Editor's Note: Both Political-Philosophic Letters — "Lebanon: The Test Not Only of the P.L.O. But the Whole Left" (1976) and "Andropov's Ascendancy Reflects Final Stage of State Capitalism's Degeneracy" (1982) are available from N&L for 50¢ each.



INDIAN WOMEN: 'HALF THE WORLD'S POPULATION IS IN FETTERS'

Our organization has been working in Andhra Pradesh (India) since 1978. We are publishing a literary and cultural monthly. We firmly believe that half of the world population is in fetters — that is, women. In our country as in the case of other countries, women are burdened with double slavery — the feudal and imperialist slavery, and the slavery to men.

Unless and until the exploitative society is abolished it is impossible to achieve women's liberation. So women should participate in the social movements that aim at social change and at the same time try to alleviate their own sufferings. Recently we brought out our Jan.-Feb. issue as a special issue on women's problems... We would like to reproduce some of the material from N&L in translation in our monthly.

People's Cultural and Literary Foundation
Andhra Pradesh, India

WOMEN'S ISSUES IN OLD SOUTH, CITIES OF NORTH

I wish that Diane Lee had gone more into detail about some of the Black women writers she was critiquing, in her column in the Jan.-Feb. issue. I am reading Walker's *The Color Purple*, and I think it has a lot to say about Black peoples' lives in the Old South; it is a sharp critique both of Man/Woman and of Black/White relations. Lee's point would have been stronger if she had first shown more concretely what are the high-points of some of these works, why so many Black people, especially Black women, are reading a book like *The Color Purple*; then she could have brought in her criticisms.

Black worker
Los Angeles

Detroit City Council has just voted \$100,000 at Mayor Young's request to pro-

mote a boxing match and launch an advertising campaign to promote a positive image of Detroit.

As if that weren't bad enough, they have dreamed up the slogan "Do It in Detroit." In view of recent rapes of Detroit school-girls, the outrageous sexism of the slogan has taken a grimly ironic meaning. Will the next memo from the School Board advise girls not to wear "Do It in Detroit" T-shirts while they walk to school?

Furious parent
Detroit



EL SALVADOR UNIVERSITY UNDER ATTACK

The University of El Salvador would like to take this opportunity to denounce to the American public the atrocities that the Salvadorean government has been perpetrating against its own people, their culture and its institutions. On June 26, 1980, the Univ. of El Salvador was occupied by government forces that almost completely destroyed the campus. Twenty-eight people were killed and more than 300 were wounded. The Social Sciences library was bombed and burned, its books reduced to ashes.

Six months after the military occupation the university president, Felix Ulloa, was brutally assassinated after he had begun an international solidarity campaign in support of the Salvadorean people and the university.

All the difficulties have forced university officials to seek international support. For this purpose the university started an International Matriculation Campaign in March 1983, through which anyone can become honorarily enrolled by acquiring a certificate of matriculation. It costs only \$5.00. It will make the enrollment of a greater number of Salvadorean students possible, and it will help provide better social services for the needy. If you want to help, write to

University of El Salvador, c/o CLAO
Student Union Box #6
Flushing, NY 11367

ON OUR NEW COLUMNS

Ever since I heard the news of Charles Denby's passing, I wondered what would become of his column "Worker's Journal" and all that it represented in N&L. I just want to say that I think you did the right thing by establishing the two new columns of "Workshop Talks" and "Black World". I liked both of the columns last issue, and I feel sure that the new writers will continue in Denby's spirit.

Black activist
Alabama

Lou Turner's new column — "Black World" — has the most beautiful picture with it, the two powerful faces of a Black man and a Black woman. Where do they come from?

Black student
Chicago

Editor's Note: They are Ife sculptures (masks) from Nigeria, created in bronze back in the 18th century.

I noticed in a footnote to the new Introduction to American Civilization on Trial a reference to the Marcus Garvey Papers that pointed to the way they uncovered the relationship between Garveyism and the Irish national liberation struggle. Then in the last issue of N&L I liked very much the way the new "Workshop Talks" column was begun with a quotation from James Connolly, which showed where the name of the column came from.

But after all that I was disappointed when I read Lou Turner's "Black World" column on the Garvey Papers, and didn't see any development of this relationship between Black and Irish movements. Here in Britain now, that relationship is evident, even in the Scamman report, which says that the use of the "petrol bomb" in Britain was "copied from the disturbances in Northern Ireland" by Black youth... I hope you will pursue this in issues to come. Or perhaps we should do it in Britain?

Activist
London, England

NEW FERMENT OF IDEAS STRETCHES AROUND BLACK WORLD

Thanks for sending us the article on the fall anti-racist march in France (Jan.-Feb. N&L). There was a small error: the "marchers" were what one calls the immigrants of the second generation — that is, French. Young people of Algerian origin are most often French by birth; if they are born in Algeria, they can choose between the two nationalities at age 18. But they do not want to make this choice: they want to be Algerian and French at the same time. The problem for immigrants of other nationalities than Algerian is that they would like to be able to go home after having lived 10, 20 or 30 years in France. It is not the law which prevents them from becoming French. (Asians, for a counter-example, get themselves naturalized as soon as possible).

The Socialists had promised that, as in Sweden, the immigrants would be able to vote in local elections after six months residence. But they renounced this idea very quickly. At Peugeot-Talbot, management sought as workers illiterate peasants from southern Morocco. After 20 years of work (and now layoffs) they offered them nothing. The government proposes job training but they are too old to adapt to that and they prefer to return to Morocco.

Teacher
Besancon, France

I was shocked by Kevin A. Barry's article on Mozambique. Praising Mozambique as "the most exciting socialist experiment going on today in Africa," he concludes by telling us of "the use of flogging... to punish thieves (and) the policy of deporting the unemployed from the capital." Some excitement! Some socialism! The fact that Barry introduces these "minor" facts by saying that we should not be uncritical of Mozambique means nothing in the context of the entire article.

Reader
Los Angeles

Recently I was looking for a book on the African revolution, and I tried several bookstores around Columbia University. No luck. It made me realize that works on Black America or Africa are often hard to find at Left or campus bookstores, even in New York. Then I went to Liberation Bookstore in Harlem. It was so packed with people that I had to wait 10 minutes in line to buy this book I had been looking for. During that time, I think the store did \$100 or more in sales. Right in Manhattan there are two nations...

Sociology teacher
New York City

TODAY'S FREEDOM STRUGGLES AND OUR CLASSES IN THE MARXIST-HUMANIST BODY OF IDEAS

The classes in "the Marxist-Humanist Body of Ideas" have opened up many new points for me in Marxism & Freedom, a work I thought I knew very well. It was especially interesting to look again at some of the footnotes, and see what was in the back of Raya's mind, so to speak, in 1957. One that was really striking was footnote #5, which speaks of the 16th century peasant war in Germany, showing how that betrayed and incomplete revolution caused Germany to disappear for three centuries as a leading country. That was what Engels had proved. But Raya's footnote then connects that betrayal to the incomplete U.S. Civil War, after which the Black ex-slaves never got the "40 acres and a mule" they had demanded.

Suddenly I saw both the ramifications of a half-way revolution and the importance of the peasantry as a revolutionary subject. What I am still puzzling over are the events of our own age — the post WWII world — that propelled Raya to bring together two such disparate events in such an illuminating way.

Long-time N&L reader
Michigan

This semester I am doing a course on Marxism, and Dunayevskaya's work on Hegel is relevant since I am beginning with Hegel (and the Young Hegelians) in the course. I had heard of N&L some years ago, but thought of it again when Dunayevskaya's recent talk in Morgantown (W. Va.) was reported to me — favorably, I might add — by a friend there.

I find myself on the whole very much in

sympathy with your dialectical humanism. My past and present identification has been primarily with what in Europe is variously called "ultraleftism" or even "libertarian communism" . . . I regard the communist movement as any instance of autonomous working class activity . . .

Professor
West Virginia

That Ch. 4 of M&F — "Worker and Intellectual at a Turning Point in History" — was most amazing to me when I first read it in 1957, because I could see in its description of the tendencies in the movement of 1848-61 all the varieties of radicals out to "lead" the workers we experience today. Now, in 1984, the question of the relationship between worker and revolutionary intellectual is so much more critical even than it was then. I think of Grenada and the way Bishop told workers to "use their own consciousness," yet at the same time when he had disputes within the Party leadership on the direction of the revolution, the masses were not informed, much less involved.

Working woman
Detroit

I was introduced to N&L and the philosophy of Marxist-Humanism by a friend, and after reading it (especially the Youth section), I decided to share my feelings. I have always been put down and imposed upon by my parents and the "Marxist group" which I was a member of. They always decided what was good and what was bad for me. They even told me how to

think and how to talk. They never looked at me as a human with a mind.

Through the dialogue that I am having with my new friends, I found that I can be a self-thinker, and it opened a new dimension in my life. I heard that there is going to be a class meeting on Raya's books about Marxist-Humanism and I am looking forward to it.

Iranian youth
in the USA

I've been re-reading Marxism and Freedom, especially Part II — "Worker and Intellectual at a Turning Point in History, 1848-1861". I was once again struck by how little socialists seem to have learned in the past 120-135 years. They are still obsessed with the idea of a small clique of leaders who will bring the masses to victory through them. It is surprising that these so-called Marxists don't understand the basis of history — masses in motion . . .

Young activist
Kentucky

When you say we need a total change I'm with you. This is what I see is the point of the classes. I am familiar with union negotiations; I've been in the plant some 15 years and I've been a steward. Each time we have a contract, we lose something. And we don't realize it until after the contract is in effect. Concessions didn't just start in the last year or two. They've been going on as long as I've been there, but now they are more pronounced. The union leaders are a lot like this fellow Lasalle; they only want your vote so that they can get elected and put in their own program.

Ford worker
Detroit

The series of classes on Marxist-Humanism as a "Body of Ideas" has made me think a great deal about embryo and process, that is, about an original contribution within the Marxist movement and how that contribution is extended or expanded.

For Marx that original contribution stretched from his early Economic-Philosophic Manuscripts when he broke with bourgeois society and with Left Hegelians and vulgar communists through the 1848 Revolutions to his summation of that period with his Address on Permanent Revolution. What was created in embryo in the first half dozen years of Marx's revolutionary outpouring, in turn became the process by which the revolutionary developments in Marx's thought from 1850-53 unfolded.

What was exciting in hearing Dunayevskaya's presentation at the first class was how that became related to Marxist-Humanism's original contributions on the nature of the Russian economy as state-capitalist, on making a revolutionary

category out of the movement from practice, as in the Miners General Strike of 1949-50, the East German Revolt in 1953, the Montgomery Bus Boycott of 1956, and on the todayness of Hegel's Absolutes — all put forth in her Marxism and Freedom. Then to watch how Marxist-Humanism's subsequent works are extensions and expansions of the original contributions.

The point on embryo and process is that the revolutionary thinker has to see that his/her original contribution not only is a distinguishing point from other tendencies, but is the ground for one's own further development as a revolutionary tendency. This is what Marx did and what Marxist-Humanism is striving to do.

Participant in the classes
Detroit

LATEST THREAT TO KURDISTAN

Last week I met a Kurdish couple and another friend. They were worried about the recent talks between Iraq's Saddam Hussein and a Kurdish leader, Telebani, over Kurdish autonomy. As the Kurdish woman expressed it: "We never trusted Saddam's talk. And even when we were forcefully drafted to the army, we would get the guns, the training and then run away to become guerillas." They felt that while the Kurdish people want a cease fire after long fighting, Saddam wants them to die in battle against Khomeini's forces . . .

Recently I also met a long-time activist from the mid-1960s who has just come to the U.S. from Iran. The working class neighborhood he comes from in Tehran has been having continuous demonstrations against the government. The women have been prominent in them.

Iranian Marxist-Humanist
in the USA

SELECTIVE SERVICE CRIMES

The Selective Service System has repeatedly violated its own laws both in registering men not yet close to 18, and in holding registration in schools and by mail when the law calls for registration only in post offices. These criminal violations are all part of a Selective Service effort to follow military recruiters into high schools. The Central Committee for Conscientious Objectors will call upon the Attorney General to bring indictment against those Selective Service officials who have violated the law, or alternatively, to dismiss indictments against young men charged with refusing to register. Get more information from:

Central Committee for
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Classes are now being conducted in New York, Detroit, Chicago, Salt Lake City, Los Angeles and San Francisco. For further information, or to obtain a syllabus for the classes, please contact the N&L address in your area, as listed in the directory on p. 8.

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Chile protests continue against Pinochet

Santiago, Chile — It is summer in Chile and last year's monthly "Days of Protest" have been suspended, but protests go on continuously. On Dec. 31, when Pinochet went on radio and television with the traditional New Year's Eve speech, he was drowned out by the banging of pots and pans all over the city. People banged whatever they could find that sounded loudest; I used a metal drum. When he finished his speech and the government began to play the national anthem, the noise in the streets started to diminish, but when the song got to a line about our "valiant soldiers," the banging started up louder than ever.

On Dec. 28, the poor and unemployed fought the police and army the entire day. The city government had announced it was giving away food packages for the holidays, but after people waited at the warehouses for hours, they were given nothing. When this has happened in the past, people went away mad; this year they revolted.

Also at the end of December there was a meeting of 7,000 women demanding an end to Pinochet's rule and to the repression. They denounced the government for killing so many children in the protests, in which youth have played the biggest part. Even the upper class university students have joined the demonstrations. Children as young as 12 are in the leadership in the poor neighborhoods, building barricades and carrying banners.

Repression is growing worse. Disappearances are down, but repression is everywhere in the poor neighborhoods, in punishment for the national protests. The protests won two concessions: an end to secret jails, and the immediate turning over of prisoners from the secret police to the legal system.

But now they are framing and arresting political activists. Many people think the recent acts of sabotage are being done by the secret police in order to rally the right-wing against the protesters.

Thousands of people who were employed in public works programs called PEM and POJH have been fired. They were working for \$20 to \$40 a month, without any benefits, a starvation wage. They organized themselves — many had

jobs such as sweeping the streets, and so were organized block by block — and demanded an increase in pay. Instead the program was ended.

Everyone is expecting more protests in March, when the schools reopen, and some opposition groups have called for a national work stoppage on March 27.

Meanwhile, farm workers have lost a great many of the rights they had won through years of struggle. There has been a return to feudal attitudes whereby the landowner pays whatever he wants. I know places where the owner owes workers up to nine months' wages. If a worker complains, he is accused of being a subversive and fired.

The government has taken away all rights of the Huiliches, an indigenous people in the south of Chile who resisted conquest for 500 years. They have now lost their land, schools, and all institutions which preserved their culture.

Lima demonstrations

Lima, Peru — Every day here there are work stoppages, strikes, demonstrations. The miners from Cata-Acari, Canarias, and other towns are still here, hoping their jobs will reopen, more than a year after their "march of sacrifice." They walked from their mining towns to Lima to protest the closing of the mines, and ever since have been camping on university land, where the students have been feeding them.

Last week, the bold students had a pitched battle with the police; thousands of students fought with them block after block. The entire center of Lima was witness to how thoroughly the students made the police run. The students kicked the police and held some hostage in order to exchange them for students who were seized by the police, and they succeeded in the exchange. All for the darn new laws on the universities.

Thus is Lima. And in the middle I, without stable work, without an economic future, with only my guitar . . .

—Unemployed with master's degree

Significance of Garvey study

you see there villainy . . . of a large percentage of our people and we, the few of cultured tastes, can in no way save the race from injury in a balanced comparison with other people, for the standard of races or of anything else is not arrived at by the few who are always the exceptions, but by the majority." Thus, we can see that what may appear as a superficial opinion of Garvey's concerning the Caribbean peasantry is, in truth, an embryonic philosophy of liberation.

Professor Hill in his introduction to the Garvey Papers calls attention to the roots of Garveyism in the independent Caribbean peasantry: "The dominant social consciousness of the Caribbean was the special creation and possession of a fiercely proud and independent peasantry. As the black majority, their real achievement throughout the post-emancipation period was the development of a dynamic and expanding peasant economy that, in some places, even challenged the dominance of the plantation system."

Among the dimensions which give a todayness to Garvey is what our age allows us to see like no other, namely, that the Third World revolutions have brought onto the world historic stage what earlier Marxists had previously subordinated — the peasantry. It is now evident that in singling out the proletariat in developed lands, Marx had also viewed the Black peasantry as a revolutionary force as he traced the continuous revolt against capitalism in its colonial periphery.

It is this appreciation for the Black dimension including the Black peasantry which makes for an affinity of ideas between Marx's Marxism and Garveyism. It is not that they were by any means one and the same, nor that they had the same philosophy of revolution. But, even where Garvey's "back to Africa" scheme failed, it succeeded in showing the profound unrest among the Black masses. It was not that they thought they were going back to Africa. Rather, so totally did they despair at ever achieving full democracy in America that Black folk flocked to Garveyism.

Nevertheless, the affinity to Africa was not superficial. It expressed the revolutionary dimension of the Black world, one which shows its relevance to the masses today. * It is in the sense that we seriously look forward to the publication of the remaining volumes of the Marcus Garvey Papers.

*The relationship between Black and Red within Garveyism was not, as Eric Foner claims in his New York Times review of the Garvey Papers, merely "rhetorical." It was shown last year in Africa during the Marx Centenary, where three conferences took place in Zambia, Tanzania and Nigeria. The Nigeria conference, numbering no less than 1000 participants, was one of the largest international commemorations of the centenary of Marx's death. (See the September, 1983 issue of the Journal of African Marxists, pp. 6, 17).

'Latin American Peasant Women'



The Triple Struggle: Latin American Peasant Women, by Audrey Bronstein, South End Press, 1982.

In this beautiful book, Bronstein lets peasant women of Ecuador, Bolivia, Peru, El Salvador and Guatemala speak for themselves. Each section is introduced with facts about the country, its women, and its history showing the effects of a destructive U.S. imperialism. Bronstein's feminism is revealed both in making a place for the voices of what she calls the "least heard members of the global society," as well as in her concluding chapter, "Poor and Female" which ends short of calling for revolution: "Development must involve a reallocation of power."

What strikes this reviewer in comparing *The Triple Struggle* with what peasant women actually involved in the revolutionary process are saying, is how the involvement in revolution deepens and accelerates the self-development of peasant indigenous women (see the News and Letters publication, *Guatemalan Revolutionaries Speak*).

Report from Nicaragua

Punta Nata, Nicaragua — I recently had the pleasure to travel to Free Nicaragua on a work brigade organized by the National Network in Solidarity with the Nicaraguan People. Our purpose was to help with agricultural production and to learn about the Nicaraguan revolution. I'd like to share this inspiring trip with you.

The first and most lasting impression that I got in Nicaragua is the sense of a revolution which is happening. It is a continuing revolution, which began over 60 years ago. People would ask me, "What do you think of our revolution?" and they weren't talking about anything in the past. They were talking about contemporary Nicaraguan society and what they are doing now that they have power.

We stayed in Nicaragua for a total of two weeks. The first two days we spent in Managua and then we went to the cotton fields at Punta Nata in the extreme northwest corner of the country, in Chinandega Province.

Punta Nata is right on the Gulf of Fonseca, so we could see El Salvador and Honduras, and the lights of a joint Honduran/U.S. military base in the Gulf, and the U.S. fleet in the Pacific. To me it was shocking. There it was, the threat, that monstrous fleet. And the people all knew it. They felt a threat certainly, but they showed a quiet determination and a great understanding of what was going on. This was remarkable.

Punta Nata has taken on a great significance for me since my return because it is close to the place where counter-revolutionary border raids have recently occurred. On Feb. 2 and 3, eight soliders died and at least 13 were wounded near Punta Nata. The victims may have been people I met. The jets and bullets that were used without doubt came from the USA.

The most impressive aspect of the revolution is the youth. The members of the Sandinista Youth organization (the Juventud Sandinista 19 de Julio) were the strongest supporters of the revolution I met. They had been involved in things like the literacy crusade of 1980, the first full year of Free Nicaragua. The Sandinistas believe that in the revolutionary society everyone should learn how to read, everyone should be educated. And that was basically the first thing they did. The Juventud, mainly high school students, went out to the countryside and taught the illiterate people to read.

I carried my notebook with me so I could write down some of the things I was seeing. I would sit down when I had a moment to write and I would immediately gather a crowd. Everyone wanted to show me that they could write. And I have it in my notebook, I couldn't stop them. It was really beautiful. That is one way that the revolution really touched a lot of people, both the students who went into the country to teach and those who learned.

Another way that the revolution continues, and the government is stressing this, is in production. In other words, to increase production to help raise foreign exchange is to help continue the revolution. This brought up an interesting contradiction I think. In order to develop, they need foreign exchange to build factories and create jobs in their country. So they are in a situation where they need to encourage production for exchange, for foreign exchange in fact, not for local use. It seemed to me that production for foreign exchange was something they fought to get away from. But most people seemed to have the patience and the long view to support this policy.

The revolution continues also in the defense against counter-revolutionary attacks. There is a great awareness of this problem. In fact a few days before we arrived a Pacific coast port town was bombed. But the people are prepared and their morale is high to defend their country and their revolution. These courageous people have inspired me to redouble my efforts to stop Reagan's war plans.

— Sean Curran

BLACK WORLD

(Continued from page 1)

how both Marx and Garvey viewed the Jamaican peasantry as part of the revolutionary dimension of the Black world.

MARX, AND THE JAMAICAN PEASANTRY

When Marx wrote to Engels in 1865 on his work on Capital, he singled out the Morant Bay Rebellion in Jamaica and its bloody suppression by British imperialism. Marx wrote: "The Jamaican business is characteristic of that dirty dog, the 'true Englishman' — who has nothing to reproach the Russians with. But, as the brave Times says . . . they (the Jamaicans) enjoyed the liberty to be bled dry with taxes in order to provide the planters the wherewithal to import coolies, and thus to drive their own labor market below the minimum . . . Nothing was lacking to totally unmask English hypocrisy but the Irish affair and the Jamaica butcheries, hard on the heels of the American war!"

Black revolt in the West Indies becomes part of the history surrounding and sending out impulses to Marx who in the mid-1860s radically restructured Capital under the impact of the American Civil War.

Seven years earlier Marx had written in the Grundrisse (his 1857-58 notebooks for Capital): "the Quashees (the free blacks of Jamaica) content themselves with producing only what is strictly necessary for their own consumption, and alongside this 'use value', regard loafing (indulgence and idleness) as the real luxury good . . . they do not care a damn for the sugar and the fixed capital invested in the plantations, but rather observe the planters' impending bankruptcy with an ironic grin of malicious pleasure . . . They have ceased to be slaves, but not in order to become wage laborers, but, instead, self-sustaining peasants working for their own consumption. As far as they are concerned, capital does not exist as capital because autonomous wealth as such can exist only either on the basis of direct forced labour, slavery, or indirect forced labour, wage labour."

GARVEY, THE PEASANTRY AND AFRICA

A little more than half a century later Garvey, in challenging the cultured elite to confront Jamaica's peasant reality, told them to "Go into the country parts of Jamaica and



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Reagan's drive for Pax Americana threatens global conflagration

(Continued from page 1)

Since Arafat's expulsion from Lebanon, a new alignment on the Palestinian question is emerging with Jordan, Egypt and Arafat anxious to keep the Palestinian question out of Syrian domination, and Syria's unity with the PLO rejectionists determined to halt any negotiation between Arafat and King Hussein of Jordan leading to talks with Israel.

Within Lebanon, the largest minority, the Shiite Muslims, who have been excluded from any real political power under Lebanon's laws, have found themselves under the gun of Gemayel's Phalange-dominated government, and the boot-heel of Israel's occupation. Many of the Shiites have become radical in their opposition to this double occupation, but some have also come under the influence of Iran's counter-revolutionary Ayatollah Khomeini. The Druse too found their Israeli occupied territory in the Shauf mountains given over to the Phalange.

The Phalange faction rule since Gemayel's ascent to the presidency, has meant that the almost half a million Palestinian refugees remaining in Lebanon have been persecuted by the Phalange-dominated army. The Lebanese Army was deployed in Moslem areas while only present as a token force in Phalange areas. Under Phalange rule security services singled out groups along religious and political lines for harassment. Health services deteriorated and water shortages were common.

It has been the refusal of Gemayel to have any genuine "power sharing," or to institute any reform in the National Covenant from 1943 — one that institutionalizes Phalangist minority power and which led to the Civil War of 1975-76 — that brings together non-Phalangist Maronites together with Druse, Shiites and Sunnis.



U.S. Marines in Lebanon

It is not that Reagan and his State Department and White House advisors are ignorant of all the factions and infighting that is part and parcel of the internecine battlefield called Lebanon. It is that they feel they can run roughshod over these realities by transforming Lebanon, and indeed all of the Middle East, into an East-West battlefield, a battlefield that could well involve direct U.S.-Russia conflict with nuclear consequences. The latest events in the Persian Gulf only underline that Lebanon is not the only point where such a war could break out.

Reagan is willing to flirt with the idea that he could start something as volatile as the deepest of all Middle East Wars, so long as it is a conventional war, and one that might even help him to a second term in the White House in the name of patriotism. But Russia has already deployed several thousand military personnel in Syria, together with modern missiles. Thus any confrontation could escalate rapidly. Reagan seems willing to run this risk to establish a U.S. domination over Russia in the Mid-East as part of his drive for single world domination.

It will help us not to separate the Middle East from Central America in order to see clearly why Reagan foreign policy in these two distant fronts has but one goal — destroying revolutionary masses.

CENTRAL AMERICA: MILITARIZATION vs. INDIGENOUS MASS MOVEMENTS

Where in the Middle East the danger of a U.S.-Russia confrontation is all too real, in Central America the danger, as it has for more than a century, comes from U.S. economic, military and political domination. Reagan, has chosen to use the same anti-Communist language to justify the greatest militarization of Central America's history. There, the opposition to his *Pax Americana* comes from the mass movements in El Salvador, in Nicaragua, in Guatemala.

El Salvador

U.S. military aid to El Salvador came to \$6 million in 1980, on the eve of Reagan's taking office. It reached \$65 million in fiscal 1984. The Kissinger Commission report singled out El Salvador for massive further increases in military aid. The Reagan Administration has quickly followed up the report with a request for an additional \$178 million supplemental aid for this fiscal year! This would be followed by some \$376 million for the next two years.

These multiple increases in military aid come in the wake of the significant advances made by the El Salvadoran rebels throughout 1983. Their offensives have been able to take and hold towns, destroy major bridges and power stations. The production of El Salvador's main export crops, coffee, cotton and sugar has plummeted.

The response to the Salvadoran growing mass movement on the part of the right-wing government has been intensification of death squad activities and a gutting of any meaningful land reform. El Salvador is a country where some 40,000 civilians have been murdered by death squads and the military since 1979, and where an estimated half a million Salvadorans (one in eight) have fled their country.

Reagan seems intent on pursuing a military victory. Thus the present Salvadoran government and the Reagan policies have eliminated any route to power but armed struggle.

Honduras

In Honduras Reagan has opted for a militarization of the country even before an opposition movement grows large.

But if the histories of Nicaragua, El Salvador, and Guatemala are followed, it will be precisely the presence of militarized governments which creates the opposition.

Nonetheless, the decision to turn Honduras into a huge arsenal, including the semi-permanent stationing of U.S. troops, has been made. Since mid-1982, when the Reagan Administration signed a base access and construction agreement, \$13 million has been spent to lengthen the runway and install facilities at Palmerola air base. The Pentagon wants to spend \$6 million more to build an ammunition storage depot for the U.S. Air Force at Palmerola.

There have now been six months of large-scale U.S. military maneuvers in Honduras to add to the base building. Over 5,000 U.S. troops were involved in the just completed Big Pine II exercise, one in a long series involving U.S. troops. Grenadier I and Big Pine III exercises are planned for this Summer and Fall and it is reported that military exercises are scheduled in Honduras through 1988!

Guatemala

The Reagan Administration is seeking to reverse the policy of not providing military aid to Guatemala because of their abusive human rights policy. A 1979 congressional ban on military assistance is in effect, however the Reagan Administration has already agreed to sell \$2 million worth of spare parts for its military helicopters, stating that since it is a cash sale it does not violate the ban on military assistance.

In a new proposal for aid, the Reagan Administration is asking for \$10 million in military aid for the Guatemalan government in 1985. Even the Kissinger Commission report advised against the military sales which Reagan is conducting. They found the human rights abuses of the Guatemalan military government to be out of control. There are reports of over 200 Guatemalans murdered by the army every month. Hundreds of thousands of Guatemalans have fled the repression to exile in Mexico while an estimated half-million have become internal refugees, many hiding out in remote parts of the countryside.

Against the massive repression of successive military governments, each having its own way of dealing with the "Indian problem," a guerrilla armed struggle has been taking place. In the most recent period it has been forced into a defensive position, but the repression and miserable conditions of life and labor, including an unemployment rate estimated to be between 33 and 43 percent, and a daily wage often around \$2 a day is certain to bring forth new pathways of resistance.

Nicaragua

The mass revolutionary movement that most sticks in Reagan's throat is Nicaragua's, for there a people have rid themselves of 40 years of dictatorship — the U.S. propped-up Somoza dynasty. That revolution has made modest gains,



Nicaragua in revolution commemorating 50th anniversary of death of Augusto Cesar Sandino

especially in literacy and health care. But it has tremendous obstacles of a poor and fragile economy, and certainly has serious internal questions as with self-determination for the Miskito Indians. But there can be no denying the revolutionary spirit and support of its people. (See in-person report from Nicaragua, page 8 of this issue.)

Against this revolution, Reagan has launched the war of the contras, bands of counter-revolutionaries, whose core is remnants of Somoza's old National Guard. Equipped, financed and directed by the U.S. they have launched isolated attacks in border areas as well as bombed oil storage facilities. In the latest attacks, planes flying from Honduras have bombed oil storage tanks and radio broadcasting facilities.

Again, in Central America as in the Middle East, Reagan's policies do not stem from ignorance. Instead they are part of his single-minded world view of an American Century or Pax Americana, the struggle for world domination with that other nuclear titan, Russia.

We cannot afford to take Reagan's ground of talking about only the immediate "redeployment of troops" in Lebanon, as if it is not the widening into a full Middle East War and the wholesale decimation of Lebanon which is at stake. We cannot allow the debate in Central America to be framed either in the abstraction of Communist conspiracies, or in Congress' narrow demand for human rights checks while continuing to dole out military hardware. We need to recognize that what is at stake is the fullness of mass movements for freedom versus the Colossus of the North and its henchmen in power in Central and South America.

Any discussion which does not in thought take as its ground the total uprooting of society needed, in the Middle East, in Central America, indeed globally, will not be able in action to confront Reagan's regional wars that threaten us with nuclear conflagration.

EDITORIAL

Workers face international exploitation, need international solidarity

Record profits for the Big Three automakers are further proof to Reagan of what he is promoting as economic recovery. But those lush profits did not come from increased production — GM made \$3.7 billion while producing 1.7 million fewer vehicles than in 1978, the previous record profit year — they came from the living standards of GM workers, from their contract concessions.

The pressure has so intensified to roll back gains of all organized workers that in 1983 union industrial workers' wages rose far less than non-union pay — 3.6% compared to 4.7%. For the three million workers in the first year of a contract, the average was just 2.6%. And for many, actual decreases were the reality.

At the same time, just-released Federal Trade Commission (FTC) documents project the loss of tens of thousands more auto workers' jobs nationwide as the production system GM and Toyota will introduce jointly at Fremont, Cal. becomes the new standard of productivity for the whole North American auto industry. UAW bureaucrats had outshouted the companies to blame Japanese workers for the massive permanent layoffs of the last five years. Now the UAW is offering no challenge to the inhuman conditions that more and more will be confronting U.S. workers, not only at Fremont.

NISSAN IN JAPAN, IN U.S.

Nissan (Datsun) is intent on bypassing any union at all at its new truck plant in Tennessee. A study of Nissan's plant in Japan shown on U.S. TV showed the degree of control of job conditions the company strives for — because of its productivity, U.S. capitalists are emulating that system.

Nissan's supervisors typically are shop stewards in the company union, and inspect each worker's ballot both on contracts and in union elections. The head of that union, which formed after Nissan broke a militant strike in 1953 during a four-month lockout, is known as "Nissan's second president" and the union serves as a police force for the company. Because bonuses are a large percentage of annual wages, but are paid only for loyal behavior, it is little wonder that despite rank-and-file opposition Nissan's contracts are overwhelmingly ratified.

In the last ten years productivity is up more than 70%. Robots are in heavy use, but as one worker said, "Robots brought no relief — robots know no fatigue, and we have to keep up with them." The virtual elimination of relief workers means workers are discouraged from taking sick and vacation time, and are forced to keep up by building stock before their shift begins, for no pay.

We've been informed repeatedly that these workers at least have guaranteed lifetime employment. But millions of others do not as Nissan, like most large Japanese companies, use subcontractors whose workers have far inferior wages and

benefits, and certainly little or no job security.

Here in the U.S., workers are being pushed in the same direction. Reagan's National Labor Relations Board (NLRB), composed of appointees with their background in union-busting firms and right-wing funded "right-to-work" groups, last month overturned all precedents in the case of Milwaukee Spring to approve the company transferring work from a union plant to a non-union plant in mid-contract.

THE ANTI-LABOR NLRB

When even the NLRB cannot decide for management, as in open-and-shut cases of workers fired for union activity in an organizing drive, deliberate backlog — 18 months to three years to review company appeals — is intended to have the same chilling effect on workers' efforts for organization or control on the job. NLRB Chairman Donald Dotson has stated as his aim for the NLRB restoring the "marketplace as the mechanism for determining the value of labor."

That "marketplace" for determining what wages capitalists pay is worldwide, as Karl Marx proved over a century ago. There has been no slackening of runaway production to lower-wage areas and countries — in 1983 alone, U.S. companies hired 50% more workers in just one zone, border plants in Mexico.

But what is new is how many companies have achieved runaway-shop wage levels and conditions within the same old four walls and with their existing work force. In effect, they have offered their current workers first crack at the subsistence wages they intend to pay in the Third World.

As we go to press comes news of the Supreme Court decision voiding labor contracts for companies declaring bankruptcy, and leaving every worker's wages and job conditions in jeopardy.

Against this system that undercuts wages and spreads unemployment across borders, rank-and-file solidarity has to be equally international. You cannot look to the union bureaucracy, which by its ineffective response has spurred capitalists in Reagan's America to call in scabs in strike after strike.

What is needed now is an international exchange of ideas and actions between rank-and-file workers. Marxist-Humanists have had the opportunity to aid in such an exchange between auto workers in the U.S. and Japan for some 20 years, from Raya Dunayevskaya speaking with Toyota workers in their tightly-controlled company town, to Labor Editor Felix Martin's "Open Letter from a GM Worker" that was reprinted in an independent paper in Toyota City. These are only beginnings, but they are the kind of beginnings needed to establish genuine international solidarity and guarantee that the growing army of the unemployed will be joined by those still at work among the robots in bringing this system down.

ESSAY ARTICLE

(Continued from page 2)

In contrast, what Eleanor saw was how American workers were struggling for socialism as a part of their fight for the eight-hour day. She stressed again and again the importance of joining with the U.S.-born workers, letting them take the lead, so that their innate socialism could develop.

Eleanor's Chicago speech revealed her determination to talk about socialism in a way that any worker would understand and to which they could feel an affinity. To do this, the body of her talk took a great deal from the form of Karl Marx's *Communist Manifesto*, explaining just what socialism is as opposed to what the bourgeoisie says it is.

What best proves that Eleanor's insistence on the revolutionary character of the native U.S. worker was correct, is the response her Chicago speech received. This is how Yvonne Kapp describes it in her biography of Eleanor Marx: "Large numbers had to be turned away from the doors of Aurora Turner Hall. Even then too many had been admitted: the gallery sagged and threatened to collapse under the weight of 'people standing on the forms, between the forms and almost upon each other,' while in the body of the hall the crowd was unable to applaud in unison because, as they said: 'We were packed so closely that some of us could not move our arms unless those standing by put theirs down to give us a turn.'"

At the same time, her whole attitude to what was then called "the woman question" brings out the todayness of women as Reason and as liberationists.

"THE WOMAN QUESTION"

Even in her speeches on what most would consider "other topics" she always brought in women. She talked of "men and women" and rarely used the word "man" alone because she meant both. In her Chicago speech, again following what Marx had developed in the *Manifesto*, she showed how capitalism had dehumanized women and transformed love into prostitution and exploitation.

She also brought in a vision of what women are: "To the socialist a woman is a human being, and can no more be 'held' in common than a socialistic society could recognize slavery."

Shortly before her American tour, Eleanor had written on *The Woman Question* in a pamphlet co-authored with Edward Aveling. To get a better understanding of her important feminist contribution, it is important to look a little more closely at this pamphlet. It was supposedly a review of August Bebel's book, *Woman — Past, Present and Future*, although she tells us in the pamphlet that, "we have wandered so far from Bebel along our own lines of thought . . .". Indeed, while those who write of Eleanor Marx as a feminist continually try to trace her feminism to the influence of Bebel, Engels and Ibsen, this pamphlet shows her as very different, certainly distinguishing her as a unique socialist feminist who was not following Bebel, Ibsen (whose play, *A Doll's House*, she both translated and acted in) or Engels (whose *Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State* was published in 1884).

In *The Woman Question* Eleanor states that, "Women will find allies in the better sort of men, as the labourers are finding allies among the philosophers, artists and poets. But the one has nothing to hope from man as a whole, and the other has nothing to hope from the middle class as a whole." Eleanor had much of what is thought of as "socialist criticism" of bourgeois feminists — particularly that they didn't understand that "The position of women rests, as everything in our complex modern society rests, on an economic basis." But her more original criticisms were that, with the bourgeois feminism of her day, "The actual position of women in respect to men would not be very vitally touched," and that none of the bourgeois feminist demands "touches (women) in their sex relations."

She writes with passion of the unmarried woman, asking why it is that one can always pick her but not the unmarried man out of a crowd or family gathering? She describes what forced celibacy does to a developing human nature and attacks the practice that only men are permitted to "proffer affection," showing, by quoting Shakespeare, how that is not a natural state of life and pointing out how marriage is a purely economic arrangement. She takes up the age that people married, showing it to be a class question and opposed to human nature. She gives her views on how children should be told of sex and ends with her vision of human relations which (although she characterizes it as monogamy) is an expression of genuine reciprocity between men and women.

What those who try to tie Eleanor Marx as feminist to Bebel, Engels and Ibsen all ignore is her philosophic relationship to Karl Marx. It is not that, as his daughter, she had a unique experience, growing up in a household where her own and her sisters' intellectual curiosity and their interest in the revolutionary movements of their day were

strongly nurtured. It is that there is no doubt whatsoever that it is from his writings that she got her inspiration to grapple with "the Woman Question."

It was his philosophy she was seeking to make real in all her writings and all her activities, whether that be with women, with the unskilled and unorganized workers, or in her internationalism. Indeed, those she had to fight the hardest were the elitist leaders of the Social-Democratic Party, who, in trying to play down the revolutionary road of Marx's Marxism, kept gossiping in letters to each other that Eleanor was trying to make a "god" of her "father" — as if Karl Marx was not the founder of the revolutionary socialism they all supposedly followed.



Eleanor Marx

PRACTICING MARXISM

What becomes clear in reading *The Working-Class Movement in America*, written after the American tour, is how much Capital had influenced Eleanor. Following the way Marx had documented the conditions of the English workers in *Capital*, the conditions of the working-class in America are here likewise documented by the capitalists' own statistics — the "latest annual reports of the Bureau of Labour for the various States." The horrible working conditions that led to the upheavals of the 1880s and 1890s are revealed in the despair of the labor commissioners themselves as they report on woman and child labor, the 18-hour days, the company stores, the fines, the "black lists."

And a special awareness of the Black dimension is seen in the way Blacks are quoted to show "that the immense coloured population . . . is beginning to understand the wage-slavery question. 'Their purpose' (i.e. of the 'idle classes') 'is to keep us poor, so that we will be compelled to toil for their benefit . . . The coloured people are getting awake on this matter. The time is past when they can be deceived.'"

As Others See Us

G.A. Kelly reviews Dunayevskaya's new work

Editor's Note: Below we print excerpts of George Armstrong Kelly's review of *Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution* that appeared in the journal *Political Theory*, November, 1983.

Everyone feels in his soul that we live in troubling days of capitalist contradiction. Profit-making presses prefer texts of Marxology to other political works. Urban bookstores shun the classics of history, but provide large shelves for "Marxist studies," "women studies," "black studies," and "astrology, religion, and philosophy" (sic). Although mainly rebuffed by economics departments, Marxism has made a discreet entry (often in weird partnerships) to philosophy and literary criticism. A good deal of crude Marxist imagination and vocabulary has conquered the speech habits of "the brighter students." Yet the work of Raya Dunayevskaya has been unjustly neglected. I can think of only one good reason why this should be so, academic smugness.

SHE IS NOT a "socialist of the chair" — one can scarcely imagine her sitting down. She is what might be called in archaic parlance an agitator or political journalist. Most of her activity has been in Detroit, where she has been involved, at close quarters or from afar, in decades of the tangled politics of the Extreme Left — from the heroic days of the CIO to those of the NBFO (National Black Feminist Organization). She is a compendium of who-is-who in liberation movements from Zanzibar to Tirana and from Teheran to Lima. She is an intellectual of the barricades. Yet she prefers to work in an atmosphere of argument, persuasion, and freedom. That much is demonstrated by her concern for scholarship, historical accuracy, and (by her lights) philosophical consistency.

Since Dunayevskaya's years have been spent in the nitty-gritty struggles of the Marxist revolutionary movement to expand its strength and correct its tendencies, she has never catered to her own self-advancement. Aside from a great deal of fugitive journalism, she has published four books: *Marxism and Freedom*; *Philosophy and Revolution*; *Nationalism, Communism and Marxist-Humanism* and *the Afro-Asian Revolutions*; and the volume under review . . . they are an effort to transcribe for intellectuals what the straight and true path of Marxism is and to show how the society for which Marx fought and made phil-

osophical provision is laboring to be born in all corners of the earth.

Significantly, the longest chapter in the book is on "Woman and Child Labor," and the meetings with American feminists are discussed in the chapter on "Some Working-Class Leaders." These are not working-class women but suffragists and although Eleanor criticizes them for their similarity to the English bourgeois feminists, she also points out how "American women suffragists differ from the English in one very important particular. They are ready and willing to listen to the ideas of other schools of thought . . . ready to engage in the more far-reaching struggle for the emancipation of the workers as well as in that for the emancipation of their own sex."

Beyond that, she singles out the suffragists as being "much more outspoken" than their English sisters: "They call things honestly by their names, and are not like the English, afraid of being thought 'improper.'" Eleanor Marx was not afraid of being thought "improper." She led a most extraordinary life and her contribution to today's Women's Liberation Movement and the American and British labor movements is only now beginning to be fully explored.

A DIRECTION FOR TODAY

What speaks to us today is not only that her insistence on the primacy of American workers as creative leaders has been proved historically in that every working-class advance made in America has been the result of a uniquely American proletariat, unseparated from the added dimension of Blacks and women. While it was in America in 1886 that Eleanor Marx first immersed herself in the movement for the eight-hour day, the passion workers revealed in Chicago to control their working day was something she was to experience again in the 1890s in England when she helped organize the lowest unskilled women workers in the slums of London's East End. There she did some of her most magnificent work, transcending the in-fighting of the Leftist groups because she was grounded both in her experience in Chicago and in Karl Marx's *Capital* where he contrasts the "pompous catalogue of the 'inalienable rights of man'" to the true "Magna Carta of a legally limited working-day" and the real struggles for the eight-hour day.

It is here, precisely, where she can help point a direction for today's Women's Liberation Movement. What was so important about Eleanor Marx was that she did not put women's liberation and socialism in separate compartments. If women's liberation wasn't on the official agenda, it was on hers, and it wasn't only lip service or just a tool to involve women in the "real" struggle as it was to so many of her contemporaries.

Doesn't the fact that she made "the woman question" her question, and never separated it from her activity in a period when women's liberation wasn't the most exciting movement, speak to what we are facing today? Can't we, as revolutionary feminists, bring in women's unique contribution in deepening the very concept of revolution, to every activity we engage in — be that support work for Central America, anti-nuclear/anti-war activity, our work in the factories and on the picket lines, and with the Black dimension? Wouldn't that be one way to help develop revolution, celebrate International Women's Day, and honor a truly international women's liberationist — Eleanor Marx?

osophical provision is laboring to be born in all corners of the earth.

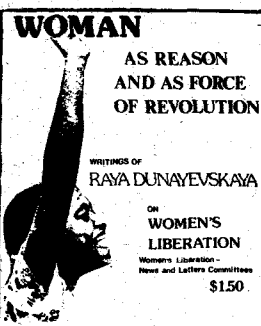
WE NEED TO locate Dunayevskaya in the galaxy of Marxism. She is, by her own declaration, a "Marxist humanist." This means, first of all, that she is a fervent advocate of the human being as maker of himself, rejecting thought of any higher intelligence or higher creation (in Kolakowski's words, "the self-deification of mankind"). It means, secondly, that she places heavy stress on the developmental continuity of Marx's project and writings, and insists on the importance of the Paris manuscripts, where, according to the author, are to be found in embryonic philosophical clarity the claims by which Marxism is privileged to become the "science" for a variety of worldwide movements of liberation, however disparate they might seem to the naive observer. Third, it means a resounding rupture between the true Marx and the leaky legacy left to his followers by Friedrich Engels. Not only did Engels bequeath to the communist movement a mechanical and complacent tendency, but he misread and distorted Marx's interpretation of the man-woman relationship in his work on *The Origin of the Family*. According to the author, a careful reading of Marx's 1844 text in conjunction with the newly available *Ethnological Notebooks* sets the matter straight.

The focus of this book is announced to be Rosa Luxemburg and her revolutionary connection with the feminist consciousness. We are told that this connection can be taken further than is commonly supposed. The personality of Luxemburg, her position in international socialism, her courage, and her pathos are well expressed in the earlier chapters. A principal point that Dunayevskaya wishes to make is that (pace Nettl, Luxemburg's excellent biographer) Luxemburg was a totally liberated woman who did not go into a decline following the rupture of her liaison with Leo Jogiches, but went forward to ever more productive activity. This is demonstrated very convincingly. The book is not, however, really about Rosa Luxemburg; rather, it is about some of the lessons that she teaches as much through her errors as her indomitable will. Luxemburg was a first-class revolutionary who got her economics a bit wrong, could not reconcile philosophy with organization, and, in fact, suffered from "near tone-deafness in philosophy."

WOMAN AS REASON AND AS FORCE OF REVOLUTION

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YOUTH

Anti-war movement faces challenges to its growth

by Jim Mills, youth columnist

While all eyes have been trained on the crises for U.S. imperialism in Lebanon and on the ascendancy of Chernenko in Russia, the anti-war movement in the U.S. has been quiet. While quietness may reflect reassessment in the wake of Reagan's trigger-happy invasion of Grenada and his successful deployment of Euromissiles over mass opposition worldwide, it may also be that the movement is not fully prepared to stand in the way of more retrogressive steps toward war that Reagan is sure to make.

To be fair, many in the anti-war movement have not totally ignored these kinds of developments. Spontaneous outpourings of opposition to the invasion of Grenada emerged at the time, and the Nov. 12 march on Washington against U.S. intervention in Central America, though not massive enough, did contain new elements, including anti-nuke, because of that new objective reality. And 1983 saw more arrests than ever before — 5,300 — from direct action against the arms race.

Yet a major part of the anti-war movement still seems to ignore new challenges to its growth and success. The lies Reagan told to justify the U.S. invasion of Grenada should tip us off to the reality behind his new guise of demilitarization. In a speech on the day of the official observance of Martin Luther King's birthday (which he fought all the way), Reagan said, "My dream is to see the day when nuclear weapons will be banished from the face of the earth."

The Pentagon is in the middle of an unimaginable \$1.5 trillion, 5-year military budget. The military's recent emphasis on conventional weapons means that nuclear war is more likely, not less. And with Naval bombardments of Beirut, the U.S. military role in the Middle East, which could be a nuclear flashpoint, is escalating rather than diminishing.

In the face of these deceptions, it's disturbing to hear in 1984 that debates continue in the anti-nuclear war movement over things like whether anti-nuclear groups should discuss other forms of imperialism other than the arms race. For example, Theo Brown of Ground Zero, argues against addressing "the specifics of American military policy" and for educating people about "the urgency and uniqueness of the nuclear threat." He says more "baggage" would weigh down the movement and "those who consider themselves conservative must be brought to this issue in large numbers or we have little hope of success."

This kind or narrow thought can lead to us getting blindsided by the next military confrontation engineered by Reagan. Worse yet, it fails to present the other America who is with the struggles for freedom of peoples under the heel of U.S. imperialism.

There is another serious ramification of this strategy that is not actually linked to military or foreign policy. It is the attempt to bring anti-abortion right-to-life supporters into the anti-nuclear struggle. The door to this was opened by the controversial pastoral letter on war and peace issued by U.S. Catholic bishops last year. It included the church's traditional opposition to women's liberation and to the right of women to safe and legal abortion on demand.

A front-page article in the New York Times recently reported that Joseph Cardinal Bernardin, who helped draft that pastoral letter, wants to make the anti-nuke struggle another pro-life issue. To try and build the movement on such hollow ground is to invite its break-up by Reagan who in his State of the Union address resumed his attack on the right to abortion.

Study and Struggle

An anti-militarist movement that misses an opportunity now to sort out new appearances of militarism can be a precondition for war. Reagan's maneuvers in foreign policy show that a new objective reality is at hand, and the movement needs to lay an independent ground to prepare for the next crises. Our plans must not be encumbered by the anti-abortion church, a fetish for conservative support for electoral solutions, or the government's mouthpieces that say "peace," yet practice war.

Mobilization for Survival debates anti-war role

Berkeley, Cal. — Over 300 anti-nuclear activists from groups all around the country attended a national strategy conference held by Mobilization for Survival (MFS) here on Jan. 20-22. Throughout the weekend the hottest discussion was on the anti-nuclear movement becoming fully anti-war. The other main point was how it will become "multi-racial."

One of the better talks I heard was by an organizer from Boston who showed how much deeper the opposition to war has grown since June 12, 1982. Then, despite the fact that Israel had just invaded Lebanon, no speaker at the massive June 12 rally could speak about that "conventional" war. Like many others, the speaker felt it was paramount to focus on U.S. intervention in the Middle East and Central America.

The MFS itself divided its strategies into compartments, separating disarmament from human needs. Newer outreach strategies ranged from conferences called "The Deadly Connections," to coalition actions, to jumping into Jesse Jackson's campaign to win over the "rainbow coalition."

Two different attitudes to outreach emerged when a woman in a group discussion I was in stressed the need to educate the "brainwashed youth" about the military. One local young draft resister disagreed. During recent protests at Vandenberg Air Force Base, he was lined up against several Black youth in the military, and "was amazed at how many youth in the service don't want to be there, who hate their jobs and don't want war. Seeing that is how we can break through this block between us."

Several activists also discussed how to keep focused and flexible when you don't know where the next flashpoint for war will be, like this fall when Reagan invaded Grenada, and we were mobilizing against intervention in El Salvador and Euromissiles at the same time.

On the one hand, many there were trying to organize an emergency response network to be prepared if Reagan invades Nicaragua. But I was glad we in News and Letters were able to hold a workshop on Grenada, because I feel that horrifying event has ramifications for the anti-war movement that go even deeper than the need to show our outrage. In the discussion, a Puerto Rican woman activist told of her shock at realizing the divisions within Grenada's leadership had given Reagan the opening he needed. Two others showed great reluctance to face the revolutionary shortcomings in Castro's support for Grenada, particularly given the horror of U.S. imperialism.

I heard many at the conference calling for more national conferences. Even when the discussion is on strategy, I feel it is questions like these that make us clarify what we are for. They urgently need more discussion, especially now that the anti-nuke movement is becoming fully anti-war.

— Laurie Cashdan

Youth in Revolt

Fifteen-year-old Emma Satheke was killed and several other students injured by police Feb. 13 after a week of demonstrations and school boycotts by thousands of Azanian students protesting both frequent corporal punishment and a ruling that students who failed a national exam cannot be readmitted to school. South Africa's apartheid system spends 6½ times as much money per white as per Black child, while six times as many Blacks as whites failed the test.

Two high school women who were kicked out of the National Honor Society for becoming pregnant are fighting their dismissals to protect the rights of other young women. Loretta Wort, 19, of Springfield, Ill., and Arlene Pfeiffer, 17, from rural western Pennsylvania are fighting legal battles against their respective school districts, both of which claim that "character" and "leadership" qualities were lacking as a result of their pregnancies.

Marking the first anniversary of a battle between squatters and police, 150 youths fought with cops in Copenhagen in January. There are 75,000 people under 25 in Denmark who have never had jobs, while nearly 100,000 people who leave school this year will also face a depressed job market and cutbacks in social programs.

International support actions have won the release of Ulriche Poppe and Barbel Bohley, members of Women for Peace in East Germany, who were arrested for meeting with British disarmament activists. In one action, women from many countries signed a letter demanding the release of imprisoned women for peace in East Germany, Russia, Britain and the U.S.

Over 1,000 anti-nuke protesters demonstrated at California's Diablo Canyon nuclear power plant Feb. 12. In the last month protest there has been unceasing, and has involved many local residents as well as activists from around the state. Over 300 have been arrested in this all-out effort to prevent Diablo from being activated.

Homeless erect 'Tent City'

Editor's Note: Homeless men and women in San Francisco erected a tent city in the Civic Center Plaza on Jan. 23. Following are excerpts from an interview with one participant, also a member of a new statewide "Homeless Caucus" in California.

San Francisco, Cal. — About 75 of us stayed overnight here last night but there are a few hundred today. There's nobody backing us, we're out here for ourselves. We're homeless are tired of having politicians speak for us. Nobody wanted to hear what we had to say for ourselves. We got this caucus together ourselves so we can say what our problems really are.

I got laid-off two years ago from my job repairing refrigerators and air conditioners, because of Reaganomics. Last year we stayed at a tent city in Phoenix. The cops came in at night and beat us and collapsed our tents. Now my AFDC (Aid for Families with Dependent Children) eligibility worker here has told me to get a job. She put my wife and me and our two children in one room that costs \$300/mo. and that comes right out of our AFDC. We can't live in those conditions; right out even cooking facilities. But you have to put too much money down to get an apartment.

We set up the tent city for this week, but a lot of people want to stay here until they do something. We can't get jobs, because you need an address and phone number. We have to get off the streets before we can get jobs. We're doing this while the Mayor is in Washington, and many people have asked why. To me it shows that we don't want it left at a political question that the politicians are taking up for the elections. We want to be heard.

My concern goes beyond just homeless people. I went down to the bus station to support the Greyhound strikers too. You never know who will be laid-off next.

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A Trilogy of Revolution: 25 years of challenge to youth revolt

Marxism and Freedom

The freedom Fighters of Hungary embraced all layers of the people... Children, from twelve to sixteen years of age, were seen with rifles and tommy-guns slung over their shoulders and hand grenades in their pockets. They destroyed Soviet tanks by diverting the attention of the gunners to the rooftops, then dashing in under the elevated guns to throw gasoline over the tank and set it afire. Others led the tanks down narrow streets where they were ambushed and unable to turn around.

Philosophy and Revolution

So integral is empiricism, so a part of the very organism "American," that even those who wish to uproot capitalism — the youth who have become aware of themselves as revolutionaries through relating their feeling of alienation in academia to Marx's theory of class alienation — still separate what history has joined together: Marx's beginnings as a "new Humanism" and the culmination of the Hegelian philosophy in the Absolute Idea...

Rosa Luxemburg Women's Liberation and Marx's Philosophy and Revolution

Whether the creative drama of human liberation... was romanticized by the young revolutionary philosopher, Marx, the point is that he lived, worked, organized on this planet, and this planet meant a planet of new beginnings...

It is true that, with Leo Jogiches, Rosa Luxemburg already headed the small underground party in Poland; at age 22 she had already been made editor of its paper, *Workers' Cause*... She was uncompromising in her many-faceted involvements and made clear that they were as far-reaching as the whole new revolutionary continent of thought that Marx had discovered...



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OUR LIFE AND TIMES

by Kevin A. Barry and Mary Holmes

Japanese mine disaster

Close to 700 miners were working, Jan. 18, when a fire broke out two miles inside a shaft of the Ariaki pit of the Mitsui-Mike colliery. Smoldering coal filled the mine with thick smoke and deadly carbon monoxide. When the rescue operations concluded two days later, the grisly toll counted 83 miners dead.

The fire was sparked by an overhead coal conveyor belt motor. Nearly five hours passed before mine company officials called for outside help. Miners, their families, and union officials are charging the company with criminal negligence in underestimating the fire's deadly danger.

Mitsui is one of the most highly automated mines in Japan. Sensors on the coal conveyors, designed to stop the belts automatically if they overheat, failed. So, too, did the automatic alarms in the mine, said to be the most up-to-date gas and heat detection devices. The mine is also one of the largest — producing fully one-fourth of Japan's total coal production. Miners blamed the overheated conveyor motors on recently increased coal production quotas.

The Mitsui mine became infamous in 1963 for being the site of Japan's worst mine disaster, in which 458 men were killed. In a land now synonymous with robotics, the Mitsui tragedy has underlined in blood the truth that only miners' control, not automated machines, can ensure safe working conditions.

Food riots in Morocco

Just as the World Islamic Conference was being held here, food riots broke out resulting in more than 60 people being killed by the government of King Hassan II. It began Jan. 5 with a student strike in 17 of the country's 36 high schools, protesting tuition increases. When they moved into the streets after being chased out of the schools by police, the students soon found themselves joined en masse by the urban poor, who had grievances against a whole wave of increases in the prices of food and other basic commodities to satisfy the demands of the IMF.

Soon barricades went up, stores were looted and cars attacked. In Marrakesh, fighting was extremely prolonged and violent — one report stated that over 100 were killed there alone. Details are hard to get since the King clamped a wall of total silence on the country, and expelled outside journalists. The King reacted to the riots by rescinding some of the price increases, but also rounded up hundreds of regime opponents.

Since Moroccan independence, there have been mass anti-government riots in Casablanca in 1965, several attempts by young officers to overthrow the King, and again in 1981 in Casablanca, food riots in the slums resulting in repression by the military at a cost of 600 civilian deaths.

The 1984 riots were the most serious challenge yet to the regime, for they involved protests on a national scale, or nearly so, rather than in a single city. The King publicly blamed "Marxist-Leninists, Zionist agents and Khomeinists" — a weird and unlikely amalgam.

Krome detention camp

Haitian women in the Krome Avenue detention camp outside Miami began a hunger strike Jan. 19 to protest the inhuman government delays in reviewing their asylum claims. They were joined five days later by Haitian men, and the next day by other refugees, including Lebanese,

Salvadorans and Bangladeshi. By Jan. 25, 150 were on hunger strike. One of their signs proclaimed "Freedom or Death." Many of the refugees have been held over 17 months at what the Haitians call "Reagan's concentration camp."

The unambiguous tie between Reagan's racist repression at home and abroad surfaced again in February, when his Administration certified Haiti to receive more U.S. aid. While Reagan turned his back on the tyranny of the Haitian dictatorship, he congratulated them on halting Haitians from trying to flee to the U.S. Reagan is so intent on keeping Black refugees out of the U.S. that he had earlier concocted a plan to move Haitians to resettlement areas in poor, predominantly Black Belize. He quickly withdrew the scheme when it was exposed by Black representatives in Washington.

Reagan's mouthpiece Shultz recently went to the Black Caribbean, in the wake of the barbarous U.S. invasion of Grenada, promising unending military aid to halt the "Communist threat." But when the Krome hunger strikers are forced to call for a "collective suicide" if they can't get freedom in the U.S., it is clear the threat to freedom is much closer to home.

Brazil



More than 50,000 people rallied in downtown Rio de Janeiro Feb. 16, calling for free and democratic elections. Up to 400,000 had demonstrated in Sao Paulo, Jan. 25, in the largest protest in Brazil since the U.S.-backed military coup in 1964. Mass starvation stalks this giant drought-stricken land. In the northeast, up to three million face starvation, in an area where the infant mortality rate is already a shocking 250 per 1,000 births.

Labor unrest in Israel

Israeli workers — from teachers and health personnel, to miners and the unemployed — have struck and demonstrated over the past three months, demanding relief from a raging inflation of 200% and worsening living conditions. More than 60,000 civil service workers took part in various actions, from strikes to slowdowns and civil disobedience. When 4,500 postal workers returned after a three-day strike to find the government intended to dock their pay, they went back out on strike. Thousands of workers have simply stayed home in disgust.

The current crisis in Israel has been sharply exacerbated by full militarization of the economy. Over 30% of the nation's budget is spent on the military. While the government subsidized prices for food, transportation and utilities, they also underwrote the costly imperialist program of West Bank settlements. But President Shamir is finding out what Lyndon Johnson discovered in the U.S. when he tried to sustain the lie of "guns and butter" during the Vietnam War. The Israeli government has planned severe cuts in consumer subsidies. The price of food and clothing is already up twice as high as last year.

Meanwhile, a new resistance — Yesh Gvul (There Is A Limit) — has arisen within the heretofore unassailable Israeli military. Over 100 soldiers have been jailed for refusing to go to Lebanon. Some have refused to go on patrol in the occupied West Bank and Gaza, and still others have managed to evade military service altogether.

The Israeli government spent \$2 billion in its savage invasion of Lebanon, and is now spending \$1 million a day there in its aftermath. Histadrut and the Labor Party have raised little serious opposition to Shamir's open policy of reducing the workers' standard of living. It is the unrest from below that can become a new opening.

Uruguay's general strike

Factories shut down, buses didn't roll, stores remained closed, and Montevideo's streets were empty on Jan. 18, when workers mounted a 24-hour general strike—the first in Uruguay in over a decade. The Inter-Union Workers Assembly, a coalition of 150 unions, called the strike to demand a \$57 raise in the \$150 average monthly wage, the right of public workers to unionize, the release of political prisoners and a return to democracy.

The trade union movement has begun to regain strength after a decade's repression since the military dictatorship came to power in 1973. But the real momentum of the current protests has come from the rank-and-file. A week earlier bus drivers had struck, and textile workers occupied their plant for several weeks. During the general strike, workers at three plants barricaded themselves inside, and government troops were dispatched to break up the occupations.

New voices are being raised in the ferment to end the rule of Gregorio Alvarez. ASCEEP, a union of university students, was instrumental in organizing for the Sept. 25 national day of protest, and students have been active outside the range of the traditional parties. Organizations like "Mothers of Prisoners Sentenced by Military Tribunals" have been working largely on their own to bring the government to account.

The general strike was supported on the left by the Frente Amplio, long banned by the government. But the three legal established parties, who expect to gain some power when, if ever, elections are held, denied support saying the strike was "inopportune."

BLACK-RED VIEW

by John Alan

Famine threatens millions throughout Africa

At this very moment, 150 million people in 22 African nations are threatened with famine. This is the conservative estimate of the United Nations Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO). It is believed that many more people will be faced with starvation as severe food shortages develop in 18 other African countries.

The present drought and food crisis that is sweeping through Africa is not a sudden visitation of disaster upon the African masses. It is the continuation of the 1973-74 famine that took the lives of half a million people, and caused acute malnutrition among many more that has resulted in many thousands of cases of mental retardation and permanent damage to health.

The famine and drought of 1973-74 was centered in the Sudano-Sahel region of Africa. Today the drought has extended into Eastern and Southern Africa, covering an area from Mali to Mozambique to Tanzania. Never in the decade between these two disasters have the African peasant and worker enjoyed an adequate amount of food. According to the UN experts, Africans have been "chronically hungry and tens of millions suffer from thirst and contaminated water supplies."

NEED IMMEDIATE FOOD DELIVERY

To contain the present crisis in the drought areas the FAO has estimated that it is necessary that there be an immediate delivery of 700,000 tons of food and aid to the most severely stricken countries — Ethiopia, Mozambique, Ghana and Sao Tome. An appeal for this emergency food was sent out last October by Edouard Saouma, director general of the FAO, to what he called the "traditional donors," the United States and Western Europe. As of January less than a quarter of

this aid was pledged. This is not an unexpected reaction. All along there has been an indifference to the African crisis by the big powers. Last summer many of the stricken countries made individual appeals and got little or nothing.

Of course no aid, no matter how humanitarian it claims to be, comes without its political ideology and ideological conflict. Thus we see that in the midst of attempts to get some food for starving millions, the East/West conflict raises its head. Those African countries that have aligned themselves with Russia and the so-called bloc of Eastern Socialist States point out that they are getting little or no substantive aid from the United States or Western Europe, "that the humanitarian aid program has become politicized" because of their "anti-imperialist foreign policy."

In Washington, Senator John Danforth, who seems to speak for the Reagan policy, urges his colleagues in Congress to give aid to Africa only on a priority basis and "that a relative modest increase in our commitment to Africa can help that continent survive the present crisis." The Senator made a sharp difference between giving emergency aid and giving development assistance to those countries whose governments control farming.

EAST/WEST CONFLICT

The bringing of the East/West conflict into the African food crisis obscures the fact that the present crisis is rooted in the neo-colonial status of the African economy, in its relationship to both poles of world power; and that this relationship has fostered, in Africa, a political economy that has neglected the production of food for the masses in favor of the production of exportable commodities for the world market.

While both droughts — 1973-74 and the present one — have played roles in exacerbating the food shortages, they are not

the driving mechanism of the crisis; that is to be discovered in the political-economic policy of the African elite who, regardless of whether they call themselves socialist planners or private capitalists, have understood development as industrial development in the image of the technologically advanced countries.

This elite has ignored the rural, peasant masses of their countries, that is, the two-thirds of the population residing and working on small-scale family farming units and where the system of land ownership is primarily communal. The only interest that this elite has in agriculture is "plantation production" of tea, coffee, cocoa, sisal, etc. and mining, all commodities that can be sold on the world market and are acceptable to International Monetary Fund financing.

AFRICAN ELITE IGNORE MASSES

The African elite that took over the political leadership after the political revolutions that decolonized Africa in the 1960s, have failed tragically in either moving toward the creation of a new society or in deepening the explicit humanism that the revolutionary masses were calling for. They turned their collective backs on these masses, as Fanon pointed out in *The Wretched Of The Earth*, and opted for catching up with the technologically advanced countries.

In one form or another they tied their countries to the world capitalist market, neglecting indigenous food production, thus creating enormous food import bills. The slightest downward change in the price of the raw material that they export causes inflation in food prices and a severe debt payment crisis.

The drought exacerbates this situation, governments fall, replaced by the military who think that they can solve the problems by draconian methods, when what is needed is a social revolution by the African masses.

Theory/Practice NEWS & LETTERS

'Human Power is its own end'—Marx

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Unorganized workers may take lead



by Felix Martin, Labor Editor

In Los Angeles I have been walking the picket line at a strike of garment workers that has continued for seven months at the Southern California Davis Pleating Factory. These workers were making five dollars an hour, and the company demanded concessions to bring them down to minimum wage. They walked out, and the company hired in scabs. The workers say "we can't live on five dollars an hour, how are we supposed to live on minimum wage?"

The simple truth is that the lower-paid and unorganized workers can't accept concessions because they will starve if they do. One worker told me, "I have to work ten hours a day, five days a week, and I still have trouble finding enough food to feed my two kids. I am 25 and had a good job in auto until I was laid off. I don't see how people are going to be able to take it. No wonder the police here act like they are stormtroopers."

When the UAW union leadership argues over whether workers "should" or "shouldn't" accept more concessions in the next contract, they are speaking only to a small minority of the American work force. The fact is that most workers can't accept concessions, if they do they will starve. And like the workers at Davis Pleating that is why they fight.

More and more auto workers are feeling the same way. They have seen their living standards come closer and closer to the level of the non-unionized worker. Instead of listening to their union leadership's call for "understanding" and "compromise" with management, workers inside and outside auto would do better listening to the words and deeds of the rank-and-file workers resisting concessions. It is the workers resisting these give-backs that spells the direction for what to do next.

Already GM is saying that in order to maintain its huge profits — over \$3.7 billion in 1983 — even more concessions will be needed from the workers. They are talking about

(Continued on page 3)

Black World

Miami and Black America



by Lou Turner

Miami is no longer a place, it has become a condition. Even more, it has become the exposed nerve ending of the American Black condition.

What happened the second week of March in Miami was simple, and by now commonplace: an all-white jury in less than two hours, including the time it took them to eat dinner, decided that policeman Luis Alvarez was not guilty of manslaughter charges when he walked into a video arcade in the Black Overtown area of Miami and with an already cocked gun shot 20-year-old Nevell Johnson Jr. in the head at point blank range on Dec. 28, 1982.

FOUR YEARS OF REVOLT

On the evening of March 15 Alvarez was found not guilty of manslaughter after one of the longest trials in Miami history. That evening, and for the next two days, Black Miami in Liberty City, Overtown, Carroll City and Coconut Grove put Alvarez and the system that found him innocent on trial and found them guilty.

For the fourth continuous year, Black revolt has spontaneously erupted in Miami, with the demand for justice on everyone's lips. In these four years since the 1980 Miami rebellion, following the acquittal, by an all-white jury, of four white cops who participated in the killing of Black insurance salesman, Arthur McDuffie, police killings have increased.

The cold-blooded facts of Alvarez's case were so glaring that even the Dade County Justice Department was compelled to go through with yet another "show trial" in which the outcome was as pathetic as it was predictable.

"They talk about justice — what kind of justice do we have? All of our Black people are getting killed and none of them get convicted." That, coming from an angry Black Miamian, could have come from any inner-city Black resident who has to deal with the justice/"just-us" system of legalized hypocrisy in Black America.

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Battles over coal mine safety show stakes are high for labor in 1984

by Andy Phillips

Morgantown, W. Va. — "We've just got to get stronger safety provisions in the next contract," the Pennsylvania coal miner declared. "There are more men getting killed and hurt than there have been for a long time now." Just how shocking safety conditions are in the mines under President Reagan's pro-management policies was further disclosed during my recent visit to Morgantown, W. Va., where the daily paper carried a front-page report on a recent court decision upholding the United Mine Workers Union in a mine safety suit brought against Consolidation Coal Company's Blacksville mine in northern West Virginia.

The shocking aspect stemmed from the fact that there had been a court case at all. The Blacksville mine is one of the gassiest in the nation. When a fan breaks down, the gas cannot be driven out of the mine. Explosive quantities accumulate, and a single spark can blow up the mine, killing everyone in it. The company had insisted that when fans went down, the miners ride out of the mine in man-trip cars that are powered by electric motors hooked to overhead lines by trolley poles that are always throwing sparks.

CHEAPER TO RISK MINERS' LIVES

During the many years I had worked in the mines in the area, the first order given when a fan went down was to shut off all electric power to make sure no electric spark could set off a disaster. And we always walked out of the mine to the safety outside. There was never any question about it, and Consol would never have dared to do anything otherwise.

The fact that Consol today can show such open disregard for the lives of the miners is possible only because of Reagan's own contempt for the working class, as well as the completely pro-management orientation of his administration. This anti-labor hostility now challenges today's so-called labor leaders to reverse the unbroken series of working class defeats orchestrated so effectively by the Reagan administration. This year will be crucial for workers and their families, and especially those whose contracts expire during 1984.

Contracts covering nearly three million workers will be up for negotiations, including the auto, coal, oil, construction, railroad, maritime and food industries and the U.S. Postal Service. What happens will determine if the long concessionary trend, begun by former UAW President Fraser with his Chrysler give-aways, will continue or be halted and reversed.

The record of the leaders to date is not promising, and goes back to Reagan's first action upon taking office: his direct, conscious and well-calculated destruction of the PATCO union. The abject capitulation of the labor leaders to this direct attack opened the Administration anti-labor floodgates. Every appointment, especially to the National Labor Relations Board (NLRB), every labor bill introduced by the Administration has been designed to roll back gains made by labor in the great upsurge of the CIO in the 1930s.

ANTI-LABOR RELATIONS BOARD

One example of this can be seen in the backlog of over 1,700 NLRB cases last year, four times more than there were in 1978; furthermore, last year the board handed down only 800 decisions, compared with 1,700 yearly decisions during the Carter Administration. This growing backlog means workers or unions bringing cases against corporations will have to wait years for action, with little hope for a favorable decision even after the unconscionable wait. Workers who get together to form a union can all be fired by a company that knows it will take years for the case to even be heard by the NLRB.

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El Salvador's election

The first round of the El Salvadoran presidential election, bought and paid for by the United States government, has taken place. No sooner were the polls closed than Ronald Reagan and his henchmen got up on their soap boxes to proclaim democracy was alive and well in El Salvador. Reagan was joined by the U.S. observers of the election who quickly jumped on the plane home and into Reagan's arms at the White House to proclaim their support for U.S. arms being sent to the Salvadoran military.

Thereby was revealed the truth of this election. It was not for the people of El Salvador, though they faced fines and intimidation for not voting, but for Ronald Reagan in his campaign to get tens of millions of dollars worth of military hardware approved by Congress and sent to El Salvador's dictatorial rulers.

In El Salvador the days after the election are like the days before, with death squads of the right continuing their kidnappings and torture murders. A half a million Salvadorans have fled from the military's terror, and still more are seeking a refuge.

So brazen has been Reagan's drive toward war in Central America that in the most recent days we have been witness to:

- the landing of new U.S. troops in Honduras, some deployed on the border with El Salvador, the others on the Nicaraguan border.
- U.S.-manned reconnaissance flights relaying guerrilla positions to the El Salvadoran military.
- the U.S.-sponsored Nicaraguan counter-revolutionaries mining of Nicaraguan ports which have already caused damage to several ships from other countries.

Far from El Salvador's election being any move toward peace, it is only part of Reagan's war upon the peoples of Central America.



Salvadoran refugees fleeing to Honduras.

Firsthand report describes movement of women in India

Editor's Note: The following is excerpted from correspondence from a woman activist in India who began writing to *Women's Liberation — News & Letters* after reading about us in the Indian feminist journal, *Manushi*.

Bihar, India — We are busy these days having a month of training programs for village women. We have a bit of everything in which they are interested. There is also a small dose of political education through songs and chants:

We break mountains, we break stones,
Mixed with our own blood, we make fields,
But to who belong the fields? to who the rice?
And to who the sweating and hardwork?

Indian women have taken up the issue of property land rights in the Supreme Court. We are aware that even if we win, the case will remain ineffective unless there is a very strong women's organization. But at least the issue has been raised and this was unthinkable a couple of years ago.

TRIBAL PEOPLES' MOVEMENT

Tribal people have a continuous history of militant uprising against the colonial rule. They were also the last conquered by imperialist power. Especially the Ho tribe, with whom I live, are great lovers of freedom. The role of women in the movement is still weak. Their potentiality and creativity has not yet been released from the claims of social pressure in their own society and this is what we see as an urgent task ahead of us.

The movement is facing so many questions: will the problems of the tribals be solved just by getting a separate state unless there is also a socialistic approach together with it? Who will get the political power? Can one create an "island" of socialism in a national capitalist economy? What will be the role of a Party? What kind of organization can one foresee?

Many in the tribal movement are realizing that instead of making their issue a "communal" one, they need to join hands with the broader working class struggles and to raise women's problems in the movements. The Communist Parties, instead, put the stress on the organized working class. Whereas the working class is in fact a "privileged" section in our context as they have permanent jobs and salaries and many have become landlords in the rural areas.

Religion in India is also playing a crucial role. Many of the class struggles that are taking place today are defined as "religious" or "communal" troubles. Indira Gandhi is also playing with communalism to keep her power. Furthermore in spite of the myth of Indian non-violence and "spiritualism" Indian society is very violent. The government's response to opposition is brutal. Soldiers will enter any village with tanks and will burn houses of people with all the paddy rice they have stored for the whole year's food.

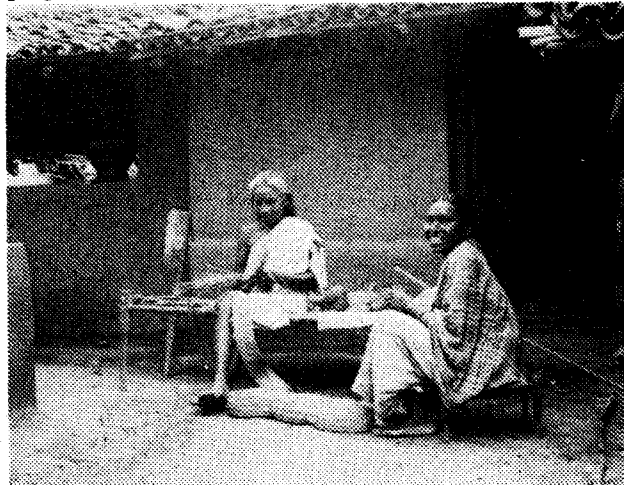
SEARCH FOR FREEDOM UNITES

I enjoyed the women's liberation statement you sent me. I am dreaming of the day we can start here some women's committees. It would not take long to start them with middle class intellectual women, but I am not inclined to do it that way. I feel simply that working women have to be the leadership.

I am so happy that one day by chance I wrote to *News & Letters*. Through your paper, we have come to know about the reality of the second U.S. that is so different from the image we know.

What is so beautiful is that coming from such different

backgrounds and living in such different situations at present, we can come so close in our search for freedom and real humanity. Please send some more literature. As soon as it falls into somebody's hands they want to devour it! Also a Hindi history scholar, a "real Marxist" who is interested in both Marx's *Ethnological Notebooks* and Rosa Luxemburg, *Women's Liberation* and Marx's *Philosophy of Revolution*, plans to translate some of the material into Hindi in the near future to make it more available to more people.



Maki Bui, whose case challenging the validity of the law prohibiting Ho tribal women from inheriting family land is before the Indian Supreme Court, sits with her daughter.

Court suit on land rights

In the course of the last decade, women in India have created an important feminist movement. They are fighting against so-called "suicidal burning" where a young woman is burned to death by her in-laws because of insufficient dowry, killing of women as "witches," the practice of "Dvads" — women who are dedicated to the temple of God for the sexual pleasure of men — as well as issues of rape, wife battery, pornography and women's right to land.

The feminist journal, *Manushi*, has been at the forefront of these struggles, and has taken up, along with other women, the issue of women's right to land among the Ho tribe with the Supreme Court of India.

The following is a report of the situation of tribal women of Ho, based on a letter written by Madhu Kishwar, editor of *Manushi*, and presented to the Supreme Court of India. Kishwar presented to the court, the case of Maki Bui, a 50-year-old widow who was facing constant harassment from her late husband's family. Information also from Asian Women.

Among members of the Ho tribe in Bihar, India, women have rights only to the produce of the land and never to the land itself. The land will go to a male heir and if there is no such heir will become the common property of the village vested in the headman.

As a result, women who carry out 80% of the agricultural

operations of the tribe remain unmarried in large numbers in order to be able to enjoy the right to the produce of the land. Many times, single, widowed or unmarried women are murdered so that men can enjoy unfettered rights to the land. Often times a single woman who owns land is labelled "witch" and subsequently killed.

If a woman is raped by an outsider she loses the right even to the product of the land and becomes in a certain sense "untouchable." She has to retain separate quarters of living and often times has to resort to prostitution or begging to feed herself and her children.

Ironically, the tribal women of India, enjoyed many more rights before the entrance of the British colonizers in India. Land used to be held in common ownership, until the British settlers introduced private property by force. They arbitrarily issued the deeds to the male members of the family and thereby excluded women from what, until then, was common property of all tribal members.

Dehumanization in New Bedford

Far greater than the shock that swept the country last March — when a young woman was gang-raped on a pool table in a New Bedford bar while spectators cheered (see April, 1983 N&L) — is the shock of seeing no less than 10,000 now, a year later, daring to protest the conviction of four of the rapists!

Their attempt to charge that the verdicts were the result of "bias against Portuguese immigrants" (who are, without a doubt, discriminated against in this prejudice-ridden land) can no more "explain away" such degradation than the support many blue collar workers gave the racist Wallace can be "explained away" by the alleged "anti-Establishmentism" of those racist workers. Racism is racism. Sexism is sexism. And dehumanization is dehumanization.

It is not only that Reaganism has pushed back very nearly all the gains the Women's Liberation Movement had won over a decade of hard struggles. It is that the ground has been laid for ever more monstrous brutality against women everywhere, a brutality that takes countless forms. Having witnessed the savage examination the rape victim was forced to undergo in the Massachusetts trial — where the "Rape Shield law" was supposedly in full force — what other rape victims will be willing to risk a similar second rape in the courts?

That the very same evening news which brought scenes of the 10,000 men and women cheering for the gang-rapists in Massachusetts, brought scenes of the mass murders of 14 women in Green River, Wash., and the arrest of five teachers charged with sexually molesting over 100 nursery school children in suburban Los Angeles, is proof of the depravity of this viciously sexist and sick society.

Never was the need greater for a Women's Liberation Movement out to help totally uproot this dehumanized world and create a new one on human foundations.

—Women's Liberation — News and Letters Committees

Feminist reviews 'Women and Irish Nationalism'

Unmanageable Revolutionaries — Women and Irish Nationalism, by Margaret Ward. London: Pluto Press and Ireland: Brandon Book Publishers, 1983.

Margaret Ward's book, in describing over 100 years of revolutionary activity by many "ordinary" Irish women who even today are not accepted as equal members within the nationalist movement, also reveals the determined struggles by women — both within that movement and by those critical feminists who remained outside of it — to fight for women's rights.

LADIES LAND LEAGUE

The Ladies Land League (1881-82) was one of the most revolutionary movements even though it wasn't set up specifically to organize around women's issues, but to replace the male activists imprisoned under the Coercion Act. It was led by Anna Parnell who was well acquainted with the anti-slavery/anti-sexist views of the early American feminists.

She told the women that: "You must learn to depend upon yourselves, and to do things yourselves and to organize yourselves" — no mean feat in Catholic Ireland. There were clear links between the women's sexual oppression and the class exploitation of the labourers and tenant farmers, and the women proved themselves to be more radical and sincere than the men.

They called for an all-out rent strike against the big landlords, and as Ward notes: "... now that women had come into the public arena, observers noticed that the ordinary women no longer viewed the proceedings 'at a respectful distance,' but thronged around the platform ..."

NATIONALIST WOMEN'S MOVEMENT

From 1900-14 an independent nationalist women's movement was formed called Inghinidhe na hEireann, because women were excluded from nearly all other groupings. They produced the first women's paper in Ireland and an editorial comment declared: "Freedom for our nation and the complete removal of all disabilities to our sex."

However a split developed over the method by which free-

dom from both sexism and the British was to be gained. Inghinidhe remained silent as hundreds of women demonstrated against the Cat and Mouse Act and their exclusion from the Home Rule Bill, insisting women's oppression would disappear along with the British and that: "To accept enfranchisement by a 'hostile Parliament' would only be 'humiliating'."

Cumann na mBan, started in 1914, is the third organization focused on in the book but it too failed to give any independent lead to the women of Ireland. Determined to keep a united front, "... its status was deliberately circumscribed by its constitutional requirement to 'assist' the men in their fight for freedom."

IRISHWOMEN'S FRANCHISE LEAGUE

Only the Irishwomen's Franchise League attempted to fight both issues. It was co-founded by Hanna Sheehy Skeffington in 1908, who said that in spite of "... theoretical equality, some Sinn Feiners have not yet rounded Cape Turk where women are concerned." Hanna was a close friend of the Marxist revolutionary James Connolly, one of the few male activists to recognize the deeper potential inherent in the feminists' demands. Connolly said: "Sex distinctions are harmful alike to men and women ... Women must organize. They must ask for a minimum wage and insist upon having it."

At the beginning of her book, Ward says that the reason that she wrote it was: "... the contradictions between nationalism and feminism continue to overwhelm us, as the debate over whether or not the campaign for political status waged by the women prisoners in Armagh jail was a feminist issue, so painfully confirmed. Many feminists were emotionally torn between their desire to support the sufferings endured by women, and their concern lest this feminist solidarity be translated into unconditional support for the Provisionals. And, unhappily, women within Sinn Fein who are fighting for greater equality for women ... felt betrayed at the lack of public support by the feminist movement."

I think the book, from the history it describes, teaches us that you cannot fight single issue campaigns, because to truly eradicate sexism will mean a total change from the bottom up. Reading Ward's book has certainly made me think hard about these issues. —Feminist reader, London



women-worldwide

Marion Guinn, a divorced woman with four children, was awarded \$390,000 by a Tulsa, Okla. jury, March 15, in her lawsuit against Collingsville Church of Christ and three of its church elders for publicly admonishing her for the "sin of fornication." In stretching a hand to the 17th century, the elders had painted a red "A" on her forehead for "adultery."

California's 1978 maternity leave law — allowing four months maternity leave and job reinstatement — was overturned by U.S. District Judge Manuel Real, March 19, because it "does not grant men and women equal medical leave benefits." He also said it was pre-empted by federal law, which does not mandate either maternity leave or job reinstatement. Outraged women's and labor groups are pressuring the state to appeal.

Concerned about declining birth rates, the Romanian government has called for each family to have three or four children and for stricter enforcement of anti-abortion laws — which prohibit abortion except in cases of rape, hereditary diseases, specific medical reasons, and women who already have four children. President Nicolae Ceausescu said that doctors have been granting permission for abortions "too easily ... as a source of income."

The original national headquarters of the National Council of Negro Women (NCNW) in Washington, D.C. has been designated as a national historic site and home of the Archives for Black Women's History and the Mary McLeod Bethune Memorial Museum. Bethune founded the NCNW in 1943 with a feminist focus and called for documentation of Black women's history.

Stop two-tier wage for labor unity

by John Marcotte

When McDonnell-Douglas workers were forced to accept a contract they had twice before rejected after striking 117 days, the worst concession they had to accept was the two-tier wage system they so bitterly opposed. New hires in the ten lowest skill grades will have their wages cut, creating a greater division between higher and lower paid workers, skilled and unskilled, old and new.

Workers at Union Oil are on strike for the same reason: absolute rejection of the company's trying to force a two-tier wage system on them. Last year, workers at GM's Packard Electric Division also overwhelmingly rejected such a plan.

In contract after contract, one of the most sought after concessions by management now is this two-tier wage system. If it doesn't affect the wages of those now working and voting on the contract, management may wonder why workers are choosing this very concession to fight so hard and strike over.

Maybe they think this is the "me generation" and solidarity is an old-fashioned idea. But workers know a lot more is involved in a two-tier wage system than mere lost wages. It is a conscious strike at the very heart of what industrial unionism is all about.

A WEDGE BETWEEN WORKERS

The fact is that the two-tier wage system already exists throughout this country. It exists in every non-union shop, but not only there. Let me tell you about a metal stamping shop organized in District 65/UAW, where a friend works. The two-tier wage system has been a part of life there and in many other 65 shops since long before the term "concessions" was ever dreamed up.

In that District 65 shop you have a maintenance mechanic getting \$9 an hour right next to a newer worker doing the same job for \$5 an hour. You have a tool and die maker getting \$10 or \$12 an hour, next to a newer tool and die maker who starts at \$4 an hour and gets a 50-cent raise every six months for three years. You have women in assembly getting \$3.65 an hour to start, working for years and only getting the low yearly contract raise.

NYC furriers on strike

New York, N.Y. — Almost 2,000 furriers have been out on strike for four weeks here in New York City. We were working without a contract for two days. Then came the lockout. The bosses aren't talking. They are in Las Vegas right now for a fur show.

The employers want 12 months of the year for subcontracting. But they only got three months during which they could subcontract work. That means we would be out on the street soon.

The union wants 2½% of the profits for the health fund. The employers want to change the health and pension. I have my own demands and one is that everyone should vote on every point separately. That would be real democracy.

The companies are waiting for us to get discouraged. I think they will settle just before seven weeks come, to avoid paying any unemployment benefits. For us this struggle isn't for wages but to save the union. Without it we'll have nothing.

I am 60 years old. I know there were 18,000 furriers when I started. I put in a lifetime and when I retire I'll get a pension of \$195 a month. I think it's about the same with every other industry.

—Furrier worker

WORKSHOP TALKS

(Continued from page 1)

eliminating 80,000 jobs through automation in GM alone. This has workers angry. In Oklahoma, when workers heard of the huge GM profits, they put up a banner in the plant reading "No More Concessions in '84." Workers around the country are saying it is about time we began to get back what was given up in the give-backs. Even the UAW International union leadership has had to sound a little more "militant" lately.

One worker in GM told me, "The workers are talking about anything that has to do with give-backs. A lot of workers are talking about the chance for a strike in auto this year. It could be in either GM or Ford, it is hard to say which. The workers seem to be getting ready mentally for a long strike. Every worker I have spoken to says there will be no concessions. The direction of what happens next in auto will be decided less by what the union bureaucrats decide than by what the rank-and-file do."

All the autoworkers I know are saying there is one and only one reason for these lush profits — the \$3 billion in wage and benefit concessions workers in Ford, Chrysler, and GM were forced to fork over since 1980. GM produced 1.7 million fewer cars last year than in 1973 — some recovery! All GM does is practice their "lock step approach" to profit: they project a level of profit they want to reach, and cut costs and raise car prices to reach it. This means wage concessions and unemployment for workers, higher priced cars for consumers, and fewer cars coming off the assembly line — all while profits soar. This is their idea of a recovery?

The corporations know that "recovery" for them means misery for the workers. They know their profits come from only one place—labor. That is why they can exist only by pumping more and more work out of the workers. But that is not where their problems end. It is just where it begins. Despite all the talk of "recovery," the coming stage of contract negotiations in auto and elsewhere will be a period of struggle and confrontation that could turn the labor movement around.

Like a new worker who had rank-and-file experience in the Teamsters said, "I thought having a union meant every job gets a certain rate, whether you've been there ten years or ten days. What kind of unity or strength can you have like this? That's why there are so many rats here, and why the others don't even dare speak up at a union meeting."

How did this shop get to this situation, being under union contract since the late 1940s? First, the minimum rates in the contract have been kept so ridiculously low you have to hope for merit raises and overtime if you are going to survive.

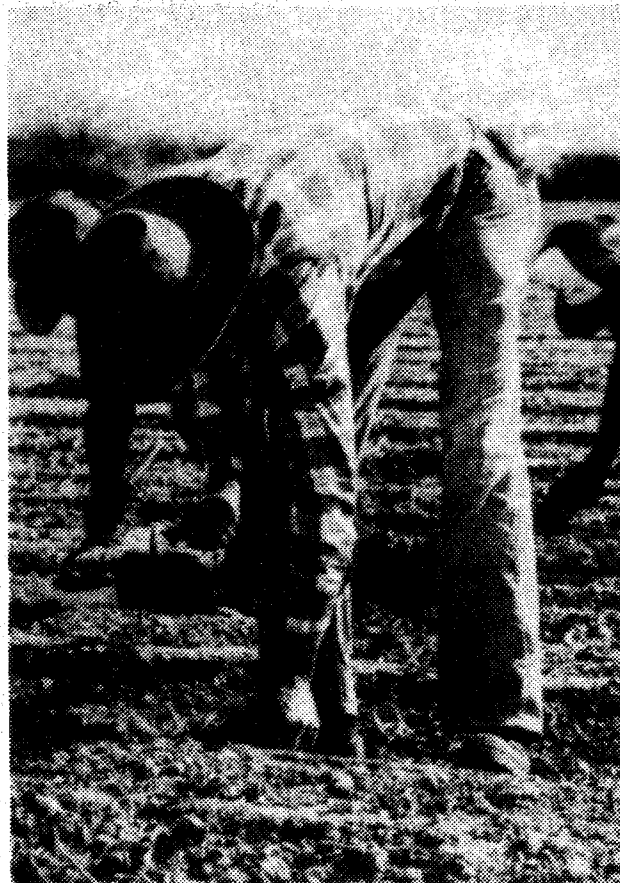
FAVORITISM IN SHOP

Then when the last contract was negotiated in October, 1982, the organizer not only joined the company in its scare tactics about business being bad — all lies — but he deliberately did not include the yearly raise in the starting rates. So the result is that as late as October, 1985 new workers will still be coming in at the same rates as in October, 1981. Workers were never told anything about this at the ratification meeting.

This does hurt us all, as workers who resist this two-tier wage system concession know. That metal shop in 65 is just like the worst non-union shop in its disunity, ratting, favoritism and discrimination.

Workers know that this is what is at stake in the two-tier wage system. That is why there has been and will continue to be such bitter opposition to that specific concession.

Restore Arizona ban on short-handled hoe



Farm workers in Marana, Arizona, using short-handled hoe in lettuce field.

Oakland, Cal. — Farmworkers are fighting two important legal battles now. One is in Arizona, where growers are trying to get a law passed that would once more legalize use of the short-handled hoe in the fields. Farmworkers call this tool an "instrument of torture" and fought long and hard to have it banned. They must work bent over all day to cultivate with the hoe. Over the years this means crippling injuries to the whole body.

Farmworkers in Arizona are not protected by workers' compensation for job injuries. During the proceedings, the law outlawing the hoe is not being enforced. Farmworkers say that despite wording of the proposed law making use of the short-handled hoe "optional," growers will not hire them if they refuse to use it.

In California, proceedings have begun against the University of California whose agricultural research projects have aided state agribusiness in developing automated growing and harvesting machines. The result has been thousands of farmworkers thrown out of work the past two decades.

The present suit, which took five years to get to court, was brought by 17 farmworkers, the California Agrarian Action Project, and California Rural Legal Assistance. The centerpoint of the suit challenges publicly-supported UC in providing research overwhelmingly to private agribusiness, while directing very little to the needs of farmworkers, small farmers and consumers.

Farmworkers called the automated harvesters "los monstruos" (monsters) when they first went into use, and growers have employed them to break strikes. Indeed, the date of the unholy pact between UC research and California agribusiness can be pinpointed to 20 years ago, when the UFW Delano strike signalled a new stage of the farmworkers' movement for human working and living conditions. The struggle continues!

British Leyland workers strike over transfers

Oxford, England — As many as 220 workers, mainly women, in the trim shop at the British Leyland (B.L.) Assembly Plant at Cowley took strike action recently for the right to remain on their existing job, when production of the Acclaim and Rover cars was moved to the Longbridge plant in Birmingham, and production of a new model, the LM11, was started in Cowley.

The company wanted to move the workers to other jobs in the factory, without consulting them or their union. The workers took unofficial strike action on their own initiative. The senior stewards recommended the strikers to return to work and take the matter through procedure, but if they had done this the changeover would have been completed before anything was decided.

Over 1,000 other workers were laid off because of the strike and B.L. lost production worth five million pounds. After two weeks the company agreed that the trim shop workers would get first opportunity to work in the trim shop on the new model. This was a gain, won against the advice of the senior stewards, but it fell short of the guarantee of staying in the same job that the workers were seeking.

When the company called in the full-time union officials to try to end the strike the officials lost no time in arranging a meeting for the next day. It's different when rank-and-file workers want to see them to deal with important problems; the officials keep their own members waiting.

In the neighboring unipart (spare parts) department, B.L. put forward a new incentive document, which management said could enable workers to increase their bonus earnings to a maximum of thirty pounds. Under this scheme, workers would have to work "bell to bell," losing washing up time (as other Leyland plants already have), and management would have the right to move workers around the plant at will, without consultation.

The plan also involved achieving 100 BSIs (British Standard Incentives), but the company reserved to itself the right to define what that meant in Unipart. The senior stewards achieved a 13 to 4 majority, in a meeting of Unipart shop stewards, to recommend the scheme to the workforce on a two months' trial, but in two mass meetings the workforce overwhelmingly rejected it.

One deputy senior steward admitted at the mass meeting that he didn't fully understand the document, but recommended it anyway. The workers voted to renegotiate the bonus deal with the company on more acceptable terms.

Shop steward at B.L., Cowley

W. Europe unemployment

Today in Western Europe there is massive unemployment of almost 13 million people. In West Germany alone, there are 2.5 million unemployed with an unemployment rate of 9.4% while that for West Europe is 11.5%. Holland's rate stood at 15.4% in January, Ireland's at 17%, Italy's at 12.7% and Britain's at 12.3%.

The government, whether social democratic or openly conservative, as in West Germany, are offering only Reagan-style cutbacks and austerity. The labor bureaucracy, led by West Germany's DGB (the German trade union confederation), has called for the 35-hour week for 40 hours pay to create jobs, and they plan a Europe-wide demonstration this spring in Paris.

But so far this movement has generated little mass support. Neither the labor bureaucracy with its social democratic politics nor the peace movement have been able to relate to the question of unemployment, which is found disproportionately among the youth. Mass unemployment plus horrendous new missiles and war threats are the stuff out of which revolutionary youth movements have grown in the past.

CTA drivers' perilous job

Chicago, Ill. — A fellow worker was a few minutes late picking up his bus and missed his run. Now he has to sit and wait for two hours, and if they don't get anything for him, he'll go home and lose his pay for the day. I just can't see it. If I get up and go to work, why should I lose the whole day?

In a factory if you are five or ten minutes late, they dock you for fifteen minutes, but if you are late for the Chicago Transit Authority, you lose the whole day. The only time you don't is when you are late due to a snow storm. Then they need the drivers, so they give you a run.

Yes, we make more than some workers. But we are suspended so easily — for not being on schedule or in uniform and for smoking on the bus. Everyday we drive buses with no shocks on bad streets. If we have a standing load, one mistake on the brakes, and all those people would go flying.

A lot of workers have been talking about the bus driver who was killed by a college student trying to get a reduced fare by using a high school student pass. I feel really bad about her death. I think they should eliminate those passes and just use high school I.D.s. Whenever I drive near a college, I make sure that only high school students get reduced fares. I never checked like that before, but since the driver was killed I do. After all, she was a human being.

We workers should be treated as employees, not animals. The company wants to cooperate with the workers, but only on their terms, their territory, which to me is nothing.

Our contract will be up in November, and I am afraid what will happen with the new contract. They are talking about taking a week of vacation from us. I want to know where the union stands. If you work 25 years, you get a pension which is 37½% of your salary. I think every driver should have a good pension based on 80%.

THEORY / PRACTICE

Marx's philosophy of revolution vs. non-Marxist scholar-careerists in "Marxism"

by Raya Dunayevskaya

author of *Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution*.

The writings of non-Marxist scholars who are careerists in Marxism have become an industry unto itself. One such scholar, Terrell Carver, who has spent more than a decade in the field, published his first, quite promising study, *Karl Marx Texts on Method*¹, in 1975. His latest work, *Marx & Engels, The Intellectual Relationship*², will be followed (in a soon-to-be-published 1984 symposium, *After Marx*³) with an article entitled "Marxism as Method," a title very similar to the first book he published. But the recent works appear to be totally the opposite of what Carver first seemed to be saying.

The reader had every right to read into that 1975 work, which focused on Marx's methodology, that the author meant dialectic methodology as Marx had transformed the Hegelian dialectic, which had created a revolution in philosophy, into a dialectics of revolution. That principle had permeated Marx's entire adult life, so that it mattered not at all whether the subject under discussion was philosophy or political economy; whether it was a matter of working out in theory a dialectics of revolution and writing a Manifesto for an organization that called for revolution, or actual participation in an ongoing revolution and even after its defeat declaring for "revolution in permanence."⁴ Therefore, it did not seem to matter at all whether a study of Marx was undertaken by a Marxist or a non-Marxist who had delved into the field merely as a scholarship pursuit.

THE TWO TEXTS Carver had chosen to concentrate on seemed most impressive and objective in that regard. One was the Introduction to the *Grundrisse* which had first come to light in our age and proved — even to opponents of the Hegelian dialectic and proponents of "scientific economics," like the Althusser — that the "mature Marx" had most definitely not discarded "philosophy" as he made his profound analysis of "the economic law of motion of capitalist society." It is true that Carver was presenting a new translation and commentary on only the Introduction of the *Grundrisse*, but there was no way of missing Marx's multi-dimensionality, his sweep of human development as the absolute opposite to capitalist wealth and alienated labor as well as to pre-capitalist society. Marx had, after all, held out a Promethean vision of a new society "where man does not reproduce himself in any determined form, but produces his totality. Where he does not seek to remain something formed by the past, but is in the absolute movement of becoming."⁵

Carver furthermore made some quite original contributions as he called attention to the fact that, profound and comprehensive as was Marx's Introduction, the post-Marx Marxists had narrowed their vision to make the only reigning principle of Marxian methodology to be a "development from the abstract to the concrete." Carver correctly stressed that that was not the method that characterized the Preface to Marx's *Critique of Political Economy*. As Marx explained: "I omit a general introduction which I had prepared as on second thought any anticipation of results that are still to be proven, seemed to me objectionable, and the reader who wishes to follow me at all must make up his mind to pass from the particular to the general..."

The second "Marx text" Carver chose to translate anew and comment on — "Notes (1879-80) on Adolph Wagner" — further reinforced the view that Carver was entering the contemporary field of challenging reigning Marx-interpretations by self-appointed Marx "specialists" who imprison everything in so-called "orthodoxy" when what is needed is a serious grappling with Marx's Marxism instead

of inventing unbridgeable gulfs between the "young" and the "mature" Marx. Here was a document from Marx's last years in which he was reaffirming that his dialectic methodology and the historically concrete commodity were inseparable. Moreover, commodity related not to a mere thing; the two-fold nature of the commodity reflected the two-fold character of labor — abstract and concrete — Marx's original contribution without which, he claimed, no scientific understanding of political economy is possible.

NOTHING IN ALL this could possibly have prepared the reader for the shock of reading Carver's latest article on "Marxism as Method," as he rushes to conclude: "Marx's actual method in dealing with political economy was eclectic and very complex. He used classical and Hegelian logic, and the techniques of mathematical, sociological, economic, historical and political analysis... This eclectic method included a notion of dialectic as the specification of conflictual, developmental factors in analysing social phenomena, and we know that Marx found this helpful in dealing, for example, with the concepts of money and profit." (My emphasis).

So opposite a picture of Carver emerges from his first book and his most recent writings that one is tempted to ask: Who is the "real" Terrell Carver? The answer, I believe, is revealed in an article — "Marx's Commodity Fetishism"⁶ — written the same year as *Karl Marx Texts on Method*. It is there we read: "In 1842 he (Marx) had read, a 1785 German translation of Charles de Brosses's *Cult of the Fetish-Gods*, published anonymously in Paris in 1760." Supposedly, "Marx used the word 'fetish' in this eighteenth- and nineteenth-century sense." (p. 50) This is further substantiated by him with a definition straight from the Oxford English Dictionary: "An inanimate object worshipped by savages on account of its supposed inherent magical powers, or as being animated by a spirit."

It is absurd to consider that Marx would have followed an Oxford English dictionary definition after a full quarter of a century of labor studying the commodity — at the end of which he was still so dissatisfied that, following the Paris Commune, he returned to his masterpiece, *Capital*, to introduce fundamental changes both in Chapter 1 and in the section on "Accumulation of Capital," asking even the reader familiar with the original edition to nevertheless read that 1872-75 French edition.⁷

6. Terrell Carver, "Marx's Commodity Fetishism." *Inquiry*, 18, pp. 39-63.

It is in the section on fetishism — in which Marx had seen that the mystical character which has human relations reduced to "material relations between persons and social relations between things" — that he now, after the Paris Commune, declared that only "freely associated" men and women can strip away that fetish. Carver makes short shrift of all of this by paying no attention whatever to such historical truths and dialectical relations.

The truth is that Carver totally rejects Marx's dialectic, including the whole labor theory of value and surplus value. He is so eaten up with hostility to Marx that in this article he strikes out also against the great economist, Joan Robinson,⁸ who, though she rejects Marx's dialectics, recognizes his great contributions to economics. Here is the arrogance with which Carver wipes his hands of all that: "If the arguments for his critical re-presentation of the labor theory of value are unconvincing, then there is no reason to accept his views precisely as he expressed them, and that is that." (p. 59)

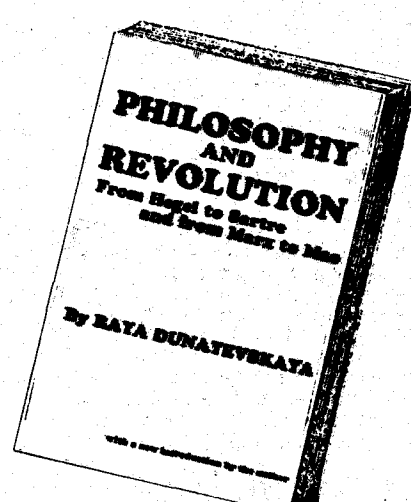
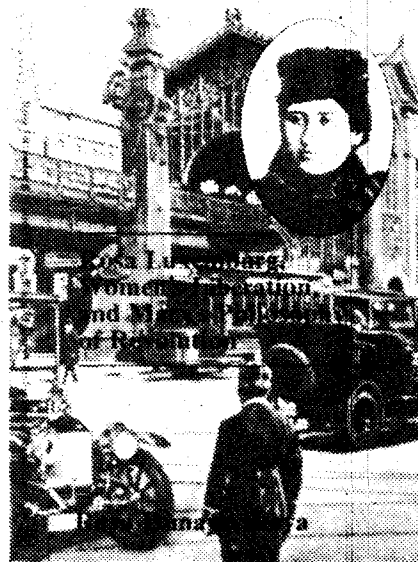
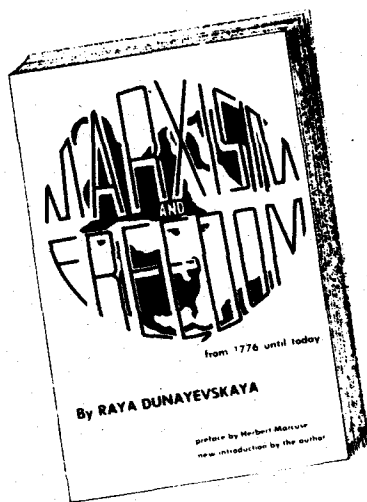
THE ONE PARAGRAPH Preface to *Marx & Engels, The Intellectual Relationship*, in which Carver calls attention to his Marx-Engels Chronology, may shed some illumination — but for very different reasons than he had in mind when he wrote that he hoped "the reader will find the Marx-Engels Chronology at the end of the book useful in following my account of two complicated careers..." The Chronology illuminates not so much the Marx-Engels relationship as the pragmatic, non-revolutionary pre-suppositions that

(Continued on page 5)

7. Over the years, I have traced not only Marx's concept of the fetishism as he described it in 1867 and in the 1872-75 French edition, but how Chapter 1, especially its concluding section on fetishism, has become central to all the debates over Marx the dialectician and Marx the "economist" at every single critical turning point in the objective situation. These debates begin with the call by the first revisionist, Eduard Bernstein, for the removal of the "dialectical scaffolding"; achieve a Great Divide in Marxism with Lenin's *Abstract of Hegel's Science of Logic*; and reach the post-WWII period with Sartre on one side and Althusser on the other. See *Marxism and Freedom*, especially Chapter X ("The Collapse of the Second International and the Break in Lenin's Thought"); *Philosophy and Revolution*, Chapter 2, Section C ("The Adventures of the Commodity as Fetish"), as well as Chapter 6, on Jean-Paul Sartre, especially Section B ("The Dialectic and the Fetish"); and *Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution*, Part Three ("Karl Marx — From Critic of Hegel to Author of Capital and Theorist of 'Revolution in Permanence'").

8. One way Joan Robinson rejected dialectics was expressed when she told me that she wished Marx had told Engels all his economic theories, so Engels could have presented them in clear English.

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Chilean women organize to fight Pinochet repression

Editor's Note: As Chileans demonstrate daily in the streets against the Pinochet government, we print the following excerpts from a talk given by a Chilean woman exile.

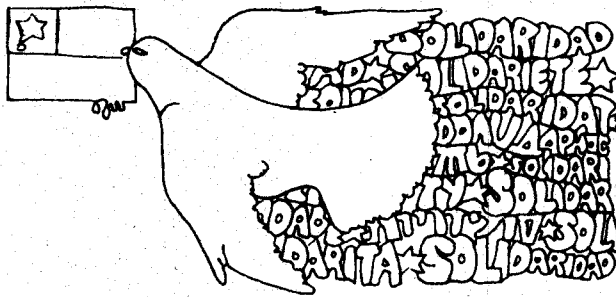
I will start by giving you an idea about what is going on within the country, inside Chile. Most of what I am going to say is based on direct observation. Since 1979, I have been going back to Chile.

What I have observed in general has to be placed in the context of two factors that dominate Chilean life. One is political repression, and the other is economic repression. They are two forms of repression which go hand in hand. The new economic system that the junta imposed upon the country after 1973 has of course produced devastating effects, that have affected the family fundamentally, and therefore women. The enormous, incredible amount of unemployment has produced an extreme state of poverty, and as a consequence, hunger and malnutrition.

On the other side are the political factors. I would only stay with the word repression because I think that that is enough to give you an idea of the situation that most of the people experience inside the country.

WOMEN'S 'SOLIDARITY' ORGANIZATIONS

Women have tried to organize themselves not only to fight the political repression, but also to counteract the economic situation in which they find themselves. I would call the numerous organizations of women, solidarity organizations. They are all in solidarity, one with another, although they are different types of organizations. And they are all organizations that have incredibly different characteristics, but have taken it upon themselves to struggle against the Pinochet government.



For instance, workshops, the word is talleres in Spanish. Chile is at this moment full of workshops that have been organized around different sectors of the population. If we take Santiago, the capital, it is surrounded by poblaciones, shantytowns, in which the living conditions are extremely poor and extremely difficult — lack of water, lack of electricity, in general the lack of the most basic elements to make life a little bit easier. Most of these hardships fall on women because women are the ones who have to carry the water and struggle against the conditions they live in.

These women have organized themselves very strongly in each of these poblaciones, in order to counteract the economic situation. From these organizations they have been able to get some changes in their living conditions. How are we going to feed the children? How are we going to feed ourselves?

For the children soup kitchens were established by different organizations. Women started taking their children to these soup kitchens, but feeling very bad about it. So they started working within the kitchens. They cooked the meals for the kids and then they decided to do something that would get them some money. They have started a series of embroidery workshops around the soup kitchens. They have produced some of the most incredible pieces of popular art which are part of the women's opposition to the dictatorship.

The women have also organized themselves in cultural and artistic groups because the dictatorship has tried very hard to break with the cultural and artistic past of the people. And so the women have taken upon themselves the task of continuing what was before. What they knew was their culture. I am referring to music, to popular songs, to a series of collective artistic expressions that they find is essential to defend in order to survive within the conditions that the dictatorship has established. Women taped their own concerts, concerts in which the national popular dance of Chile, the cueca, which is essentially a dance of a man and a woman, is danced by a woman alone, signifying in a very dramatic way the absence of the man that disappeared. That is one of the most powerful organizations that I saw in Chile, emanating from direct political oppression.

DEMONSTRATE FOR 'DISAPPEARED'

There are other organizations. For instance, the Association of Arrested and Disappeared. The relatives of arrested and disappeared, the vast majority of them women, formed one of the strongest organizations. It is an association that has brought together a varied group of women — from different social classes, different political backgrounds, even from different religious backgrounds. They came together, worked together because they share one thing — a son, a husband, a father, a brother, who has disappeared.

They are women of all ages that work together. They continually demonstrate, have the courage and the power to demonstrate in Santiago by, for instance, tying themselves to the fences of the National Congress, by interrupting traffic. If you would only imagine what they are endangering when they do that, because the conditions in the country are very difficult, then you will have the full dimension of how brave these women are.

Then of course there are women who are part of the national commission for human rights in Chile, organizations that are not women-only organizations. Women are also quite involved in what is called the coordinator-syndical, coordinator of the organization of all the unions. This is extremely difficult in a country where all unions were banned. The only ones surviving and those coming into the picture, are ones with very new people. The women's section of these union organizations have already had two national meetings in Chile in which they called for women to integrate themselves into the struggle for economic and political freedom.

The organizations, especially the ones that are the sort of spontaneous creations in the poblaciones, go unnoticed by a visitor. You only know about them if you are a Chilean, if you know where to go and with whom to talk. And when you do that you discover an incredibly rich organization that is, as I say, unnoticed by the rest of the people, that is hidden, but therefore very strong and very powerful and that one day will surface. It is a very positive hope for Chile at the moment.

THEORY / PRACTICE

(Continued from page 4)

are weighing heavily on the author.

Thus: 1) Missing entirely are the 1848 Revolutions or any writings during that period. No wonder there is not a word of the famous 1850 Address to the Communist League, written after the defeat of those Revolutions, in which Marx and Engels declared for the "revolution in permanence." In place of revolution — either the particular ones in France and Germany, or "in permanence" — what determines this so-called independent study of Marx is the concept of "career," "vocation." Carver goes so far as to picture, in this latest book, Engels losing out to Marx because he "lacked Marx's single-minded political thrust and unifying sense of vocation." (p. xiii)

2) The 1860s fare as badly in the Chronology as the revolutions that covered Europe in the 1840s. We are told nothing of the Polish Revolt, or the Civil War in the U.S., or the General Strikes in France — all of which resulted in the establishment of the International Workingmen's Association (First International), headed by Marx. Not only that. Along with Marx's activities came also the many restructurings of Capital, which led, at one and the same time, to relegating the history of theory to Vol. IV. Instead, "history and its process" became the center, the determinant for Marx. This means little to Carver, as is obvious from the fact that he also leaves out of his Chronology what was the greatest revolution in Marx's time — the Paris Commune — which led to the definitive French edition of Marx's greatest work, *Capital*, and which, in illuminating that intellectual relationship between Marx and Engels, would have thereby revealed what Marx's Marxism is.

3) Instead, Carver presents the last years of Marx's life so loosely that outright factual errors have crept in. The reader doesn't know whether Carver really does know the *Ethnological Notebooks* or was led to believe by Engels that they were concerned only with Morgan's Ancient Society, and to believe, further, that Engels had included all of Marx's study in his own very first work after Marx's death — *The Origin of the Family* — as a "bequest" of Marx. No wonder that Carver does not subject Engels' very first "substantial" work after Marx's death to any critical examination. [This author considers that work to be the

9. See Chapter X of Rosa Luxemburg, *Women's Liberation and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution*, especially Section 2 ("Capital: Significance of the 1875 French Edition of Vol. I"). See also "The French Edition of *Capital*, 100 Years After," a paper presented by Kevin Anderson to the Conference of the Eastern Sociological Society, Philadelphia, March 19, 1982.

Malathion poisoning

Los Angeles, Cal. — Nearly 1,000 residents of the Echo Park neighborhood gathered for a protest rally on March 14 to stop the aerial spraying of the pesticide malathion. For two hours the chanting protesters, especially the youth, "took over" the street, passing fliers to residents, warning them of the poisoning and asking all to join the vigil.

Days earlier, three fruit flies had been found in this multi-ethnic, low-income neighborhood, prompting officials to propose immediate spraying. The spraying had already begun weeks earlier in Black and Latino Watts and East Los Angeles, in the name of "saving" California's \$14 billion agriculture industry. There, reports of residents, particularly children, getting sick had met a deaf ear from officials.

In Echo Park, reaction to the announcement of spraying was spontaneous — over 500 gathered in a local park. The next day, at a meeting with 60 participants, one resident summed it up best: "Agribusiness used to have to pay for its own crop-dusting. Now they have found a way to make us pay for it, with our taxes and our health." Indeed, the politicians responsible for the spraying have received large campaign contributions from agricultural interests.

According to environmentalists, malathion is a nerve gas, with poisoning symptoms ranging from skin rashes to liver failure. Alternatives to the pesticide include the use of sterile flies; it was this procedure that was followed when over a hundred fruit flies were found in the affluent San Fernando Valley in 1980. As one protester at the March 14 rally summed it up: "Save an orange, poison a child."

—Echo Park resident

Non-Marxist scholar-careerists

most serious deviation from Marx's Marxism, whether that be the concept of Man/Woman in the 1844 Essays or as it was developed in the full *Ethnological Notebooks*.¹⁰ A reading of those Notebooks would have proved to Carver that his conclusions that Marx and Engels are not "one" is by no means limited to the difference in Engels' presentation of Anti-Duhring before and after Marx's death. It is no wonder that the way Carver presents the situation ends with his total rejection of Marx and praise of Engels, though it began the other way around.

IN HIS LATEST WORK, Marx & Engels, *The Intellectual Relationship*, Carver devotes no less than two of the five chapters of the book to Engels, before the lifelong association was established in the autumn of 1844. This presentation, indeed, overshadows Marx's development in the crucial 1842-44 period. The first encounter between Marx and Engels in 1842, presented by Carver in Chapter 1 ("The False Start"), led nowhere, but Carver shows in great detail what Engels wrote in that period. The same holds true for 1843, which was a great turning point in Marx's life — not only personally, as his break with bourgeois society shows, but objectively, as his writing shows. But, again, the focus is on Engels, not on Marx, specifically on the article, "Outlines of a Critique of Political Economy," which Engels had submitted to Marx's journal in Paris, and which greatly impressed Marx.

What is important is not that it greatly impressed Marx then, but that Carver is so overwhelmed by it now, 140 years later, that he elevates it to a status above Marx's famous 1844 Essays, which initiated the discovery of a whole new continent of thought and revolution. Completed the month before the meeting with Engels in mid-August, Marx's views had so great an impact on Engels himself (even though he heard the concepts only in an abbreviated oral form) that a life-long collaboration of the two revolutionaries resulted.

Terrell Carver, the hide-bound eclectic, turns all this upside down. Thus: 1) Carver claims (p. 41) that since Marx's "excerpt-notes" contain a resume of Engels' "Outlines," it is, in fact, Engels who inspired Marx's now famous 1844 *Economic-Philosophic Manuscripts*.

2) Not only that. Carver further considers those 1844 Manuscripts "an intermediate stage of conceptual elaboration between Engels' critique of the economists's basic categories, and the much crisper 'premises' of *The German Ideology*" (p. 41, my emphasis), a collaborative effort of the two in 1845, which they later consigned to the "gnawing criticism of the mice."

3) Still not satisfied with his reduction of Marx's 1844 Manuscripts as something reflecting Engels' "methodology," Carver concludes: "The methodology, however, was adopted from Engels' 'Outlines,' where there was a focus on 'contradictions' in social life." (p. 54, my emphasis).

4) Finally, Carver concludes that "The theoretical, empirical and even in some respects political and historical virtues of Engels's work were substantially degraded when he settled into his role as Marx's 'second fiddle'" (p. 155).

Of course, when one has praised Marx's "eclecticism," spelled out his scientific, rigorous and voluminous concrete economic studies, stressing the meticulousness of his studies, how can one conclude that Marx's methodology, which led to his conclusion about the law of motion of capitalism, is mechanically "derived" from Hegel's categories in the *Logic*? Fiction in place of fact oozing out of Carver's eclecticism should not surprise us anymore than his crediting Marx's methodology in the 1844 Manuscripts to Engels.

What all this proves, to this author, is that the totality of the crises of our age, in thought as well as in material conditions, is so unrelenting in its stranglehold over pragmatism that it becomes impossible for the non-Marxist scholars to cut themselves free and make any real contribution to the knowledge of Marx's Marxism as a totality.

10. In 1972, Marx's Notebooks, titled *The Ethnological Notebooks of Karl Marx* (Assen: Van Gorcum, 1972), were finally transcribed by Lawrence Krader. For my analysis see especially Chapter XII, Section 2 ("The Unknown Ethnological Notebooks, the Unread Drafts of the Letter to Zasulich, as well as the Undigested 1882 Preface to Russian Edition of the Communist Manifesto") in Rosa Luxemburg, *Women's Liberation and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution*.

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WOMEN'S LIBERATION: THE TODAYNESS OF ELEANOR MARX VS. NEW BEDFORD'S 'INFINITE DEGRADATION OF MAN'

When I watched that disgusting anti-woman march in New Bedford, Mass. on TV my mind went back to the way it was reported in N&L (April, 1983), just after the brutal gang rape had been committed. Suzanne Casey had written that it made her think of the quote from Marx's 1844 essay: "The infinite degradation in which man exists for himself is expressed in this relation to the woman as the spoils and handmaiden of communal lust..." Marx wanted to know when man as a species would become human. All I know is that we have a lot of work to do to rid ourselves of the sickness of this society.

Women's liberationist
Chicago

The way I see it, the New Bedford, Mass. trial and the many rapes in Detroit have a lot to do with the weakness of the rape shield law. I saw some of the film clips of the trial in Massachusetts. It was horrible because they were really slandering this woman. There are a lot of women who have been raped who are now bowing out — they will not prosecute.

In Massachusetts, the lawyers called her a liar, they called her a welfare cheat and said that she was living with different lovers. But what do any of these slanders have to do with the fact that she was raped? We need the rape shield law revised to stop what is happening to women now. And as women we need to get together to discuss what is happening to us.

Anti-rape activist
Michigan

The horrible demonstration of Portuguese in support of the New Bedford rapists after the trial sickened me. I could not believe, no matter what else they thought, that they would put two men who participated in the attack at the head of the parade and "celebrate" their acquittal. There is no way to justify it. Some so-called radical papers have been playing up the statements of the so-called "Committee for Justice", saying that their work against "anti-Portuguese bigotry" is great. But why in the hell does this committee then celebrate rapists as heroes? And why would any Left paper excuse such behavior?

The fact is that there is a duality in Portuguese society just as in every society. Why does everyone forget that the woman who was raped is Portuguese? Even at the time of the Portuguese revolution, the May 1, 1975 demonstration of Women's Liberation was attacked with rocks and trash by men of the Communist Party and other Left groups. Has the Left forgotten that already too?

Furious
New York City

In response to your article called "Detroit women organize against rape", we wanted to say how the Highland Park (Mich.) "Women Against Rape" was formed. On Feb. 1, when another young girl was raped, many of us were talking to each other on the telephone. We wanted to do something about it, and we came up with the idea that we wanted to have a rally against these rapes.

We called City Hall to get a permit for the rally, and they asked us what was the name of our group. That was when we came up with the name "Women against Rape." We didn't have any idea that there were other groups with the same name in other cities, until they began calling us and telling us that they would send us "brochures" on "how to organize." By then we were already organized.

City Council told us that we would have to wait two weeks for a decision on the permit. We decided to have the rally whether we got a permit or not. The established groups in the city who originally supported us were now backing down. They said that if we rallied without a permit we were going against the city, that we were "playing politics." But the truth is that in our demands on the leaflet, and in our rally downtown, we were trying to stop the crisis in our city.

Anti-rape organizers
Detroit

Ed. Note: See "Dehumanization in New Bedford," p. 2.

The todayness of Eleanor Marx came out so beautifully in Terry Moon's column, not only on the "Woman Question", but in her battle against those socialists in America, German immigrants, who had contempt for the indigenous U.S. proletariat. Today, it is indigenous American socialists who manifest that same contempt. Their view is often that revolution is conceivable in the Third World, but not in America, where "all the workers" are "brainwashed by TV."

Feminist
Los Angeles

Reading the essay on Eleanor Marx, and seeing how intensely she searched for "lower and deeper" subjects of revolution, I was struck with a very surprising thought. I wondered whether Eleanor Marx wasn't really a better exponent of the Marxism of her father than the person always taken to have represented Marx's ideas after his death — Frederick Engels? Perhaps she didn't see any divergence between her work 1883-98 and Engels', but I think we can see it today. It's worth a thought.

Student of Marxism
Michigan

BLACK THOUGHT TODAY AND YESTERDAY: MIAMI REBELLION, GARVEY'S RELEVANCE

Black leaders tried to keep the lid on any revolt in Miami when Alvarez was acquitted, but this didn't stop some youth from throwing rocks, bottles, and gunfire at all who represented the state. One young Black woman said, "I can't get no justice done and out here throwing rocks is my only way of feeling I have accomplished something." She accomplished something by being able to voice her ideas and be listened to by the nation and heard throughout the Black world.

Black worker
Los Angeles

Reagan may say what he likes about education, but I know he has turned the clock back for Blacks. There has been no increase in Black teachers at the school where I teach, and a decline in Black students. Starting next year they are bringing in computers. They say this is as a "teacher's aid", but the computer will demand most of my time, and will take away from the student-teacher relationship. Eventually, I wouldn't be surprised if the computer steals my job!

Teacher
Alabama

Lou Turner's articles on the hidden dimensions of Marcus Garvey — his relationship to the Russian Revolution and his roots in the West Indian peasantry — were very helpful to me. I have always liked the way N&L took up Garvey and the six million members he organized in the American Civilization on Trial pamphlet, where Garvey is connected to Claude McKay and to Lenin's view of the revolutionary nature of the U.S. Black masses. But I think we can also learn something new from studying Garvey's papers as they have now been published.

Black student
Detroit

Hasn't it long been known in the socialist and progressive movement that Garvey was a nationalist, pure and simple? I don't know why you keep bringing up his work when even W.E.B. DuBois saw through his schemes. When we have to deal with Reagan, it is time for both black and white to get together on a class basis, not a nationalist basis.

Long-time socialist
New York



Readers' View

CENTRAL AMERICA'S REVOLUTIONS

The problems of restructuring society after revolution are being worked out concretely in Nicaragua now, and the article "Report from Nicaragua" (March N&L) brings up again the issue of a non-industrial country operating within the context of the world capitalist market. However, I was dissatisfied with that article, because although it raised a question about the government's policy of producing for foreign exchange rather than for local use, it made no comment on what the government's stress on increased production means for workers at the point of production or for peasants in the fields.

Regular Reader
Chicago

At a recent benefit for the Central America Solidarity Committee (CASC) here, the right of Marxist-Humanists to set up a literature table was challenged. At the next meeting a week later, there was a good one-hour discussion on the subject of free speech, with Iranians, Palestinians and others pointing out the need to protect the vital principle of free participation of ideas in a coalition.

It is not surprising that the liberals who wanted to limit literature to material supposedly "only on Central America", attacked us at a time when two right-wingers had written editorials in the school newspaper charging that CASC was a left-wing group. Their response was to red-bait us in this underhanded way.

Marxist-Humanists
Salt Lake City, Utah

On March 24, the feeling of solidarity between the U.S. people and the struggling Central American masses swept like fresh air through the streets of Los Angeles. A crowd of several hundred swelled to over two thousand as marchers walked several miles. There could be no doubt in the shouts that rang to the top of skyscrapers that "The people united will never be defeated" were the feelings of the marchers for their own struggle as well for the Central American struggle. The many posters and leaflets carried expressions such as "Jobs, not colonies."

The question that hung over the march was one which the whole anti-war movement faces — why there was a lack of Black and Latino participation. It seems that the largely white solidarity movement has underestimated the interest of ordinary people in this issue, by not listening to the voices from the community and inviting them to raise issues concerning their lives at the same time they participate in such a march.

Wayne Carter
Los Angeles

BRITISH MINERS, AUTOWORKERS

The movement is on the defensive here but making a poor showing. The split among the miners is the worst thing that has happened here over many years. All of the establishment is attacking all sections of the working-class movement. They are endeavoring to cripple the parliamentary Labour party financially. Scotland Yard is using the full force of the police against the pickets. We are feeling the full pressure of reaction. The Nazis were never as tactful as the British Tories. The Labour bureaucrats are not fighting back.

Correspondent
Scotland

A friend at British Leyland's Cowley plant has been studying Charles Denby's *Indignant Heart*, while in the factory he is involved in the defense of a Black worker who was sacked for hitting a racist foreman. Some time before Xmas this foreman told the worker to move over to another job. The worker objected saying that he had already been moved once that day. The foreman abused him, calling him a "Black bastard", and the worker lost his temper and struck him. The foreman was knocked unconscious. BL management fired the worker at once.

Other workers who were around when the incident happened testified on the worker's side in the appeal. Management took the line that if the foreman was racist the worker should have made an official

complaint and "not taken the law into his own hands." The next step will be either to bring a case for unfair dismissal at an industrial tribunal, or a case for racial discrimination through the Race Relations Board, though neither of these bodies can force BL to reinstate the worker.

Richard Bunting
Oxford, England

LABORING PEOPLE...

Reagan's plan is to break all the unions. But it is only because we have had unions in this country that so many people enjoy a decent standard of living — the kind of thing Reagan likes to boast about, as if it's big business that has created this wealth for the working class. What I want to know is: If the government is giving money to big farmers not to grow wheat, why don't they give me money not to make airplanes?

McDonnell Douglas worker
Long Beach, Cal.

It will be a real tough fight in July when our contract comes up. The last contract was right after the PATCO firings and we got a lousy contract. You really don't have a union when you can't strike. We have so many problems. Health and safety violations pile up and OSHA doesn't even inspect. The recent postal union elections were a farce. Only one out of three workers voted because the supposed opposition had never been in opposition. They supported the last contract till now.

Postal Worker,
New York

All workers, not just industrial workers, are facing the concessions threat. The Bank of America plans to close 120 offices in California, eliminating 7,990 jobs in 1984. The hospitals and nursing homes are laying off thousands for the first time since the Great Depression because the workers and unemployed can't afford health care. And even insurance companies are beginning to cut office staff because workers, in each industry, are being asked to "give" concessions to the bosses.

I have only one piece of advice. As an ex-autoworker who has seen what concessions will do, I say: Don't do it! They will only use your own money to automate and cut out your job. You will be paying for your own execution.

Been through it
Los Angeles

I recently saw an article in Time magazine that listed the fastest growing, and fastest shrinking jobs in America. I was a little surprised to see that janitors are the second fastest growing job category of all. But I wasn't surprised to see that fewer jobs are open today for clergymen than anything else. Hell, everybody I know is feeling the pinch. They are losing their jobs and finding out what this economy is about. The people are looking at reality more because it is really doing a number on them. They don't want to bother dropping nickels in the preacher's bucket anymore — they want some kind of human change. No wonder the clergymen are going out of business.

Unemployed Black worker
Los Angeles

... AND LABOR HISTORIANS

Recently I took a trip to West Virginia which made me more anxious than ever to read the forthcoming N&L pamphlet on the 1949-50 coal miners' general strike. The current battles of miners are light years removed from the "theories" of even sympathetic academics. In the WVU library I read about the "Kerr-Siegle theory of miners' strike proneness," (sic!). It turns out to be based on a conception that miners live as "isolated masses" in separate communities with their own "codes and myths." This Kerr is the very same Clark Kerr who became infamous attacking the Free Speech Movement in California in the 1960s.

That disgusting viewpoint has nothing at all to do with what the miners have been fighting for — in 1949-50 or right now. The academics need to learn how to listen to what the miners are actually saying before they make up their theses.

Former West Virginian
Detroit

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DISCUSSIONS ON A MARXIST-HUMANIST BODY OF IDEAS

Participating in the classes on Marxist-Humanism, I have been coming back to the question: why was capitalism allowed to develop for the past 200 years? Why was it given a new lease on life with the Great Depression, when it transformed into state-capitalism, both here and in Russia?

I think the answer is simple. The dialectic of history is such that history either moves forward or it moves backward. Instead of a forward movement to the development of men and women, we fall back into some leader or God. These classes are about people getting together to transform this system that turns half the people into parasites and the other half into objects of production.

Worker
Los Angeles

What has been most exciting to me in the classes here on the "Marxist-Humanist Body of Ideas" is the participation of Middle-Easterners. One young participant in the revolution said that he rediscovered the atmosphere of what he was fighting for in Marxist-Humanism. The discussion on Chapter 4 of *Marxism and Freedom* on the 1848 revolutions was especially exciting because the Middle-Easterners related Marx and Lassalle to tendencies in the Iranian Revolution.

The readings for the class made me appreciate how much Raya Dunayevskaya was articulating back in 1957 in M&F a philosophy of "revolution in permanence". When viewed with Chapter 3 of *Philosophy and Revolution* on Lenin, I felt a new appreciation of what "Lenin was a Lassallean" meant concretely. While Lenin certainly experienced a philosophic breakthrough in 1914, anything short of projecting philosophy as the mediation to a new society resulted in organization just setting the ground for counter-revolution. From this perspective it isn't so great that there isn't a word about the vanguard party to lead in State and Revolution.

Re-thinking things
Oakland, Calif.

It is time that we destroyed the rubbish coming from Reagan and Thatcher. Thatcher will never live down her boost for Victorian values. We are living at a time when our enemies are preparing to destroy any vestige of human thought to further the most atrocious of crude materialist ends. They would have no hesitation in turning Europe — and not only Europe — into a vast cemetery.

With the vision of Marx as expressed in his criticism of the Gotha Programme, in

the 1844 Manuscripts and in the Civil War in France, we are better armed than Marxists of the past. Engels' Anti-Duhring is not the last word. We need a book to take the place of Anti-Duhring in the present day.

Harry McShane
Glasgow, Scotland

We all read your paper at our house and try to spread the word about its excellence. It still maintains its stimulating quality and I feel it is successful in what it claims to do — uniting the working man and the intellectual. That is something thinkers have been trying to do since the earliest socialistic experiments in Europe.

I wish you had a News and Letters Committee and classes in the Philadelphia area, as you do in other urban areas. I think you would "catch on" here very well. I am also enclosing money for Charles Denby's *Indignant Heart* as a present for an autoworker friend. It is a masterpiece of its genre (if it has any genre).

Subscriber
Yardley, Pa.

I was in the park with a group of friends, discussing Marxist-Humanist ideas. There was a group of young Blacks at the next table talking about unemployment, and we asked them to come join our discussion. (They told us later that they had heard us, and started talking loudly so we would hear them!) They were all unemployed, but they didn't want to go into the army. "I think the whole world should stop and have a general strike", one said. It was so exciting for us to meet each other and see that we had the same thoughts. We almost felt like the revolution was starting, right then.

High school student
Los Angeles

When we came to discuss Marx's last decade in the classes, the new Introduction to *Afro-Asian Revolutions* came up very naturally. Marx's point that other paths to revolution could be followed by technologically underdeveloped countries seems exactly what Third World revolutions have been trying to work out since the end of WWII. The ending of the Grenadian revolution with the murder of Maurice Bishop suggests to me that we have a lot more studying of Marx, and practicing of his method, to go through before we successfully find those other paths to freedom he wrote about.

CISPES activist
San Francisco

When I heard of the death of Guinean president Sekou Toure, I thought that an era had just about ended for the African Revolutions. After all, who is left of that first generation of leaders except Nyerere and Kaunda? But in a very different way I had been thinking about the whole era in the last few weeks since I read Raya Dunayevskaya's introduction to the new edition of *Afro-Asian Revolutions* (March N&L).

It was especially striking when she singled out "the problem of how to industrialize non-capitalistically, private or state; of how at the same time to expand political liberties and maintain worker control of the state" as the key to the division between the leaders and the masses. I loved Toure in 1960 when he was one of the first African leaders to come to the U.S. and speak at the United Nations. But even he ended up saying that he was "not opposed" to forced labor for industrialization.

I guess it shows that if you don't have a philosophy of liberation based on "human power", human creativity, sooner or later you will end up basing yourself on technology and seeking control over workers, instead of workers' control.

African liberation supporter
New York



THE GAMBIA: APPEAL FOR DIXON COLLEY

I was very concerned to read in your paper about the arrest of Dixon Colley, the editor of the Gambian newspaper, *The Nation*. I have always read his contributions in N&L with great interest. Is there some place we can write to express our concern and solidarity with Colley and to try and put pressure on the Dawda regime to stop their harassment of him?

Women's Liberationist
Chicago

Ed. Note: The campaign of attacks on the work of Dixon Colley by the government continues. On Jan. 25, 1984 he was in court to answer sedition charges. The decision in that case has not yet been handed down. *The Nation* is in need of political support and financial assistance in its fight for African freedom. Please send your assistance to W. Dixon Colley, *People's Press*, 3, BoxBar Road, Banjul, The Gambia, West Africa.

REAGAN'S BLOATED MILITARY

I thought your analysis of the Grenada invasion was very good (Dec. 1983 N&L). We know that this invasion was just another chapter in the criminal record of the U.S. ruling class, but I think it fore-shadows deeper crises. The invasion more than anything else symbolized an end to the memory of Vietnam, and now the Pentagon is operating with a green light on spending. Reagan is appealing for the crudest kind of super-patriotism when he isn't on vacation. If Reagan is re-elected I think we will see the military hold on the government tighter.

The only fear I have is that American workers are so poisoned with anti-communism that they will fall into the trap of fascism. You must know from traveling that the level of ignorance out in the country (the first prerequisite for fascism) is shocking, and the attitudes of most college students I have met are positively awful. Of course I never thought that a college campus was conducive to any kind of free thought or genuine learning, which is why I never went.

Union activist
Brunswick, Ohio

On March 8 Marine Staff Sergeant Anthony Somme was on the seventh day of a hunger strike at the Marine Corps brig at Parris Island, South Carolina. Somme is serving a two and a half month sentence for alleged cocaine use. The only evidence presented at his Court Martial was the results of two urinalysis tests. Yet even the Air Force colonel who developed the test says that the results are not accurate enough to be used as the basis for punitive action.

Somme is one of six Black and Hispanic Marine recruiters recently faced with less than honorable discharge or court martial in New York. They have filed charges of racial discrimination and improper disciplinary action against the Marine Corps. John Judge, a counselor with SOS/GI Assistance Project who is assisting the recruiters, says that "The case is part of a larger pattern of military misuse of urinalysis tests to get rid of Black and Hispanic servicepeople. In this case, the command used the drug tests as an excuse to discharge Black and Hispanic recruiters, hoping to reduce the number of new recruits coming into the Marine Corps from Harlem, Bedford Stuyvesant and Hispanic neighborhoods in New York City."

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ESSAY ARTICLE

by John Alan

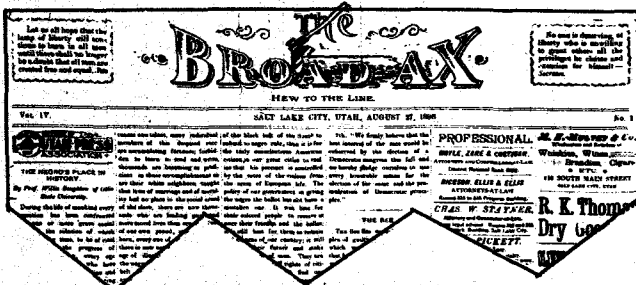
President Reagan's invasion of Grenada on October 25, 1983, which was primarily aimed at controlling the Grenadian masses, was so well synchronized with his brazen assault on the Civil Rights Commission that once again it has shown how closely connected are imperialism and racism. That link to racism is clear from imperialism's birth at the end of the 19th century. What is less widely known is its absolute opposite — the revolutionary opposition by Black America in the 1890s.

In 1898, Black Americans, more than any other group of people, caught the twin relationship between their own existence as a pariah race within the United States and the drive toward conquest and domination in the Caribbean and in the Pacific by the then young forces of U.S. imperialism. Blacks reacted to this sudden appearance of the United States in the arena of world imperialism and mounted a significant anti-imperialist campaign that was inseparable from the fight against lynching, disenfranchisement and Jim Crow.

These moments in Black American history are not widely known and very few historians, Black or white, have ever considered it a serious subject for research — and, in those rare instances when the Black Anti-Imperialist Movement of the turn of the century is mentioned, it appears only in the footnotes of some larger study of the "white" Anti-Imperialist League, founded by such prominent New Englanders as Edward Atkinson, Charles Eliot Norton and William James.

RACISM AT MONOPOLY'S BIRTH

By the last decade of the 19th century, U.S. monopoly capitalism was at the pinnacle of its power. With the help of the government, which it controlled openly and unabashedly, big business had achieved dominance over the American



The Broad Ax, a Black newspaper published in Salt Lake City in the late 1890s.

market. Black Americans were experiencing the full impact and the ultimate meaning of the 1877 Hayes-Tilden compromise that was negotiated by the railroad monopoly to end the sectional differences between the Northern and the Southern capitalists.

Benjamin Brawley wrote in his *Social History of the Negro* that "... the pendulum has swung far backward, the years from 1890 to 1895 were in some ways the darkest that the Race has experienced since emancipation." Rayford W. Logan in *The Betrayal of the Negro* quoted John Hope Franklin as calling that period "The long dark night, that didn't end until 1923." Logan simply characterized it as "the Nadir." The stark reality was: Black Americans — 90% living in the South — were under the yoke of a "new slavery," a voteless and landless people, terrorized by lynchings who were claiming an average of over 100 victims each year.

Every state in the "Old South" had written into law, often into its Constitution, provisions for the disfranchisement of its Black citizens, and their segregation in public schools, conveyances and other facilities. The legal, nationwide approval of this purely American form of apartheid came in 1896, when the U.S. Supreme Court, in its "Plessy vs. Ferguson" decision, established the doctrine of "separate but equal."

REVOLUTIONARY NATURE OF BLACK OPPOSITION

However, to concentrate only upon the regressive nature of U.S. capitalism at the turn of the century, when it was still in the bloom of its youth, is to give only a partial picture of "history and its process", because it ignores the dialectical opposite of that retrogression, i.e., the subjective human force, within that society, that opposes it.

Among all the diverse social elements that were anti-expansionist in 1898, only Black Americans fit into that category. They were the only social group who were able to ground their anti-imperialism in a concrete movement for freedom within the United States.

In 1895, when the Cubans renewed their revolutionary war for independence, Black Americans immediately gave them full support, and called on the United States Government to give the insurgents belligerent status and military aid. Frederick Douglass had urged President Grant to do the same at the time of the 1868 revolution, when the issue of Cuba's independence was entwined with the emancipation of Black slavery on that island. Both times the U.S. Administration refused such recognition.

The Cuban insurrection was seen as a "Black Man's War." An identity was made with most of the rebel leaders as "men of color", especially with Antonio Maceo and Quintin Bandera, who was known as "The Black Thunderbolt." The military activities of these men were widely known and well covered in the Black press, and at least one editor said

Black opposition to U.S. imperialism at the end of the 19th Century

that Maceo was the type of leader "around whom aspiring young Negroes may twine their brightest hope of the future." Dr. L.A. Hind, a Black surgeon, went to Cuba and served on Maceo's staff, sending eyewitness reports of the Cuban Revolution to Black newspapers. (See *Black Americans and the White Man's Burden* (1898-1903), by Willard B. Gatewood, Jr.)

Two different worlds resided in these United States. Black American support for the Cuban Revolution, and the ideas of freedom that the revolution invigorated, were so totally the opposite of the "yellow journals" that had seized upon the Spanish General Valeriano Weyler's barbarism as a pretext to establish some form of U.S. hegemony in Cuba. The possibility of U.S. intervention raised widespread doubt in the Black press: would it help or hinder Cuban independence? And how would it affect Black civil rights inside the U.S.?

BLACK PRESS AS VOICE OF BLACK AMERICA

The Black press was the hub and the measure of the extent of Black anti-imperialist thought between 1898 and the end of the Philippine insurgency in the spring of 1902. Of the 150 weekly Black newspapers published at that time, the overwhelming majority were anti-expansionist. Along with the news, and the editorial opinions, these papers published letters and the views of their readers. In a real sense, they were the voices of Black America at the turn of the century.

Thus, after the U.S. declared war on Spain, and a committee of leading Afro-American political appointees headed by P.B.S. Pinchback, the former Black Lt. Governor of Louisiana, went to see President McKinley to pledge the loyalty of nine million American Blacks, they were severely criticized by the anti-war Black press as "a little coterie of politicians", without a constituency, who presumed to speak for all Black America.

A month before the Pinchback Committee "pledge", The Indianapolis Freeman wrote that the approaching war crisis brought to the surface the opinions of many of the Negro Journals: "The consensus of opinions of these Journals is not arrayed on the side of patriotism, and if they in any manner reflect the sentiment of their readers, there are about seven million people that are indifferent patriots", and, "that this indifference was caused by the status of the Negroes as citizens of the United States." (These quotations and others to follow from the Black press are taken from the *Black Press Views American Imperialism* (1898-1900), by George P. Marks III.)

The anomaly that existed between the professed war aims of the United States — the ending of Spanish brutality in Cuba — and the "incomprehensible silence" on the part of President McKinley about the brutal lynchings each year became the prime target of the Anti-Imperialist Black Press. Julius Taylor, editor of the *Broad Ax*, which was published first in Salt Lake City and later in Chicago, insisted that the main enemy was Southern lynchings, that the Afro-American's "chief kick is not the Spaniard, but those fellows who shoot and burn and hang, and otherwise kill our fellows in the South." (April 30, 1898).

The *Iowa State Bystander* edition of May 6, 1898, charged that "... the white man's rule in the United States ... has relegated the Negro to the rear, deprived him of his rights, cut off opportunities of existence, outraged colored women, burned down his home over his wife and children ..." and now they "have the audacity to talk about the cruelty of Spain towards the Cubans. There is no half-civilized nation on earth that needs a good hard war more than the United States ..."

The above quotes are excerpts from editorials written in response to the atrocities committed by a white mob in Lake City, South Carolina, two days after the sinking of the Maine; this mob murdered Frazier B. Baker and his infant son, and wounded his wife and four other children as they were fleeing from their home and post office, which had been set afire. Baker was the Black postmaster of Lake City, an appointment that had been strenuously opposed by local whites and their Congressional supporters, among whom was the infamous "Pitchfork" Ben Tillman, who once said: "We have scratched our heads to find out how we could eliminate the last one of them. We stuffed ballot boxes. We shot them (Negroes). WE ARE NOT ASHAMED OF IT!"

The outrageous lynching of the Bakers caused national waves of protest in the Black communities. At a Chicago mass protest meeting, a delegation headed by Ida B. Wells was elected to deliver a message of protest to President McKinley, urging him to see that those responsible were apprehended and punished, and that Baker's family be indemnified by the government.

IDA B. WELLS AGAINST WHITE BARBARISM

Ida B. Wells was, more than others, able to combine anti-imperialism with anti-lynching. She was a prominent member of the Afro-American Council; she sharply disagreed with Booker T. Washington, by maintaining that Black liberation was not merely economic advancement, and that Black America "must educate the white people out of their 250 year history of slavery."

As a young woman she founded in Memphis, Tenn. a militant newspaper, *Free Speech*. Because of her stand against lynching, a white mob burned her press and forced her to leave that city. From that moment on, she organized a crusade against lynching both in the United States and in Europe. As an original suffragette, she never stopped criticizing the women's movement for failing to take a stand on lynching.

At the meeting with McKinley she told him: "For nearly twenty years lynching crimes, which stand side by side with Armenian and Cuban outrages, have been permitted by this Christian nation, nowhere in the civilized world, save in the United States of America, do men possessing all civil and political power go in bands of 50 to 5,000 to hunt down, shoot, hang or burn to death a single individual, unarmed and absolutely powerless." (Cleveland Gazette, April 9, 1898.)



Ida B. Wells

President McKinley and Congress decided to intervene into the Cuban revolution, and it was soon obvious that the war was going to be conducted along the same Jim Crow line that prevailed in American civil society. At first most of the states and the Federal Government refused to accept Black volunteers. When a great deal of Black political pressure overcame this policy it was decided that Blacks could volunteer and serve, but only in segregated regiments commanded by all white officers. Black response was to insist that if they were to be segregated the entire regiment must be Black.

MASS REJECTION OF WHITE-LED JIM CROW ARMY

"NO OFFICERS, NO FIGHT!", the slogan coined by John Mitchell of The Richmond Planet, expressed the ideas that Black Americans had about the segregated army that was being organized to fight a war for "Democracy". The Washington Bee printed a letter from Ed Barnes in New Orleans, on June 9, 1898, who reported that a mass meeting of 5,000 Blacks had organized their own regiment and selected their own Negro officers, because: "In the personnel of the regular army officers there lurks the rankest and most deep-seated prejudice to the colored soldiers' promotion ..." and, "The War Department lends support to such a policy."

In Brooklyn, N. Y., the New England Baptist Convention "excoriated" McKinley's Administration and "denounced" New York Governor Black because of their refusal to give colored volunteers the Constitutional right to select their own officers. At that Convention, Reverend A. Gordon, of Philadelphia, "declared that he hoped and was hoping, that the American Army would not be victorious until justice had been accorded to the Negro soldiers, — there was vociferous applause." (from the N.Y. Herald and reprinted in The Richmond Planet, June 25, 1898).

"NO OFFICERS, NO FIGHT!" became the focus of a national campaign that was to eclipse the war with Spain by making the struggle against racism in the U.S. the paramount issue in the Afro-American community. Black American opinion was that, since "the flag of race prejudice has been raised", and they were to be barred from white regiments, then it would be adding insult to injury if, in their segregated status, they would have to accept white officers.

The refusal to accept these terms was very concrete — Blacks failed to fill the ranks of the so-called four "immune regiments", reserved for Black recruits, forcing Colonel Lee, the white officer who was supposed to lead one of these regiments, to resign and return to the regular army for lack of Black volunteers.

Two white newspapers, The Washington Post and The Richmond, Va., Times, became alarmed by the lack of Black enthusiasm for this war, and wrote that it was caused by the "childish rant" of Black editors and other Black spokesmen. The Washington Post threatened that the war would go on, whether Blacks joined the army or stayed at home. The country, it said, was capable of sending a million troops abroad, while keeping a million at home to keep order, "... and attend to any trouble the disgruntled colored leaders may see fit to make." (quoted by The Richmond Planet, June 4, 1898.)

Summing up the Black attitude toward American imperialism, Kelly Miller, Dean of Howard University, said: "I don't think there is a single colored man, out of office and out of the insane asylum, who would favor the so-called expansion policy. Whether or not they will organize under the banner of Mr. Atkinson is another question. I don't think we are yet ready for a departure so radical."

It is true that only a few Black Americans co-operated with Atkinson's Anti-Imperialist League, as an auxiliary (Continued on page 9)

BLACK WORLD

(Continued from page 1)

The occupation of Miami's Black communities by, at times, as many as 1,000 riot-trained cops occurred several hours before the Alvarez verdict was brought in. It revealed how the police department, city manager Howard Gary and the courts worked in concert not only to violate the civil rights of an individual — the slain young man, Nevell Johnson — but the Black community of Miami.

"They were out there about seven o'clock (the night of the verdict), and just started grabbing people. They just started charging. They had Black guys in front. Like we ain't gonna fight back at a Black guy swinging a club. That's B.S. They just started indiscriminately grabbing people, even bag ladies and old folks."

"It's just like the storm troopers," said the brother of one young Black man who wasn't home when the police rushed into his home with guns drawn, brutalized his brother and arrested him for being on the street several minutes before.

"The police came up behind me. They grabbed me off the porch, punched me, kicked me and said, 'Shut up, n_____'," complained another Black victim, arrested as he was putting his key into the front door of his house.

By the end of the two days in which the Miami police rioted against Black Miami nearly 500 people had been detained without charges. For their part the Black youth of Miami revived the "liberated zones" of past rebellions against unprecedented police repression.

In Liberty City organized bands of Black youth pelted passing cars, set trash dumpsters on fire and burned discarded furniture on the streets to disperse the heavy doses of tear gas. Black youth in Coconut Grove defiantly taunted police, dispersed and regrouped in other areas of the neighborhood.

OVERTOWN YOUTH

And in the tight 65-block area of Overtown, surrounded by heavy construction and through which two interstate highways thrust into the very heart of the community; in Overtown where the blight of urban renewal spells out urban expulsion of the poor; in Overtown where the fatal shooting of Nevell Johnson in December of 1982 touched off three days of rebellion that left another Black youth dead — in Overtown these conditions of Black life have been transformed into new beginnings of Black consciousness.

On the first night when it was clear from the mass police

Asian youth in Britain

Hand on the Sun, by Tariq Mehmood, Penguin Books, 1983, \$3.50, 155 pp.

This novel is about young Asian men and women who realize their identity as they participate in the growing Black British youth movement. The author participated in the Summer of 1981 rebellions and was arrested as one of the "Bradford Twelve." He conducted his own defense and was ultimately acquitted.

Jalib is a Pakistani youth to whom British schooling meant daily fights with white youth. He finds only two part-time jobs in three years, falls in love with Shaheen (who rebels against her forthcoming arranged marriage and confinement to home), finally gets a job in the mill, only to be laid off. He develops a relationship with Hussain, who has been in the International Socialists. Jalib mistrusts Hussain's abstract rhetoric, especially "Black and White Unite and Fight," which does not express his reality.

Under increasing attacks by "skinheads" (white neo-Nazi youth) the two begin to learn from each other: Hussain, of concreteness and mass creativity; Jalib, his first real sense of accomplishment as he brings ideas and activity together. They are active in forming a new autonomous Asian youth organization.

The story of the young woman, Shaheen, is one of the most moving sub-plots, because it shows how profoundly the young author has grasped that women's liberation is inextricable from the youth movement.

The book's title comes from a Salvadoran saying: "To hold a people down forever is like putting a hand on the sun."

I felt a sharp disappointment that Mehmood ends his book abruptly with the buying-off of the autonomous youth organization by the Asian community "leaders" action on behalf of "British civilization." New demonstrations and organizations and especially the new voices of Asian women show that, though set back, the movement is not so easily crushed. Mehmood himself has continued his activity with Black British youth.

To American revolutionaries who see little if any literature from the Black movement in Britain, the uneven pace of this novel, now poetic, now sketchy, with abrupt transitions between scenes, is a vivid expression of the movement's real, ongoing life.

—Susan Van Gelder

Miami and Black America



Police arrest Black Overtown youth.

assault that Alvarez had been released before the verdict had been made public, Black Overtown youth streamed into the streets shouting "Alvarez, Alvarez!" The police attack on the youth, spraying them with tear gas, was countered by rock-throwing youth and a barrage of bottles thrown from windows and balconies by other residents of Overtown. In other areas cars were stopped and pelted if it was determined that the drivers had no business being in the neighborhood. And on the days following the rebellion Black students boycotted classes.

In this Overtown, whether in the streets or in the schools, Black youth continue to challenge the permanent "siege" of their community through their permanent state of rebellion.

ESSAY ARTICLE

(Continued from page 8)

chapter in New England. That Blacks functioned primarily in their own organization, The National Anti-Expansion, Anti-Imperialist, Anti-Trust and Anti-Lynching League, which was active in the west, reflects the rejection of the abstract, moral and constitutional premises of the white intellectuals.

The signing of the Treaty of Paris, December 10, 1898, ceded the Philippine Islands to the United States. For the next six years, from 1899 to 1905, U.S. troops were used to brutally suppress a guerrilla uprising. When the war ended with Spain and the conquest of the Philippine Islands began, Black Americans had good reasons to believe that a "warped civilization" was being imposed on the Filipino people. In 1898 the open manifestation of that civilization was the increase in lynchings and the bloody anti-Black riots in New Orleans, Akron and New York that indicated that racism was not an exclusive Southern peculiarity but the national and international characteristic of U.S. imperialism. Today's legacy of that "warped civilization" has continued to exist in the racism that we have in the United States and the denial of freedom to the Filipino masses by the present regime in Manila, a regime that Reagan has no fundamental disagreement with.

At a mass meeting in Boston chaired by Archibald Grimke, called to denounce the brutal lynching of Sam Hose and the slaughter of helpless Black prisoners at Palmetto, Ga., an open letter was drafted and sent to President McKinley. One of the sharpest criticisms that came from the Black community was in this letter, which attacked McKinley's political hypocrisy by pointing out that when he addresses Blacks he speaks of, "patience, industry, moderation"; when he talks to Southern whites he preaches, "patriotism, jingoism and imperialism . . ." in order to win the support of the South to his policy of "criminal aggression on the Far East", while closing his eyes and lips "to the criminal aggression" of the South, on the civil rights of Negroes. (see Appendix IV of The Black Press Views American Imperialism — 1898-1900).

Changes in Black attitudes toward American imperialism occurred progressively. At the beginning of the War, "NO OFFICERS, NO FIGHT!" dominated; during the conflict in the Philippines it became: "AFRO-AMERICANS DON'T ENLIST!"

And, seemingly out of nowhere, there appeared in the AME Church Review, of October 1899, the dialectical formulation that all of these conquests "involving the existence and the integrity of weaker governments are against the dark races in Africa and Asia, and added to the domestic problems of the American Negro, we are struck with the thought that a startling world movement has begun . . . among the dark skin races, to lead on doubtless, to an adjustment which shall in the cycles change the present relations of oppressor and oppressed . . ."

Black opposition to the imperial debut of the United States, between 1898 and 1905, did not stop the rising tide of U.S. or world imperialism, but it did prepare the ground historically for a new phase of the Black struggle in the United States, and indirectly in Africa, in the Caribbean, and in the Third World.

It was from this movement that new ideas and new personalities arose. Ideas of a new self-identity and Pan-Africanism. Personalities, like DuBois, Monroe Trotter, Ida B. Wells, Archibald Grimke, etc., who would, along with the movement of Black masses from the South to the North, become prominent forces in breaking Booker T. Washington's hammerlock on the thought, that opened new roads for Black liberation in the 1890s and 1900s.

Strikes in South Africa

The Black trade union movement in South Africa has been involved in numerous strikes during the past several months. Among them are the following:

- Over 7,000 workers organized by the South African Chemical Workers Union have struck at several plants owned by AECI, a large South African chemical and oil corporation. Plants at Modderfontein and Sasolburg in the Transvaal as well as a plant in the Cape and in Natal have all had walkouts, primarily over wages.

- Mineworkers, members of the National Union of Mine-workers, have been involved in strikes at a platinum refinery and a coal mine. The issues involved assaults and verbal abuse by white supervisors as well as solidarity with victimized workers.

- 1200 BATA shoe workers struck a shoe factory in Pine-tone, South Africa demanding a 30% increase in their \$75 per week wages and recognition of their union, the Leather and Allied Workers Union. Management called the riot police and one woman worker was killed in the confrontation.

BATA has three factories in South Africa — two in the Natal towns of Greytown and Pinetown and one in Loskop in the KwaZulu bantustan. The Loskop factory, because it is located in the KwaZulu bantustan, does not have to pay the industrial minimum wage of \$75 per week. The BATA workers at this plant, many of whom are women, earn as little as \$14-\$28 per week.

Attempts to organize the Loskop factory have been in progress since 1981, with BATA firing strikers hiring non-union workers and shifting production to its other factories. BATA is a multi-national company with plants in the U.S. and head offices in Canada. (For BATA strike in the U.S. see N&L Oct. 1979)

Namibia's Toivo

Thousands of Namibians went to the streets on March 1 in Katutura Township to greet Herman Toivo ya Toivo, founder of SWAPO (Southwest African Peoples Organization which he helped initially organize in 1959 as the Ovambo Peoples Organization.) Toivo was suddenly released by the South African government after 16 hard years in Robben Island political prison. At his 1968 trial, he spoke to the desires for self-determination:

"We do not expect that independence will end our troubles, but we do believe that our people are entitled — as are all peoples — to rule themselves . . . South West Africa is our country and we wish to be our own masters." The release of Toivo came after a "disengagement" agreement was concluded between South Africa and Angola, that denies SWAPO access to Angolan territory in return for a withdrawal of South African military units from southern Angola.

Toivo expressed the generally-held view that he was released to lend legitimacy to the political groups in Namibia being supported by South Africa in its latest efforts, through the so-called Multi-Party Conference, to offset SWAPO's overwhelming popularity and support. Toivo quickly disowned any connection with the MPC. He called out the SWAPO slogan, "one Namibia, one nation," on his arrival in Windhoek, and later said:

"SWAPO is still fighting. We will continue fighting until we get our independence, and even then we will still not be free until our brothers and sisters in South Africa are free from the apartheid regime."

That apartheid regime has been able to press its military and economic power at present over Mozambique and Angola. A pact was signed by Botha and Machel on March 16 whose main aim is to restrict BANC (the African National Congress) activity in Mozambique. Even the currently-sitting OAU (Organization of African Unity), which seldom criticizes its own members, passed a resolution against Angola and Mozambique, and the ANC likewise denounced the pact saying, "The Botha regime knows that no peace has broken out."

Persecution of Haitians in U.S. and in Haiti

Brooklyn, N.Y. — Recently a Haitian woman went to King's County Hospital in Brooklyn for treatment. The hospital turned her records over to Immigration, who raided her home while pretending to be bill collectors from the hospital. Her family is in detention awaiting deportation, while the shock of the event put her back into the hospital.

The hospital administration claims it had nothing to do with calling immigration authorities, but hospital workers have furnished Haitian groups documents proving that it was not an "overzealous individual employee," as the hospital claims, but hospital policy, which caused the raid on the family.

In Haiti itself, an electoral farce was carried out Feb. 12 which resulted in a 100% legislative victory for the totalitarian Duvalier regime. The best-known internal opposition leader, Silvio Claude, remained under house arrest.

In response to these so-called elections, Frank LaRue, a Marxist intellectual in exile, wrote: "No to any elections held by the Duvalierist regime, or a military junta, or a civilian-military government of same ilk for a semblance of democracy designed to appease Washington . . . If, on the contrary, one wants for Haiti a new democratic order where the urban and rural masses are represented, one will steadily work to overthrow the Duvaliers."

To the thousands who have attempted to flee the Duvalier regime, the Reagan Administration has decided to deny them any residency status in the U.S. The Administration has declared that human rights have improved in Haiti and that U.S. aid should be resumed.

Marx and the Third World

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Battles over coal mine safety in 1984

(Continued from page 1)

This is the unmistakable position of the Reagan Administration, most chillingly reflected in the recent Supreme Court decision permitting a company to throw out any union contract that it considers will hurt its interests. The empty rhetoric about the companies having to file bankruptcy in order to do this is but a smokescreen to hide this club given to the companies to destroy the unions.

Existing unions are seriously threatened, and organizing any new ones will be difficult if not impossible. This is not speculation, as Continental Airlines and Wilson Food workers painfully discovered. Both companies threw out the unions, cut wages in half, eliminated many other benefits, and then told the workers to take it or leave it. These successes, along with the Greyhound bus strike, and concessions, unquestionably encourage other companies to follow suit. In the transportation industry, alone, over 100,000 Teamster Union members have lost their jobs since 1980 by companies taking the easy bankruptcy route to reduce costs by nullifying union contracts.

One bill before Congress supported by the Administration is the Labor-Management Racketeering Act. Seemingly aimed at union racketeering, the bill in fact extends government power over labor unions beyond the Landrum-Griffin Act of 1959, which dictates almost everything a union can and cannot do regarding its finances, dues, elections and even disciplinary actions. The new bill would prevent a union officer convicted of lawbreaking from holding a union office for ten years (five years more than the Landrum-Griffin Act), with debarment to be immediate regardless of any appeal of a conviction. At the same time the Reagan Administration is planning to conduct some 2,000 financial audits of unions this year under power of the Landrum-Griffin Act, compared with 212 audits held in 1980.

ROBOTICS AND UNEMPLOYMENT

This governmental crossfire of the unions gives great aid and encouragement to private management, which continues to deliver sledge-hammer blows to the workers and their families as increased automation and robotics throw hundreds of thousands out of work while forcing inhuman speed-up conditions on those remaining on the job. There are over 10,000 robots in operation in U.S. industry at present, with each robot displacing from 1.7 to six workers. The number is expected to at least quadruple in the next few years.

Most robots are in auto, with GM leading the way. As disclosed in a recent "strategy memo," GM plans to slash some 83,000 workers from its payroll, principally by installing more robotics. New UAW President Owen Bieber says job security is a principal union demand for the next contract, but it is unmistakably clear that the more than 100,000 permanently unemployed auto workers will soon be joined by tens of thousands more in the very near future.

In Brief...

IRAN — In Teheran stands the most ghoulish monument seen since Nazi Germany: a huge fountain shaped like a pyramid from the top of which gushes a red liquid colored to look like human blood. It is a monument to the "martyrs" — the youth and children sent by Khomeini to be slaughtered in the Iran-Iraq war.

ECUADOR — Oil workers in Napo province blockaded roads and were able to shut down some oilfields in the Lago Agrio area the last week in February. The strikers were demanding the government, improve living conditions in the area with new roads, water supplies and utilities. Troops went into the area but could not break the strike. By mid-March it had spread to the port of Balao in Esmeraldas province, where the crude oil is shipped out.

TURKEY — Eighteen Kurdish revolutionaries have died in the prison at Diyarbakir. Six members of the Workers' Party of Kurdistan were "asphyxiated" in mid-January. Twelve prisoners, all except one of them Kurdish, have died so far in a hunger strike to protest the January deaths and the intolerable mistreatment and torture designed to break Kurdish prisoners.

INDONESIA — Death squads have begun here. "Criminals" as defined by the death squads have been kidnapped by groups of armed men and then left shot dead on roadsides. Since April 1983, 5000 such murders have occurred under this U.S.-supported military dictatorship which is also carrying out a genocidal war in East Timor. There is only one organization capable of carrying out such an operation here: the military, in power since 1965.

MOROCCO — Since the January food riots, hundreds of people, mainly students, have been jailed. On Feb. 25, 3000 Moroccan students protested these mass arrests in a demonstration at the Moroccan consulate in Rennes, France.

GUATEMALA — Hundreds of Coca-Cola bottling workers in Guatemala City occupied their plant on Feb. 17. They had been laid off suddenly when plant managers said the plant was being closed, and told the 460 workers not to return. This same plant was charged with repressing union activities four years ago by international human rights groups, after death squads kidnapped or assassinated ten workers and union activists.

Unemployment continues to soar, with over 10 million officially out of work. Several millions more have exhausted unemployment benefits and are no longer counted, like the millions more who have simply given up on trying to find a job.

The hardest hit, as usual, remain Blacks, women and youth, but millions of white males also face desperate conditions. One result of the massive unemployment is that minimum wage jobs formerly held by youth are being taken by adults wherever they are available — and even jobs paying below minimum wages.

Over 100 years ago, Karl Marx accurately analyzed the collapse of the capitalist system that would result from the insoluble conflicts and contradictions between the working class and the capitalist class. The accuracy of his analysis



can be seen more clearly today than in any generation in the past, especially since all are aware that civilization as we know it is literally tottering on the brink of nuclear holocaust as well as economic collapse. And that most certainly is the result of crisis-ridden capitalism, with the state form, as in Russia, and so-called private form, as in the U.S., both seeking total world domination — no matter what the cost.

MINERS IN 1950: LESSONS FOR TODAY

All of this may seem remote from the battle that the coal miners will be facing when their contract expires this September. But the fact is that the coal miners, in their nine-month long strike of 1949-50, were the first to face the horror of automation in the form of the continuous miner. They had to fight the combined power of the coal operators, a hostile government armed with the Taft-Hartley slave labor act, and the courts eager to destroy the miners, their union and their president, John L. Lewis.

Toward the end of the strike, the rank-and-file miners literally took the leadership of the strike away from Lewis, forced a general miners' strike as opposed to Lewis' selective strike tactic, and reached out to rank-and-file workers throughout the country for support in their life-and-death struggle. The miners gained working class aid and won the strike, but Lewis supported automation, and in ten years, the number of miners working was slashed from over 450,000 to less than 150,000. Appalachia became a permanently depressed region of the nation — and still remains so.

But the miners revealed the way to the solutions of the problems we face today when they took control of their own thoughts and actions, and reached out to the rest of U.S. labor. That same kind of independent labor unity, along with the other forces of revolution today represented by Black, women and youth movements, have both the power and determination to change the world.

Indian health care cuts

Detroit, Mich. — A few nights ago there was a special on television on health care among Indians. One of the reservations visited was Rosebud in South Dakota, which is very close to my own reservation. It was very upsetting to hear about all the same horrible health care conditions that I had known when I was living on the reservation.

The statistics have been terrible for many years: an alcoholism rate more than eight times the average population; incidence of TB thirteen times higher; diabetes more than twice the average. Indians are seventeen times more likely to die before the age of 45 than the average American. On the Rosebud reservation three-quarters of the people live below the poverty level.

The health care services provided by the government have always been awful. The only difference with Reagan is that he is so open about his racism. He has tried to totally eliminate the small amount of money that has been provided for urban Indian health care. A bill to keep that service going after this fiscal year is opposed by Reagan. I know that when I tried to get some help for my medical expenses from urban Indian medical services, I was told that no money was available.

But what I do think is different now, than several years ago, is what is happening to health care workers in the community. There is a lot more community health work than there used to be. For instance, people are now demanding that their water be tested, especially to see if it is contaminated from radiation caused by uranium mining tailings.

One group, WARN, Women of All Red Nations has started several feminist health clinics and is making a big effort to try and get the water tested.

We certainly need money from the federal government, but the real difference is going to be if these community health activities can become a movement.

EDITORIAL

New cloak of religion masks class exploitation

The U.S. Senate voted March 20 to defeat the constitutional amendment, drafted at the White House and lobbied for by the President himself, which would have permitted organized vocal prayer in public school classrooms. But this is by no means the end of this President's attempt to bring religion into politics. The 56-44 vote in favor of Reagan's position fell 11 votes short of the two-thirds majority needed, but Reagan and his right-wing backers immediately proclaimed that they "have just begun to fight."

Reagan has chosen this moment to launch his religious revival as polls have allegedly shown that 80% of the American people support school prayer. He thus hopes to both broaden his support and obscure the reality of his Administration as one which is waging a war against workers, Blacks, women, children and the handicapped. It is a war he hopes to win in part by pushing the Supreme Court ever further to the right.

REAGAN'S RETROGRESSIONISM

In his March 6 speech to the National Association of Evangelicals, Reagan the ideologue set the tone for his coming campaign and showed to what extent he will combine pompous religiosity with mawkish patriotism to present himself as the Great White Moral Leader, bringing "religious values to public life."

He began with what he called "the first Americans" and their God-given right to "their new land." Never mind that just such an attitude was used to justify the slaughter of the real "first Americans," American Indians, on the ground that they were "heathens."

Reagan told of the civil rights struggles in which "millions worked for equality in the name of their Creator." But the truth is that the Reagan Administration has launched constant assaults on Black America. His three appointees to the Civil Rights Commission all oppose busing and affirmative action and he has sent his Justice Department to support white city employees' suits against affirmative action programs from Boston to Birmingham, Ala.

What has characterized Reagan's presidency is not "moral integrity" but hypocrisy and religious retrogression. Under this "Right to Life" president, the Supreme Court has made two separate rulings which limit the rights of condemned prisoners to appeal their convictions. During the last month, two executions took place within a period of 30 hours. And of the 1,268 prisoners now on Death Row, 531 or 41% are Black.

This same President who pushes "the sanctity of the family" has brutalized families in the infamous Baby Doe cases. Under the guise of protecting severely retarded infants, he has tried to take the power of decisions on medical care away from parents and physicians by permitting government-backed "squads" to seize medical records. And yet his record on new legislation to help the handicapped is abysmal and he has tried to do away with benefit programs such as the Education for Handicapped Children Act.

Reagan's Moral Majority supporters applaud his demands for a "positive solution to the tragedy of abortion." Yet they bitterly oppose sex education in schools and access to birth control information for youth, in whom the majority of unwanted pregnancies occur. Under Reagan, the infant mortality rate has risen to crisis proportions in inner cities across the country, while Women, Infants and Children (WIC) Food Program funds have been frozen. Between 1980-83, 2.5 million more women and 2.5 million more children have fallen into poverty. And Reagan nominates Ed ("There are no truly hungry in America") Meese to become Attorney General.

KHOMEINI'S NEO-FASCIST OCCULTISM

We have seen the use of religion to obscure reality and stifle opposition carried to its most extreme in the neo-fascist occultism of Iran's Khomeini who calls all opponents "satanists." He terms the inhuman Iran-Iraq war in which hundreds of thousands have already died "not a war for territory," but "a war between Islam and blasphemy."

His use of virtually unarmed "volunteers" as young as 11, in human-wave mine sweeps while he holds the regular Iranian army in reserve while Iraqis "hit them with everything we have" including poison gas, is glorified as sending martyrs to paradise. In one case, transports of youth 12-14 years old were taken to the front to march in a parade celebrating the fifth anniversary of the revolution. After the parade they were sent, not home, but directly to the battle lines.

Reagan is not sending 12-year-olds to war, but we must remember that he began his term in office by trying to make us believe in the winnable nuclear war. The Moral Majority supported him in this, hailing it as necessary to hold off what they call the godless, atheistic, Communist menace. Massive anti-war protests, not alone by youth, have made him modify his nuclear rhetoric somewhat, but all of the human suffering his budget cuts have caused has been a sacrifice to military spending and defense preparedness.

Religious retrogression is no mere return to an age of blind faith. It is being used by the most "modern" of ruling classes in many parts of the globe in an attempt to harness the activity and thought of the masses. The break with the retrogressionism of a Khomeini or Reagan of necessity involves the posing of a philosophy of liberation whose point of departure is full human freedom here on earth.

YOUTH

Students defy mind control

by Ida Fuller, youth columnist

Even though Reagan's constitutional amendment for prayer in public schools has been defeated, it is certainly not the last effort to discipline the minds of youth. What shows the real intentions behind the push for prayer is seen in the "alternative" proposed by some education analysts.

Specialists from the "National Endowment for the Humanities" have recently reported the need for "American history with a heavy dose of patriotism . . . why be shy about indoctrinating children." They go on to say that this means doing away with Black studies, Latino studies and "school textbooks which downplay the high ideals of American history in favor of a closer look at the warts of the nation's past."

THE ATTEMPT TO DISCIPLINE

The trend of this retrogression can be seen in the following specific moves:

- At the University of Michigan, students who protested nuclear and nerve gas research at campus laboratories have been threatened with a proposed code of non-academic conduct which aims to control students outside school, and arrest them for posting flyers on civil disobedience. (See story on this page.)

- While at the University of California two newly appointed regents are military men, all other campuses have seen a return of the ROTC military recruitment offices which had been forced off campus by students in the 1960s.

- In New Jersey, police seized hundreds of student files from junior high schools, to check their disciplinary conduct from 1976 on. This shift to discipline, which Reagan calls his crusade, is focused on poor inner-city schools where Black and Latino students have always battled police brutality.

What worries Reagan is youth resistance just at the moment when he wants us plugged into the military machine, and wants our minds militarized as well. This is why we hear talk of school prayer, discipline and rewriting school books to distort history even more.

RESISTANCE IN MILITARY

Resistance comes precisely from those youths who are directly affected by this militarization. One Latina high school student who is receiving sub-minimum wage said she refused to salute the American flag because "the flag is just a piece of rag and represents police brutality, immigration officers, poverty jobs, cuts in bilingual education and school lunches."

Utah students organize over asbestos in housing

Salt Lake City, Utah — Students at the University of Utah Student Family Housing (SFH) are organizing against repeated threats of expulsion, eviction and sometimes violence, because they will not stop complaining about unsafe living conditions in the 954-unit complex that houses more than 3900 students and their families.

They found that SFH administrators had knowledge of unsafe levels of asbestos lining the ceilings of the apartments and had no intention of informing the students or correcting the problem. The students were tipped off by a phone call from a maintenance worker in the middle of a safety meeting in which they were being told that they had to wear masks because the asbestos levels were higher than OSHA would allow for industrial workers.

The students were also forced to submit to forced spraying of banned pesticides, and lied to about which chemicals were being used. Many children have become ill, some feel as a direct result of the spraying. One man, while waving a letter saying he must allow them to spray his apartment or vacate immediately, said "that even with a doctor's note saying my sick child shouldn't be moved, they forced us out with this threat of eviction into the winter chill."

Another woman, angry over the forced spraying said, "They care more about cockroaches than they do about people." Many unsubstantiated rent and utility increases have been inflicted on residents over the last several years, and when the students ask why, they are either led in circles or openly threatened. One foreign student was called by SFH administrators and told that if she continued to associate with the complaining students they would try to have her deported.

When the duly-elected SFH student government went to address their grievances, they were promptly fired. One of the SFH administrators said, "I'm tired of these students. Who do they think they are? Don't they know that the inmates don't run the prison."

All this harassment prompted a series of open meetings, and at the first one almost 50 persons were there. Many students felt angry about the lies and harassment and one man stood up and said, "For them to lie about the levels of asbestos was the same as holding a loaded gun to our heads, it just takes longer for it to go off."

The students, organized into a committee to fight the SFH officials' lies and harassment, want to make sure this problem is not swept under the rug and that no more students are subjected to the University negligence. They are determined to accomplish several important goals. They want an official audit of the SFH administration, an independent health study at University expense and an official notice and warning to any prospective resident as to the asbestos hazard. They would also like to participate in the decision-making process of SFH.

—Vic Friesen

A most serious threat to Reagan's militarization comes from within the youth recruits who go AWOL. One young worker, who had just spent 50 days in a military jail for attempting to leave the service, said: "I would rather go to jail than continue in the Navy for three more years. What you get in the Navy are lies, lies and lies. Your job is to work like a dog, under a commanding officer who has life and death control over you, and often puts you in jail for no reason. That is what I call slavery. Many quit because of these conditions, because we don't want someone else doing our thinking for us."

It is voices of youth like these who are beginning to combat Reaganism. Resistance to his retrogressionism begins with youth thinking and acting for themselves.

Youth in Revolt



Several hundred people held protests in a number of locations in Wyoming, Idaho, Oregon and Washington along the route of the "Death Train," which carries nuclear weapons to a submarine base. In Portland, Ore., alone, 35 of about 200 protesters who had stopped the train for two and a half hours were arrested, and 350 more met the train at its destination in Bangor, Wash.

Over 1,000 squatters and their sympathizers demonstrated in Amsterdam Feb. 14 and battled police after being evicted. While over 10,000 Dutch youths have had to become squatters due to a severe housing shortage, many office buildings and luxury apartments lie vacant in this land of 18% unemployment. Major clashes have followed previous squatter evictions (see this column, December, 1982).

One of the largest demonstrations in the history of East Germany took place in Dresden on the anniversary of the 1945 Allied firebombing of the city, which is commemorated every year with anti-war demonstrations. This year, thousands of young people took to the streets, demonstrating both against war and against the recent wave of arrests of anti-war youth there.

Thousands of students rose in revolt in Lusaka, Zambia, on Feb. 14, protesting the arrests at dawn of student union leaders. The uprising followed weeks of tension between the students and administrators of the University of Zambia.

Youth resist Khomeini

Berkeley, Cal. — Youth in Iran are struggling against the war with Iraq. Eight thousand have not registered for the draft. If you don't register, you lose all basic services. You can't rent a place to live. You can't even get food coupons, so you can't get food if you aren't registered. If you do register they take you right off to war. Some people try to give themselves ulcers by purposely drinking too much alcohol, so they'll fail the medical examinations. You used to only have to take the exam once, but now you have to retake it every year.

One soldier friend I talked to when I was in Iran last summer told me that many youth are shooting themselves in the foot so they can get sent back from the front. Youth are also changing their birthdates to seem younger. And thousands are fleeing, trying to go to other countries to make a new life.

The 1979 revolution had given a new dimension to the youth movement, and I as a youth was involved and affected by this phenomenon. After the fall of the Shah's regime I joined the revolutionary committees which were established in order to protect the town. The government was changing many committees in an area into one committee in that area. One day the clergyman who was the government's official in the committee announced the change of people in the committees to revolutionary guards. He asked us to join the revolutionary guard, but we refused because we were just trying to protect the people and we didn't want to get paid. By joining them we were becoming government employees.

The division of mental and manual work was in the way of most of the people's thinking and it was especially obvious in the religious Iranian government. The youth have always been changing the morality of the society. They always bring new ideas and dimensions into the society. The thought which opposes the youth in their task comes from the religious thought. Religion divides the mental (the creator) and manual (the people who obey God) work and that's why youth are against religion. This division is a barrier for their dynamic attitude toward the society and its foundation.

—Iranian youth in exile

"I want change now"

To give voice to youth thinking for themselves, the International Marxist-Humanist Youth Committee in Los Angeles has started producing *Speaking for Ourselves: A Youth Newsletter for a New Society*, written and edited by inner-city youth. However, we do not leave theory to the theoreticians.

In realizing that youth consciousness is the most potent force against Reagan's mind-forged manacles, we have combined the activity of producing and distributing a youth newsletter with discussion of Marxist-Humanism among inner-city high school circles, to delve into the kind of work relations, man/woman, youth/adult relations, and education that we are for. Below we print a story from our first newsletter.

The question I always ask myself is why do you need to go through hell to live in this world? Some of us Black youth go to the army because we are unemployed and want to survive. There, we get treated just as bad and receive a lot of lectures on how "free" America is. But after coming back, we realize the racism even more. America is killing its own people.

In my neighborhood, they are spraying the chemical malathion on people to "protect fruit." Everybody knows how cancer-causing malathion is. It eats up cars and they say "it doesn't harm people!" Why is it no one asked us whether we want this spraying or not? Meanwhile we are getting sick and the spraying has become more important than human lives.

In this society, money is worth more than a human being. Black youth are unemployed and always hungry. We are put in jail for "stealing" food or told to wait until things get better. Well, I can't wait any more. I'm hungry. I want change NOW.

Even when you go to the doctor (if you have the money), they tell you "take this medicine," without being concerned about you as a human being with a mind. The medicine is not enough.

I'm tired of lies and know that this isn't the way human beings should live. We all want truth, love and concern. To me, the best way is for everybody to just quit work. Quit, because we are not treated as equals, as human beings. Show how we can create laws and make decisions.

I feel that every day of my life is a fight for survival.

— Black youth — South Central L.A.

Students at U. of Mich. fight conduct code

Ann Arbor, Mich. — At the University of Michigan at Ann Arbor, the administration has proposed a code to control the behavior of the students outside of the classroom. It is a result of the recent sit-ins and demonstrations against any military research, against budget cuts and for real equal opportunity for all people.

Neo-conservatism in this country is apparent on campuses in many ways. It first showed up in the major cuts in financial aid and now shows up as proposed conduct codes for students.

The administration feels so threatened by student input that they want this code badly enough to do whatever is necessary to get it passed by the Regents. They have given students, at a public forum, censored documents concerning revisions of a university by-law which requires student approval of this code. The Administration is making no effort to get any student input. They have ignored a letter signed by the heads of 12 student governments condemning the code. They ignored a teach-in on March 15 which was organized by a coalition of students against the code.

On this discussion panel there was representation of all walks of university life: from a former fraternity president, to the chair of the Queers Action Committee. We all spoke against the code and are working together as a united force against the code. The next day we had two rallies because the Regents were in town. There is a referendum planned by the students on whether they want this code or not.

The administration is only interested in hearing what they want to hear. We students have demanded to choose what type of educational environment we want. We want to set up our own judicial system and have complete control over any revisions and the entire process of enforcement as well. It's not that we want anarchy as some Regents think we do. If a majority of the students want a code, let us have control over it. We just don't want their code on their terms.

—Mary Simpson

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OUR LIFE AND TIMES

by Kevin A. Barry and Mary Holmes

In a country ruled by avowedly atheistic totalitarianism, where many people turn to religion as an alternative, 1984 started very badly for Polish church hierarchy. The society, including all of underground Solidarity and Lech Walesa, vigorously opposed the announced food price increases, succeeding in rescinding many and postponing the rest.

Cardinal Glemp came out supporting the increases which many called genocidal, causing a new wave of criticism of the church hierarchy. A crowd of 12,000 people showed which side they were on when they shouted, "No food price increases!" and "There is no freedom without Solidarity," supporting Walesa in his confrontation with Glemp in late January.

Many times before, Glemp's conciliatory stand towards the government has been sharply criticized from within and without the church. When he condemned the actors' boycott, for example, in December, 1982, one priest accused him of abandoning humanity by his accent on strictly religious issues and quoted his student: "first one has to be human, then a Christian." (Glemp responded that that is what the Church in South America let itself be drawn into and that "as a consequence of the dangerous theology of liberation they let themselves be pulled into Marxism!")

But then in February, 1984 Glemp's order to transfer a

Church seeks to confine Polish struggle

popular pro-Solidarity priest, Rev. Mieczyslaw Nowak, from the stronghold of Solidarity in Ursus to a remote village without so much as a telephone, met with more than even such sharp criticism. For the first time masses were held to directly oppose the hierarchy, Glemp's representative was booed and heckled and 12 people went on a hunger strike in the church to protest Glemp's order. When he returned from a 27-day trip to Latin America (where in Sao Paulo he said in a newspaper interview that Walesa had been "manipulated" and lost control of the union which he, Glemp, declared "no longer defends the working class") the hunger strike and other protests against the transfer order continued.

Is it any wonder then, that with such serious, open opposition, the church would jump at the chance to reclaim its place as a supposed opponent of the government and not its ally or an apologist for its atrocities? When on March 11, 400 teenagers held a sit-in to protest the taking down of crucifixes from their classrooms the hierarchy chose that statement to show they are "with the people." Glemp, who never overly sharply criticized the law, particularly when it was martial law, when referring to the law of separation of church and state declared: "Is the law right that sweeping-ly and rather deeply hurts the feelings of the majority of the believing society?" He and the church hierarchy would like

to continue the myth that in Poland's darkest hours (during the 19th century) the church and the cross were identified with the nation.

The truth is, however, that even when the rebellious Poles did use the cross as a symbol, stamped on it were the dates of revolutions. On the cross offered to Marx by the Polish participants in the 1863 uprising were stamped such dates: 1831, 1846, 1848, 1861. Obviously what the cross meant to Poles and what it means to the church are not the same thing. Similar awareness of Polish revolutionary history was shown by Solidarity when the dates on all monuments, including those using the cross as a symbol, were 1956, 1970, 1976.

The retrogression represented by the attempt to devoid the movement of all revolutionary content and reduce it to power games for the church is in keeping with the worldwide religious retrogression from Iran and Israel to the U.S. Reagan, too, would like nothing better than to replace the little bit of democracy won by the American Revolution (with a strict separation of church and state) with the religious authority which brooks no criticism as it comes from "God." It is the mark of a great movement that it is not confined by what either the government or the church would have it do (or have its symbols mean), but works out its own way towards bread and freedom.

— Urszula Wislanka

Philippine elections

The opposition to dictator Marcos continues in mass demonstrations, but differences are emerging within the organizations and political parties over the immediate question of whether or not to participate in May elections. In late January, the Philippine Democratic Party (PDP-Laban), the party of assassinated Benigno Aquino, decided to join the elections. The UNIDO coalition headed by Sen. Laurel has supported participation all along, even though against Marcos the opposition parties can at best only win 30%.

Election boycott supporters maintain that democratic elections are a farce and impossible while Marcos is in power, and that elections will give legitimacy to his dictatorship. Jose Diokno, head of the Movement for National Rights and Sovereignty, has also reported evidence that U.S. officials in the Philippines have been trying to get boycott leaders to take part in the elections.

The boycott forces represent not so much political parties as they do political movements. They held a week-long march into Manila from Tarlac to the north and Bantangas Province to the south. On March 7, the marches joined as 50,000 rallied in Manila.

While election boycott leaders said they would participate in elections if Marcos' authoritarian power to undercut parliamentary democracy were curtailed, some other concerns also surfaced during the demonstration. It was addressed by several youth activists, and in addition, many peasants and squatters had joined the march.

British miners on strike



Striking British coal miners have shut down 80% of the government-run industry. The strike is over a government decision to close 20 mines, eliminating 20,000 jobs.

Peruvian general strike

Three million Peruvian workers shut down businesses, factories, public transportation and some telephone service in a 24-hour general strike on March 22.

On the same day, the strikers demonstrated against the government's economic policies of high unemployment and inflation. A railway line was also blown up during the general strike.

While President Fernando Belaunde Terry called a three-day national state of emergency "to prevent violence," the police during the demonstration clubbed and tear gassed demonstrators and fired sub-machine guns.

Bangladesh's opposition

Workers, students and political parties opposed to the military rule of Gen. Ershad went out on an eight-hour general strike in the beginning of March. Hundreds were injured and arrested, and at least two people killed. The next week, the two main opposition alliances grouped around the Bangladesh Nationalist Party and the Awami League called for a "mourning day" to protest the police opening fire.

In February, Ershad suddenly called for local elections in late March to precede national elections in May. The opposition is demanding that the military step down so that elections can be held under a civilian government. Ershad, who seized power in 1982, declared himself President last December and now wants to be duly elected. As a political base, he recently established by fiat 470 new upazillas (councils) outside the urban areas which have been the traditional base of political parties.

That 90 million Bangladeshis — 90% of the population — live in the countryside underlines the stark division between city and countryside. Over half the peasants have no land. The economy is still based on one product, jute, which accounts for 60% of earnings, and Bangladesh is suffering acutely from the capitalist world economic crisis. Many Bangladeshis, facing floods and starvations, have fled to neighboring India, only to be met by death from racist mobs in Assam.

The U.S. is playing up Ershad's "anti-Communism" and making of the upcoming elections a return to "genuine democracy." However, the U.S.'s main interest in Bangladesh aims at getting military bases in the Chittagong port and on the Bay of Bengal islands. Meanwhile, the unheard voices in Bangladesh's destiny since the 1971 national independence are the peasants, whose movement begins with the basic struggle for food.

Oil mergers

The rash of acquisitions of one oil company by another, involving billions of dollars, has excited Wall Street, but will not add a drop of oil to the reserves of the nation. Instead it will add millions in profits to the giants of oil.

Standard of California has bought out Gulf, Texaco has bought out Getty, and Mobil bought out Superior Oil. In each instance the public will ultimately suffer. The funds used for the purchase will come out of the tax-free funds provided by Congress as "incentives for oil exploration" or borrowed in the capital markets. The funds are so huge, involving billions of dollars, that it is estimated that it will use up 30% of the capital available for home and car loans.

Once consummated, the surviving oil giants will cut out thousands of service stations and many refineries. Since 1977, over 60,000 service stations have been eliminated. Texaco is trying to dump 2,300 Getty stations and several refineries. With the refinery capacity of the nation being utilized at only 75% of capacity, the oil giants welcome the opportunity to cut production and raise prices.

The excuse used for the transactions was, that the companies absorbed were rich in reserves, and it was cheaper to buy reserve capacity than it was to drill for oil.

Congress, in providing tax incentives for exploration, was supposed to insure the development of U.S. oil. As a result of these mergers, there will now be three companies drilling in place of the six. With the proven reserves on hand there will be less incentive to drill rather than more. It is still cheaper to buy foreign oil than to produce it in the U.S.

In the long run, with thousands of gas stations closing and refineries closing, the price of gasoline is bound to rise and the consumer will pay the bill.

Who We Are and What We Stand For

News and Letters Committees, an organization of Marxist-Humanists, stands for the abolition of capitalism, whether in its private property form as in the U.S., or its state property form as in Russia or China. We stand for the development of a new human society based on the principles of Marx's Humanism as recreated for our day.

News & Letters was created so that the voices of revolt from below could be heard not separated from the articulation of a philosophy of liberation. A Black production worker, Charles Denby, author of *Indignant Heart: A Black Worker's Journal*, became editor of the paper. Raya Dunayevskaya, the Chairwoman of the National Editorial Board and National Chairwoman of the Committees, is the author of *Marxism and Freedom, Philosophy and Revolution* and *Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution*, which spell out the philosophic ground of Marx's Humanism internationally as *American Civilization on Trial* concretizes it on the American scene and shows the two-way road between the U.S. and Africa.

Where *Marxism and Freedom*, whose structure was grounded in the movement from practice throughout the 200 years from 1776 to Today, discloses Marx's "new Humanism," both internationally and in its American roots, *Philosophy and Revolution*, in recreating Marx's philosophic roots both in the Hegelian dialectic and in the actual revolutionary movements of his day, articulated these forces of revolution as Reason — Labor, Black, Youth, Women — of our day. By tracing and paralleling this age's 30-year movement from practice to theory with our own theoretical development for the same three decades, Marxist-Humanism in the U.S. has met the challenge of the "new moments" in the last decade of Marx's life by disclosing in them a trail to the 1980s. It is this trail, these paths of revolution — be it in the birth of a whole new generation of revolutionaries, including the transformation of Women's Liberation as an idea whose time has come into a Movement or the emergence of a whole new Third World — that form the content of *Rosa Luxemburg, Women's*

Liberation and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution.

This work challenges post-Marx Marxists to return to Marx's Marxism. At a time when the nuclear world is threatened with the extinction of civilization itself it becomes imperative not only to reject what is, but to reveal the revolutionary Humanist future inherent in the present.

News & Letters was founded in 1955, the year of the Detroit wildcats against Automation and the Montgomery Bus Boycott against segregation — activities which signalled a new movement from practice which was itself a form of theory. Vol. 1, No. 1, came off the press on the second anniversary of the June 17, 1953 East German revolt against Russian state-capitalism masquerading as Communism, in order to express our solidarity with freedom fighters abroad as well as at home. Because 1953 was also the year when we worked out the revolutionary dialectics of Marxism in its original form of "a new Humanism," as well as individuality "purified of all that interferes with its universalism, i.e., with freedom itself," we organized ourselves in Committees rather than any elitist party "to lead". The development of Marxist-Humanism in the U.S., 1941 to Today is recorded in the documents and on microfilm available to all under the title, *The Raya Dunayevskaya Collection*, on deposit at the Labor History Archives of Wayne State University.

In opposing the capitalistic, racist, sexist, exploitative society, we participate in all class and freedom struggles, nationally and internationally. As our *Constitution* states: "It is our aim . . . to promote the firmest unity among workers, Blacks and other minorities, women, youth and those intellectuals who have broken with the ruling bureaucracy of both capital and labor." We do not separate the mass activities from the activity of thinking. Anyone who is a participant in these freedom struggles for totally new relations and a fundamentally new way of life, and who believes in these principles, is invited to join us. Send for a copy of the *Constitution* of News and Letters Committees.

Theory/ Practice NEWS & LETTERS

'Human Power is its own end'—Marx

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WHERE ARE THE 1980s GOING? The Imperative Need for a Totally New Direction in Uprooting Capitalism-Imperialism

I. Ronald Reagan, World Outlaw

The so-called Great Communicator has proved himself to be the world outlaw. That is so obnoxious a manifestation that American liberals in general, and the Democratic Party in particular, would like us to believe it is an aberration rather than the nature of "democratic" capitalism. There is no doubt that the retrogressionist Reagan is an extreme product of senile capitalism. It is not true that he has made any great departure from the very nature of U.S. capitalist-imperialism.

Reagan's disregard both for Congress and for the disapproval by Britain and France of the mining of Nicaragua's harbors, as well as his flaunting of the World Court, has shown that he cares nothing that his covert actions have become overt. A look at still other covert and criminal acts carried out by counter-revolutionaries supported and directed by the President and the CIA makes it clear that nothing stops him. Indeed, as the terrorist acts of blowing up Nicaraguan oil tanks likewise became public, Reagan had the gall to propose to the West that they launch pre-emptive strikes against other countries' terrorists.

What this trigger-happy President is doing in this election year is polishing his act to become the Great Impersonator. At home, he is impersonating Harry Truman, who made a successful bid for four more years by attacking the do-nothing



U.S. marine in West Beirut

Congress with his "Give 'em hell" campaign. Abroad, he has taken a slow boat to China, where he will impersonate the "Great Statesman," as he hides his deep-rooted anti-Communism and woos China to be one with him against Russia. All the world has become a stage for him to toy with the deranged idea of a "winnable" nuclear war.

Lest this insanity lull us into choosing false alternatives — whether that be the other nuclear superpower, Russia, or whether it be another capitalist party like the Democratic Party — let's take a deeper look at the current Congressional outrage. First, it was only after his allies criticized Reagan for violation of the international freedom of the seas that Congress (which had known about it long before, even if not fully) vented its outrage publicly. The truth is that the anger — including that of the Speaker of the House, Tip O'Neill, who declared the mining to be "legally indefensible" — was never about the substantive issues, but only about what information was given to whom, when. For that matter, timing was likewise all that had been involved in the Congressional disputes over the actual occupation they had dared to call a "peace keeping force" in Lebanon.

Second, the most revealing outburst came from the conservative head of the Senate Intelligence Committee, Barry



U.S. occupation troops in Grenada

Goldwater, when he called the mining of Nicaraguan waters "without the consent of Congress" nothing less than "an act of war."

Third, while presidential candidate Gary Hart's declaration, "I regard Ronald Reagan as the most dangerous president of the nuclear age," can hardly be dismissed as mere electioneering politics, one must ask how serious is this critique from a high-tech exponent? In the same way, one must ask how seriously can we take the unanimous vote of the UN Council (except for the U.S. itself, which vetoed it) when it condemned all outside military intervention as a violation of national sovereignty, but followed it with no action?

"Four more years" for Reagan, as for Nixon, is a slogan that promises to subject us to continuing retrogression. Moreover, this scoundrel-patriot's outreach extends far beyond four more years, since he would also pack the Supreme Court and install the kind of militarization for his mad Star Wars that would guarantee that no presidency through the 20th century would be able to escape his plan for the ultimate East-West confrontation.

This must be stopped. This is what makes it imperative to turn to what is the only true opposition to Reaganism — mass revolt on the home front as it fights against Reagan, the Great Strike-Breaker.



U.S. adviser training El Salvador troops

II. Ronald Reagan, Strike-Breaker

The strike-breaking pattern that Reagan set in motion with his destruction of PATCO as soon as he took office gave a signal to the whole capitalist class, which is now involved in a concerted drive against all unionization. The **Wall Street Journal** (March 6, 1984) has put it most succinctly when it showed that "despite a booming economy many profitable companies . . . are saying to their workers: Your wages are just too high for us to keep competitive in the long run. We need permanent cutbacks." (My emphasis.) "Competitive" has been given a new meaning: it is to bring down the standard of living of the American worker to the lowest common denominator in the backward economies.

And "permanent" means not only lowering wages now but making "temporary" concessions a permanent downgrading. Moreover, the union bureaucrats know that these downward moves are directed not to the elite workers like toolmakers and electronic specialists but to the production workers, who even at their most "prosperous" point never rose above the most average of living conditions. The example cited by the **Wall Street Journal** was that of the meat-cutter who earned \$12.37 an hour and was replaced by a worker making \$6 when he was forced into early retirement.

It is in the midst of such a situation that the Administration has made scabbing a veritable way of life — which it touts as "freedom of choice." The workers at U.S. Steel have a good word for the tactics of capital. They call it "shut-down blackmail," which is used the minute workers threaten to strike or refuse to take cuts, in their benefits as well as in their wages.

At the same time, workers bringing cases against the corporations are waiting years for any action. By last year, there was a backlog of over 1700 NLRB (National Labor Relations

Board) cases to be acted upon — four times more than in 1978. The situation of the workers is exacerbated by the evergrowing unemployment and the inhuman speed-up forced on those still working. There are 10,000 robots in operation in U.S. industry at the present, with each robot displacing from 1.7 to 6 workers. The number is expected to quadruple in the next few years.

That is not all to this grim picture. It includes the swelling number of soup kitchens everywhere throughout the land, including a traveling food kitchen a block from the White House. It includes the actual homeless ones (estimated by now to be more than two million) who include not just the destitute men of the 1930s but many women, many young people, indeed whole families.

Among the many great contradictions in the Reagan regime is the fact that, on the one hand, for electioneering purposes at home, he is diverting attention from the economic crisis here to the crises abroad — confident that he can blame his foreign policy disasters on the Democrats and appeal to the kind of super-patriotism that rallied to his lethal politics in the Grenada invasion. On the other hand, when attention is focused on the economic crisis at home, he puts the blame on the "competition" from abroad that allegedly demands lower wages and worsening conditions here.

Here is the true picture of the genuine opposition to Reaganomics and the deteriorating economy that Reagan calls the "great recovery": There are nine million unemployed. Conditions for Black America worsen daily, especially for the youth, and not only the unemployed but the college youth who face ever higher tuitions and ever greater cutbacks in student loans. Despite all Reagan's touting of

how many individual women have "made it" in business, the situation for overwhelming masses of women in the U.S. is summed up in one phrase: "the feminization of poverty."

It is not only that we now have a permanent army of unemployed, or that we face the closing down of such basic industries as steel and other smoke-stack industries that are deemed unprofitable. Nor is it only that the union bureaucrats have demanded that the workers make constant concessions, supposedly "temporarily" until the economy gets back on track. What is new today is that even profitable firms are now demanding permanent paycuts.

In opposing all this retrogression, Labor is not limiting itself only to the electoral process by backing Walter Mondale, though that is the way the press and his opponent for the candidacy, Gary Hart, present it, as they dare to refer to labor as "special interest." The year has seen such militant actions as the McDonnell Douglas UAW strike in California, and the Greyhound Bus workers strike nationwide, though it is true there have not been many massive rank-and-file revolts such

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News and Letters Committees

Draft Perspectives, 1984-1985

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as we have seen in other years. Nevertheless, as one labor activist wrote in *News & Letters* (October 1983): "There have been important strikes this year, many anti-concession strikes."

but they are as yet individual and isolated." He then described the unreported, shop floor struggles that have appeared which are openly striving for a new kind of rank-and-file organization different from the former caucuses — a new

form of organization which, in absorbing the new forces of the women, the Blacks and the Latinos, would unite with an "intellectual sediment" and help create a new society based on freely associated labor.

III. Abroad At Home; At Home Abroad

Another form of revolt has been growing, especially among the Youth, who see the living standards of their families lowered and their education as well as their daily food cut back, while billions are being poured into more and more militarization, which by now has reached the fantastic, projected "Star Wars." In true Orwellian 1984 language, they dare to call the bill now before Congress to initiate these new space war preparations, the "People Protection Act."

It was the U.S. imperialist invasion of Grenada which sparked a massive march in Washington, D.C. on Nov. 12, and the many local demonstrations by those who could not get to Washington to join the 20,000 protesting there. What the protests revealed was the depth and manifoldness of the opposition to the ruling class. The spontaneous outpouring against the U.S. lawless intervention into Third World national liberation movements was not limited to opposition to the invasion of Grenada. The protest was also against the U.S. presence in Lebanon and the deaths of the 239 Marines killed by the terrorist bombing of the Marine barracks. And it was, at the same time, against the U.S. placement of nuclear missiles in West Europe and in solidarity with the international anti-nuclear demonstrations that had swept Europe.

Thus, the 20,000 in Washington, D.C. divided into three separate rallies: 1) At the Immigration and Naturalization Service the focus was on Latin American and Haitian freedom fighters; 2) At the State Department the focus was not only against the foreign policies of the Administration but against the excessive militarization at home; and 3) At the Department of Health and Human Services the focus was on the wars at home against Labor, Women, Black, Youth. As all three rallies coalesced into the single march to the White House the breadth of the movement was demonstrated in its many different slogans: "El Salvador is Spanish for Vietnam;" "Jobs, not Jugernauts;" "Bread, not Bombs."

Several days before the Nov. 12 demonstration, students in Ann Arbor, Michigan left the radiation lab of the School of Engineering shouting, "We shut it down! We shut it down!" They had been sitting-in for 48 hours to stop nuclear research that contributed directly to the arms race, while hundreds of other students rallied outside. The breadth of the movement was shown as well in the Nov. 12 demonstration of 4,000 in Los Angeles where the large numbers of Latinos and Blacks set the tone with signs that revealed their opposition both to the invasion of Grenada and the war against Afro-Americans right here.

There is no doubt that the most militant of all is the Black opposition to Reaganism whether at home in Miami, or abroad in the Caribbean. It has been revealed even in what appears as only electoral politics, in the outpouring for Jesse Jackson. As we put it in the Call for the Convention: "It is impossible not to sense the significance of the Black masses in motion in this election year. When 80% of the Black voters in Chicago, and nearly 90% in New York City, turn out for so previously disregarded as event as a primary, it is crystal clear that this Black mass support of Jesse Jackson has nothing to do with support for Democratic Party politics. Just as the millions who flocked to Marcus Garvey at the end of World War I, when race riots greeted



Reagan will take offensive against terrorists. — News item

returning Black soliders, did so *not* because they wanted to go 'back to Africa' but because they wished to be free here and now, so thousands are following Jesse Jackson now, not because of any belief in the capitalist system but because they wish to uproot the whole exploitative, racist system."

Ronald Reagan has demonstrated so determined an effort to push back all the gains of the Black Revolt over the last two decades,* that it is no surprise that he finds his greatest affinity with the worst existing power on earth — apartheid South Africa, with which he is presently working hand in glove on the question of Namibia, praising to the skies the "non-aggression pact" between Angola, Mozambique and South Africa.

Internationally, the points of crisis flare up everywhere:

1) The Middle East itself contains four different flash-points that could lead to more than regional wars — Lebanon, Iran-Iraq, Syria and the fractured PLO, and of course the Israeli-Arab conflict.

2) In Africa the disasters include everything from such continuous drought and famine that, as one writer described it,

*The Lead-Editorial in *N&L*, December, 1983, was entitled "The Three-Way Drive to War: Grenada, Endless Militarization, Retrogression on Black Rights." It should be considered part of these perspectives, along with our *Political-Philosophic Letter* of Nov. 28, 1983, "Counter-Revolution and Revolution: Grenada, The Caribbean Today, and the Challenge from 30 Years of Movements from Practice that were Themselves Forms of Theory."

IV. Objectivity/Subjectivity — In Actuality and in Philosophy

"... the transcendence of the opposition between the Notion and Reality, and that unity which is the truth, rests upon this subjectivity alone. The second negative, the negative of the negative... is this transcendence of the contradiction... it is the inner-most and most objective moment of Life and Spirit."

Hegel, *Science of Logic*, Vol. II, pp 477-8 (Johnson and Struthers edition)

"Important here is: (1) the characterization of dialectics: self-movement... the movement of life and spirit; the coincidence of the concepts of the subject (man) with reality; (2) objectivism to the highest degree ('der objectiviste Moment')"

Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 38, p. 229

We were all put to the test in the 1980s. 1980 began the Reagan era, but only formally, since Carter was still in power and his imperialist intrusion into the desert of Iran revealed that a major war in the Middle East was not excluded, even if it carried with it a possible East-West nuclear confrontation. We considered the objective situation so critical that, no matter how small we were numerically, we had to expand the 8 page *News & Letters* into a 12 page paper, so that more new

voices from below could be heard along with new theoretical developments. We declared 1980 to be "The Year of the Book" (by which we meant the year *Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution* was to be completed), not for any scholastic purpose, but in order to work out Marx's "new moments" in the last decade of his life, which we held had left a trail to the 1980s.

In 1981 — when, under Reagan, the militarization and intrusion into El Salvador reached genocidal heights — we did, indeed, expand *News & Letters* to 12 pages and were able to present both more voices from below and further theoretical development. Reagan's expansion of the crisis over El Salvador, to engulf all of Central America as well as the Caribbean, made even more imperative the need never to separate our theoretic contributions from our participation in all support activities for Latin American revolutionaries.

Ever more retrogressive imperialist moves filled 1982 — from Thatcher's reach into the Falklands and Israel's genocidal blitzkrieg against Lebanon, to the U.S. toying with the idea of prolonged nuclear war. At the same time, the anti-war forces grew to the truly massive demonstration of 800,000 at the UN, which was extended internationally. We developed our 1980 slogan, "the year of the book," into "three books, not one." With the 1982 publication of *Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution*, along with new editions of *Marxism and*

Freedom and Philosophy and Revolution, each with a new Introduction, we undertook the consideration of the whole body of Marxist-Humanism that began with the emergence of the great new movement from practice and our own birth in the 1950s.

This digging into three decades of thought, again, was not for scholastic purposes. What has been clear in these first four years of the 1980s has been the collision of two absolute opposites: the counter-revolution with its might against the masses in motion striving for a philosophy of revolution.

We felt strongly that, just as Marx in his last decade was, at one and the same time, totalizing his original 1844 discovery of a whole new continent of thought and of revolution and grappling with "new moments," so must we grapple with the new problems of our age and the Third World, in challenging all revolutionary post-Marx Marxists. Hence, "three books, not one" meant projecting the totality of Marx's Humanism now that the works of his last decade had made his new moments clear:

1) His digging, at one and the same time, into pre-capitalist societies and new approaches to the accumulation of capital led him to deny that the Historical Tendency of Capitalist Accumulation was a Universal.

2) The *Ethnological Notebooks* revealed also the greater

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Remember Art Steel's militancy



by John Marcotte

When the Art Steel factory in the Bronx shut its doors this March, laying off the last of what was once a work force of 900, a chapter closed in New York labor struggles.

I worked at Art Steel too before getting laid off. I remember Art Steel as the best shop I've worked in. Not because the work wasn't heavy and dirty — it was. Not because the company wasn't the worst bunch of slave-drivers who could come up with something new everyday to oppress and disgust the workers — they were. Not because the union, District 65/UAW, and the organizer Julio Mojica weren't sellouts — they were. But because Art Steel workers had the highest level of camaraderie, solidarity and class struggle I have ever known.

Art Steel workers threw out two unions over the last 30 years, finally bringing in District 65 in 1971 with a tremendously hard-fought strike. Working there, you would take a 10-15 minute bathroom break four times a day, where you'd hang out and converse with your fellow workers. That wasn't in the contract. That's how self-organized and militant the workers were, that they set and enforced some of their own rules as a Plan directly opposed to management's dictatorial Plan for ever more and more production.

WORKERS SETTING THEIR JOBS

When I worked on the platform in large welding, the supervisor never dared tell us how to organize our work. We had to work, but as much as we could we set our own terms. We had an extra worker we never let them take from us. We rotated jobs amongst ourselves every half day so no one would have the heavy welding stick more than half a day, and everyone had a chance to be relief man. That worker had the first hour free of every two hours between breaks. Then he'd start relieving us one by one for ten minutes. No one took more than ten minutes because we knew we'd only be robbing the next guy.

When the night shift reported to work one evening, we found the street full of police cars. A worker had had a fight with the timekeeper over an emergency phone call. Because the company fired the worker and kept the company man, the whole shop stopped work and stayed at their machines. The cops were called to empty out the plant, but the workers picked up tools and pieces of steel and dared the cops to come in and get them out. The cops didn't go in.

(Continued on page 5)

Black World

Crisis in Black Liberation



by Lou Turner

"The Crisis in Black Liberation" was the subject of a series of lectures and discussions I was involved in recently in Chicago, Los Angeles and Berkeley, Cal. Though the point of departure was a paper I had delivered at the Tenth Annual Third World Conference in Chicago at the end of March on the newly published Marcus Garvey Papers, it was today's crisis in the Black and Third World which predominated in all the discussions.

When jammed up against the events of the last month, a discussion of Black world movements in Garvey's day showed that history was no mere return to the past, but a live encounter with the present. This period saw the twin expressions of Black protest in the U.S. in the form of Black revolt in Miami for the fourth time in as many years, followed by mass turn-outs in New York and Chicago Democratic primaries for Jesse Jackson.

CARIBBEAN AND AFRICA

In the Caribbean, reports of food riots in the Dominican Republic and new student protests in Grenada spoke in words so totally opposite from some of the speakers at the Third World Conference, who tried to whitewash the tragic fact that the first act of counter-revolution had come from within the party of the Grenadian revolution.

However, it was the events of the last month in Africa which disclosed such utter depth of retrogression that there was no mistaking the fact that the crisis of the 1960s African Revolution had not been breached by the revolutions of the 1970s. In less than a month we witnessed a coup in Guinea, West Africa, only a week after the sudden death of Sekou Toure, and the Nkomati accord between apartheid South Africa and Mozambique. Toure, as Guinea's first president, led the first French-speaking African nation to independence. One of the last exponents of the theory of African Socialism of the 1960s, Toure's theory remained aloof from the reality of the Guinean masses.

More significantly, though, the new "non-aggression pacts" between Angola and Mozambique with South Africa revealed that the "Marxist-Leninism" of the 1970s African revolutions had led to even deeper retrogression than the African Socialism of the 1960s. For now, even that single principled point of unity which every independent African state had sworn to uphold — that Africa would not be free until South Africa was liberated — was no longer a unifying force that freedom-fighters could rely on.

It was with these events in mind that the various discus-

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Theory/
Practice

NEWS & LETTERS

'Human Power is its own end'—Marx

May Day, 1984

Labor faces crises and challenges

by Ron Brokmeyer

Oakland, Cal. — The year 1984 marks the 100th anniversary of the beginning of the campaign by organized labor in the United States for an eight-hour day. By 1889 May Day became the genuine international labor day when the Second International accepted the American Federation of Labor's suggestion for a worldwide strike for the eight hour day on May 1.

The movement for the eight-hour day in the United States had its roots in the victory over slavery in the American Civil War. In its wake a spontaneous wave of agitation for a shorter working day, in Karl Marx's words, "ran with the seven-leagued boots of the locomotive from the Atlantic to the Pacific, from New England to California." By asking the simple question, "When does my working day end?", the movement changed the very structure of the labor movement in this country and showed that the pathways to freedom begin in the concrete actions of the masses to transform their conditions of labor and life.

THE REALITY FACING LABOR

The reality facing labor today demands no less of a reorganization. In auto, for example, this is a peak production year. Chrysler Corporation, where Douglas Fraser started the wave of give-backs, made more profit in its first quarter than any full year in its history. But a stark fact has come home — a full one-third of all auto workers will never be

called back. That reality is reflected in the celebrated reopening — i.e., celebrated by all except the workers — of the roboticized local Fremont, Cal. plant as New United Motors Manufacturing (GM/Toyota) where 3,000 workers will work in place of 8,000 before.

Fremont workers expressed their ideas about this reality in a mass outdoor demonstration as against all the enthusiasm for roboticized production especially from their own UAW international union. "The union is still rolling over and playing dead," said one worker who doesn't expect to get called back. "The company is now putting applicants through a grueling four day assessment without pay. They're going to eliminate most people. For the first six months the management has a free hand to fire and set up shop as if there were no union."

"The retraining program in electronics that I'm in is also a farce. It isn't training for any real job. But the worst part is the extreme anti-unionism; claims that all the high-tech firms don't have unions because they 'take care of their workers,' as though a \$6/hour job in Silicon Valley is a rosy future. High-tech has affected our way of thinking."

Far from "high-tech" being the basis of recovery, it is part of the crisis. Manufacturing jobs have been disappearing at an accelerated pace in California as in the midwest. In just the Los Angeles area alone from 1980 to 1983, 674 plants closed, mostly in auto, steel, tire and civilian aircraft. Now there are even cutbacks in high-tech.

Waves of permanent lay-offs began at Atari last year. The company didn't even have the decency to give one day's notice. Many other companies are now also moving to Tai-

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Rebellion rocks Dominican Republic

"Poor people in the Dominican Republic took to the streets because they could no longer endure their conditions of life. There are no jobs, people are hungry, and then the government raised food prices 50%. The country was ruined by the previous Balaguer government. Under that government military officers would become millionaires in two years, while the government borrowed more and more. The people never saw any of that money, the rich sent it all abroad. Now the International Monetary Fund wants the poor to pay. The people endure, endure, then one day explode and take to the streets. It was like that in 1965. This is only the beginning."

So said a Dominican worker in New York about the three days of rebellion that swept through the Dominican Republic on the 19th anniversary of the April 24, 1965 revolution. In these three days, police and military repression left over 60 dead, literally hundreds seriously wounded and thousands arrested.

One week before, the Dominican government had announced the agreement for an IMF loan which called for not only a 200% increase in the price of many imported goods, but most important for a people already suffering from at least 40% unemployment and high inflation, increases in the prices of the most basic foods such as: bread, 35%; flour, 40%; and soy bean oil, 100%. The increases would also affect medicines.

SPONTANEOUS REVOLT

While the rioting was most severe in the poorest neighborhoods such as the slums in the north of the capital, it swept spontaneously through the whole country and involved a large part of the population in some 20 cities, and especially the youth. What started as a call for a protest strike by union centrals and by strike committees spontaneously organized by housewives as they gathered in front of food stores to discuss the intolerable price increases, surprised everyone as the streets instantly filled with angry demonstrators, barricades and fierce battles with the police and military.

Supermarkets, drugstores and other shops were looted, people "taking the food home or distributing it to the crowds in the streets," according to eyewitness reports. Other targets were a branch of the Metropolitan Bank burned in the capital; offices of the ruling Dominican Revolutionary Party (PRD) in many cities also burned; and police stations. Everywhere were barricades of burning tires, tree trunks, and cars where youths took on the police and military with rocks and bottles. Workers all over the country were on strike, such as in the sugar mills and ports.

Police and military repression was brutal. From the first day they shot to kill against the unarmed protesters and even innocent bystanders. The full accounts are yet to emerge, but there are already eyewitness accounts of, for example, 20-year-old Ruddy Fernandez, dragged out of his house by the military and shot at point blank range; of a



Protesters in the Dominican Republic rebellion

mother and her 18-day-old daughter both shot dead by the military; of a construction site watchman killed as he shouted at troops aiming at him, "Don't kill me, I'm the watchman here!" By the second day hospitals were literally overflowing with the wounded as shots and machine-gun fire were heard almost continuously for three days, against an unarmed population.

PRESIDENT ARRESTS LEFTISTS

President Salvador Jorge Blanco has insisted on blaming both left and right political parties for supposedly orchestrating these riots. In fact, while he was having Leftist leaders arrested he was blaming former president Balaguer's right-wing Reformist Party. But even some leaders of his ruling PRD admit that it was "a spontaneous movement . . ." caused by "desperation among the lowest income groups."

A Dominican worker in New York characterized Jorge Blanco's silence the first two days of the rebellion like this: "He's silent because he knows it is the very same people who voted for him who are supporting the strike and the protests." The depth of fear of the spontaneous nature of the revolt is seen in the government's shutting down four radio stations and one TV station just for reporting on-the-spot accounts of the protests.

Another New York Dominican worker, now unemployed, stated that the cause of the rebellion was "the IMF, who told the government to squeeze the poor to pay the interests on the loan." He added, "The minimum wage is about 125 pesos a month while it's estimated a family would need about 210 pesos a month just to eat three meals a day. And that's for those who are working. Half the people are unemployed. The misery increases everyday. Until the Dominican government raises the minimum wage so people can survive the rising cost of living, and until there are jobs and the rich invest their money in the country instead of sending it out of the country, this rebellion will not end."

May Day includes working women — past and present

In this aerial bleaching, drying rooms with temperatures of from 90° to 100° Fahrenheit were used, and the work there was mainly done by girls . . . 'The hours of work . . . are unlimited. If busy, they work till 9 or 12 at night for successive nights.'

— Marx, Capital, Ch. 10 "The Working Day," 1867

When the apprentices shake the waste threads from the clothes, the whole room fills with dust, and it is hard to breathe . . . It seems to me that no one knows our blood dissolves into the threads and seams, with sighs and sorrow.

— Min Chong Suk, a South Korean garment worker in the 1970s writing of her 7AM to 11:30PM work shift.

Over 100 years after the beginnings of the fight for the eight-hour-day inspired Marx to restructure his greatest theoretical work, Capital, to include 76 pages on "The Working Day," the phenomenon of 12, 14, and 16-hour work days is still the norm in garment and electronics factories in the Third World — and 80 to 90 percent of those three million low-skill assembly-line jobs are held by women.

Nothing is more reminiscent of Marx's horrifying yet moving description of 19th century capitalism's heyday than the realities of women's factory labor in the Third World today. Yet, far from being some "holdover" from the past, this reality is very much that of the 1980s, when capitalism is in such deep, structural crisis that no new economic "booms" will emerge.

The health hazards for women in the textile industry that Marx documented persist in the 1980s, together with new dangers in "clean" electronics. The 19th century phenomenon of dormitories for workers in which the beds, like the factories, were occupied on a shift system, is still a reality. And just as Marx wrote of the death of 20-year-old milliner Mary Ann Walkley after she worked 26½ continuous hours in an overcrowded work room, we find that management in today's South Korean textile factories supplies workers with amphetamine injections to keep them at work as long as 48 hours at a stretch.

SWEATSHOPS IN U.S.

Moreover, what we are also seeing today is the resurgence of sweatshops in the U.S. itself — workers packed for long hours in overcrowded, poorly lit rooms, being paid minimum or below minimum wages. In these sweatshops too, particularly in garment and toy manufacturing, 90% of the workers are women — that Third World of women within the U.S., Latina, Asian and Black.

There are those who still argue for the "progressive" nature of capitalism, offering jobs to the hungry. "These people have to go somewhere," remarked Emmy Simmons,

Meeting on VDT hazards

Detroit, Mich. — On April 7, about 250 clerical workers met at Wayne State University at a conference on the Health Effects of Office Work and New Technology called, "Got the VDTs?", sponsored by the Southeast Michigan Coalition on Occupational Safety and Health (SEMCOH).

The most interesting part of the conference was the session where VDT (video display terminal) workers could speak out about the problems they were experiencing. Unfortunately conference organizers had only allowed 30 minutes of the day-long conference for this. What came out over and over again was that introduction of VDTs has severely increased workers' work loads and wreaked havoc with workers' health, despite their appearing clean and safe.

An insurance company worker told of her documented case of carpal tunnel syndrome, an extremely painful and permanent damaging of the hand and wrist muscles caused by working with the hands bent at the angle necessary for VDT work. An airlines worker told of proven radiation-induced cataracts in both her eyes and of a young co-worker who died of cervical cancer believed to have been caused by the low level radiation emitted by the VDT.

While the experts who were brought in told us of the "dual nature" of this technology which "could be used to enhance our jobs and improve our workplace," and cited specific statistics involving "clusters" of women VDT workers in whom miscarriage and birth defect rates of up to 48% had been found, they could not answer the concrete questions workers had, which should have been the whole purpose of the conference.

We know that after working on a VDT for any period we have headaches, burning eyes and vision problems, and it does help to know exactly why this is — whether radiation, ionization of the air around the machine, etc. But what we need to know is what we can do about it.

At every one of these conferences I have attended, these labor educators place the burden of improving our situation on us. They teach us ways to reduce our own stress level (stress was identified as one of the main problems of VDTs). At this conference they even had an "ergonomics" (well designed workplace) display by a manufacturer of business machines!

What world do these people live in if they think all we have to do is convince our bosses to improve our workplaces? The answer came from a Black woman city worker who said as they were telling us how to install our own home-made safety shields if our employers refused to buy them, "If we put those shields on at my job, we wouldn't have to worry about radiation because we'd be fired."

If these conferences could start out with the workers educating each other and the "experts" listening and asking how they could work with us to actually do something on our jobs, then we would all learn something.

—Suzanne Casey

from the Women's Division of the U.S. Agency for International Development (AID), brushing aside inquiries concerning the conditions of women workers.

Marx in his day had a scathing critique of such thinking, stunted and confined by the alternatives and categories of capitalist society. His point in his chapter on "The Working Day" was not to write a sob story on the evils of capitalism, but to show the opposite of bourgeois thought in the passions and humanity and ideals of the workers' struggles, which he details. For Marx, this was the foundation for the revolutionary theorist to concretely trace out a philosophy of human liberation.

CHALLENGE TO FEMINISTS

Today, it is the movement of women workers, globally, that challenges feminists to grapple with Marx's concept of revolutionary theory, and its relation to the movement from practice. From Mexico to Thailand to the Philippines, from Los Angeles garment factories and Texas and California fields to Las Vegas hotel kitchens, the last decade has seen a growing militance and consciousness of women workers, expressed in strikes, demonstrations and factory occupations.

One manifesto, issued in 1977 by striking women workers from the Dong-Il Textile Co. in Inchon, South Korea, concluded: "Deprived of a chance to study because of poverty, we have been despised and belittled as ignorant . . . We have finally made up our mind to regain our rights with our

Chicago's sewing women



Lizzie Swank-Holmes, who organized a march by Chicago sewing women for the eight-hour day on May 3, 1886, the day before the infamous Haymarket Police Riot. Referring to the marchers as "Shouting Amazons," the Chicago Tribune reported, "Between 300 and 400 girls and women were affected with a malignant form of the eight-hour malady yesterday morning." Their "exterior denoted incessant toil, (with) . . . worn faces and thread-bare clothing bearing evidence of a struggle for an uncomfortable existence." At the end of the march, the women joined the Knights of Labor, swearing that they would not give in until they had won the eight-hour day.

Letter from Seattle

Editor's Note: The following is from a letter written by a woman reader in Seattle.

There are a lot of politics involved in the investigation of the Green River murders, primarily that the victims (who now number 24, plus 13 more missing) were "prostitutes." Being "prostitutes," "doing it for money," these women are seen by authorities as having taken themselves out from under the umbrella of the law. That is, they get what they deserve. If businessmen had been murdered, it would be a national, perhaps international news item. If there was a woman "murderess," the police would be stopping us on the streets and searching us.

The victims' profile is 13 to 18 years old, a girl who's been forced out of her home due to physical and/or sexual abuse and who finds street life to be a better life than that at home. How can we expect any sort of co-operation between a group of young rebellious girls and a group of paramilitary men, especially when one of them may be the guilty one? This is a big problem with the investigation. The Distrust Barrier is so high that communication is nonexistent.

Personally, I'm pessimistic about the guilty one being caught. The first murder was in 1982 in the summer and the last one discovered was in August in '83. Most of the bodies were in a skeletal state when they were found; so clues are minimal. The investigation got off to a slow, unorganized start because of the type of victim; they were valuing a person because of her sexual behavior. Only after the Take Back The Night march and outrage by the women's community have there been any actions. However, it just may be too late.

I feel close to this subject not only because I've been assaulted, but because I worked with these kids who are being killed, at a home for runaways and street kids. They're not hardened criminals. They're young girls who are confused and hurt, already victims of a no-win family situation of male domination, of women as property.

own hands . . . We believe we should gather all our strength and energy left, and cry out in one huge voice of assertion that we, too, are human beings."

"We, too, are human beings," is a cry of women that speaks to the heart of a feminist vision of a new world. As we mark May Day, 1984, let none of us think that a day of international working class solidarity is "for men only." Rather, let us hold in our minds both the reality of the conditions of women workers, worldwide, at this stage of deep capitalist crisis, and the opposite of that, their/our vision and struggle for a new life, and Marx's expression of that as the classless society in which "human power is its own end, the true realm of freedom."

—Michelle Landau



women-worldwide

Feminist and civil rights groups have reacted with alarm to the Feb. 28 ruling by Reagan's Supreme Court which "took the teeth out of Title IX," which prohibits sex discrimination in any educational program or activity receiving federal funds. The ruling in favor of Grove City College in Pennsylvania sets a dangerous precedent in stating that only those programs directly receiving federal funds, rather than the college as a whole, cannot discriminate.

In Katowicz, Poland, Solidarity activists Anna Walentynowicz, Ewa Tomaszewska and Kazimierz Switon were released from prison in April. A local court ruled that all three were too ill to stand trial, which has been indefinitely postponed. The three were arrested last year for trying to set up a plaque in memory of seven miners killed in 1981 by security forces after martial law was declared. Walentynowicz and Switon were leaders in the free trade union movement which led to the birth of Solidarity.

More than 50,000 women demonstrated on March 10 in Rome as part of a series of activities held by the Italian Women's Movement. On March 8, several thousand celebrated International Women's Day, and in Comiso, Sicily, where Cruise missiles are scheduled for deployment, a women's group called Ragnatella (Spiders' Web) is now planning Italy's version of Greenham Common.

Claudina Calderon, a student at El Salvador's National University, was kidnapped by government security forces last June 29, along with her two-month old son and three other women and children. She has recently been seen, tortured but alive, in an unofficial prison. The Association of El Salvadoran Women (AMES) is asking supporters to write or cable President Alvaro Magana, Casa Presidencial, San Salvador; and Ambassador Thomas Pickering, U.S. Embassy, El Salvador. For further information write: National Campaign to Release Claudina Calderon, 2000 Center Street, PO Box 1157, Berkeley, CA 94704.

CTA: 'your life for a fare'

CHICAGO, Ill. — I used to dream about driving a bus for the Chicago Transit Authority (CTA). I used to tell my kids, "One day I'm going to be a pro," because the CTA is the pros. Now I wonder what I'm doing there.

The people, the supervisors and the spotters are all on you. Spotters are hired to get on the bus and watch to see if you call the streets and punch the transfers. Sometimes there are so many people that you can't. The supervisors yell at you like you're a child. They forget what it's like to be a bus driver and risk your life to collect a fare for the CTA.

The death of a woman driver put me through changes. That could have been me. I have had bricks thrown through my windows, I've been shot at, and I've been threatened. You have to put on a front and pretend you're not scared. I don't know how many times I've ended up at the terminal crying. It is constantly working on your nerves. Other drivers say "just shut it off." How the hell can you shut it off when the guy is standing right in front of you? I have never prayed to so much in all my life.

The job changes you. People complain that we are nasty and cold. Something must have happened. Otherwise we wouldn't be as cold as we are.

— Woman driver

"The press is the ruthless language and manifest image of the historical spirit of the people . . ."

— Karl Marx

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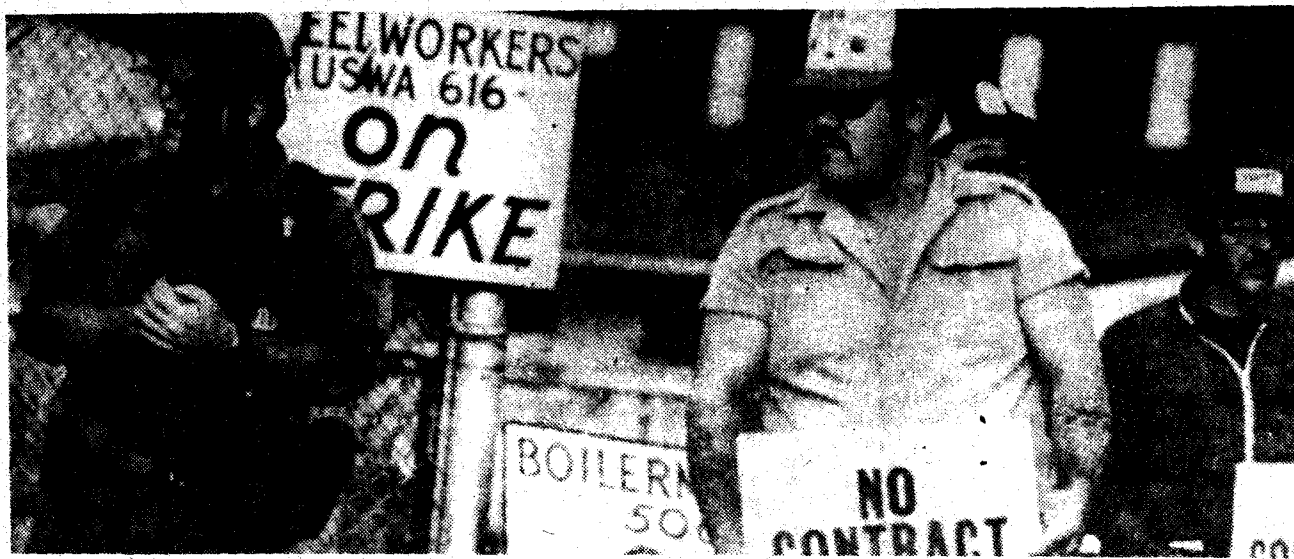
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Class war returns to Arizona copper mines



Strikers have picketed Phelps Dodge copper mines for over ten months despite armed National Guard and state police.

Clifton, Ariz. — The ten-month-old strike against the copper mining operations of Phelps Dodge Corporation (PD) still continues. The strike began July 1, when the company refused to negotiate a freeze, as offered by the unions, but demanded a reduction in wages and benefits.

We have had the National Guard in our area, surrounding the strikers with sub-machine guns and flying helicopters over strikers' homes, day and night. The National Guard left, and was replaced by state police, who have harassed and beaten strikers, and jailed both men and women for nothing but verbally harassing the scabs.

WOMEN RALLY

There are about 600 scabs working in the mines now. I know they feel they have to work to support their families, but I say to them: If all working people did what you are doing, we would have no rights left at all. That is why our strike is so important.

Strikers still go out to picket every day, and it is the women who are the most determined picketers. It is the Women's Auxiliary that is organizing a big rally for May 5. But it is a long hard strike for everyone. Strikers' homes have been shot at, and their lives and the lives of their children threatened.

Dr. Jorge O'Leary was fired from the company-owned hospital — the only one in the county — for his support of the strikers. He has opened up a People's Clinic, which survives on donations, and serves striking families that have no money. PD controls this whole town. It is like a dictatorship.

There is a history of struggle at this mine. My grandfather used to tell stories of a long bitter strike, and I think he must have been speaking of the one in Bisbee in 1917, which ended with 1200 striking miners being loaded into boxcars at gunpoint and deported to New Mexico.

WORKSHOP TALKS

(Continued from page 3)

Only the union finally made all kinds of promises to get them to go home.

It was always like that. The union organizer was never there when you called with a problem. But as soon as you stopped production, the organizer would come running to tell everyone to go back to work, that they'd settle it in the office. They never settled anything to the workers' satisfaction, so all through the '70s there were always work stoppages and wildcats.

One laid-off Art Steel worker who was always a company man was telling some of us that we caused Art Steel to shut down, with sabotage, slowdowns and not caring about our work. But the truth which he will never understand is that those were all responses to the company's constant abuses. It is true that neither Art Steel nor other factories like GM, Ford, and U.S. Steel have shut down for purely "economic" reasons separate from what their workers were doing and thinking in resistance. It has always been like that. Marx wrote 120 years ago that, even then, all new machinery was developed to "still the refractory hand of labor," and that is true of the runaway shop and shut-downs as well.

GAINS MUST BE REGAINED

It is true that if you fight for better conditions and stop, even if you've won \$10 or \$11 an hour you will lose tomorrow — or ten years down the road. That's what's happening to the New York furriers right now, who won those wages and now face the extinction of their union in a bitter strike over subcontracting.

But if you conclude like the Art Steel company man that it is therefore better not to struggle and meekly accept the crumbs offered you, you will lose even worse. The capitalist can always find someone to do your job cheaper. If you went down to 50¢ an hour, they would force some slaves to work for free and still wouldn't be satisfied.

The last 90 Art Steel workers knew this when they went out on strike one more time this past November, even though faced with an imminent shutdown, rather than accept a wage freeze and medical benefit cuts. They said, "If they're going to shut down they're going to shut down anyway, and \$10 more from our pocket won't make the difference. We might as well go down fighting."

That struggle and solidarity is what they leave us to build on, amongst ourselves in each shop, as well as to extend it between shops and industries, to the whole country and worldwide, as the only answer to the crisis of shutdowns and concessions.

Before the union came into the mines here, the company tried to create divisions between the Mexican-American workers and the Anglos. My family is Mexican-American, and during the Depression we saw many poor whites coming in from Oklahoma. My mother remembers them, in their rickety cars with mattresses tied to the roofs. Today the strike has brought many Anglos and Mexican-Americans closer together. It is the first time many of us are mixing with each other.

NOT ENOUGH UNIONS HELP

The union has helped us in the mines, and we can't lose it. But I have to say that I have lost my faith in unions generally, because I have gone to many other unions to try to tell our story, and have been turned away by the union leaders. The one union that has helped us is the United Farm Workers — Cesar Chavez came, and gave us financial support. But one union leader told me, "You come here with your hand open for a dole. Who do you think you are?" Why are they so threatened by me?

It seems to me, if the unions were smart, they would use our strike as a nucleus, to turn things around. But I've come to see that we put too much faith in leaders and "professionals." Many times it is the amateurs, the rank-and-file people, who know better, because they are the ones directly involved.

There's a lot of power in us. We have to think and act for ourselves. We can't wait for God or PD to help us. PD always treated us like morons, instead of human beings who can think our own thoughts.

I only want to say to other people, if you get angry about what happens in Poland or Grenada, please think also about what's happening right within this country. When someone is on strike, does it mean they have no rights? We need to support each other.

— Strike Supporter

Strikers are living on \$50 a week from the union strike fund. Send letters and contributions, payable to Morenci Miners Women's Auxiliary, to: Morenci Miners Women's Auxiliary, 1113 Third Ave., Safford, AZ 85546.

They watch each moment, steal hours at UAW shop

Highland Park, Mich. — On Monday, April 30, when a machine broke down at U.S. Auto Radiator, they sent workers home two hours early from one department, but they didn't follow seniority. It looked like the company was splitting workers along racial lines, because they sent home all but one of the Black women in the department, even though most of them had more seniority than the workers who stayed.

When the UAW union steward confronted the company, their excuse was that they had made a mistake and looked at the seniority list wrong. But they didn't pay those workers for the two hours. They made it even worse. On Wednesday, those who had been sent home early had to work overtime for straight time pay — they had to work ten hours, and the others left after eight hours.

People at work were talking about how our working conditions are constantly worse. Years ago there were just foremen to watch us. Now we have cameras, we have foremen and we have guards — and more foremen than when we first started here. One of the workers commented on the song that was on the radio, "Somebody's Watching Me" — that is this place, constantly on the watch.

When we first started, there were no production standards. Then the foremen had a daily report. They would say count your production at the end of the day, tell us what you did and then we will complain. Now it is every two hours, before and after every break, they say tell us what you did and when we don't like it we'll complain.

The union steward says she'll get a grievance against it, but whenever the union says grievance they always talk about going into a meeting about it. They have a grievance against the daily report, from last year, that is not settled yet.

So if somebody does just two heaters in two hours, but the two hours before that they did six heaters, the company will complain and harass them. It seems that no matter what you do, no matter how hard you work and get out production, their only answer is: How about some more?

— Day shift worker

Las Vegas hotel workers strike in company town

by Felix Martin, Labor Editor

Las Vegas, Nev. — Recently I walked picket lines with hundreds of workers striking against Las Vegas hotel and gambling casinos. Over 17,000 workers of the Hotel and Restaurant Employees International Union struck 32 hotels and casinos in early April after management tried to force wage and benefit concessions on them.

I spoke with many workers on the picket lines, and they all earned from \$4 to \$6 an hour prior to the strike. Yet management is not only demanding that their wages be cut, but that the guaranteed 40-hour work week clause be dropped from the contract, putting these workers making \$4-\$6 an hour on a part-time basis!

One worker told me, "How can I make concessions when I can't live on what I make now, \$3.80 an hour? I don't know whether we can win this strike, but we've got nothing to lose. It's better to fight than to give in to this."

PICKETING DESPITE ARRESTS

Fight is what these workers have done, not only in walking the picket lines, but also in holding several large demonstrations in town and a sit-down in front of the MGM Grand Hotel. Their actions have resulted in the arrests of over 100 strikers. Many were charged with "inciting violence."

The truth is that it is the police and management who have over and over again incited violence, first in demanding concessions, then in hiring scabs, and then again in giving the police free rein to attack strikers. On April 3, Las Vegas police used violence to drive striking workers from hotel entrances, though they were simply walking a picket line.

Lt. James Chaney defended the beatings inflicted by the police on several strikers, saying, "The workers were abusing the right of private property" — as if their "private property" is worth a nickel without workers' labor!

One Black worker told me of a similar incident: "The guards attacked us fully armed, while we carried nothing but our picket signs that were hanging by strings around our necks." I told him that those armed guards remind me of the company-hired gunmen that I remember from my schoolboy days, growing up in the coal-mining region of Harlan County, Ky. Today the hotel owners might call them "guards", but their function remains the same.

But workers weren't only angry at the police. Several also had some harsh words for some of their union officials, who had asked the governor to call in the National Guard. "Since when has the National Guard ever defended the interests of striking workers?" one picketer asked.

NEW VOICES OF LABOR

As an auto worker of many years, I had always believed that workers in heavy industry would be in the vanguard of every labor struggle. But now I am seeing instances where it is the unorganized or poorly-paid workers in industries like these that can be the vanguard.

It is no accident that it was Cesar Chavez, leader of the United Farm Workers, that went to Las Vegas to lead a solidarity march of 7,500 people. He represents that lower and deeper layer of American workers who know the reality of life on minimum — and below-minimum — wage. It was that march, together with the daily pickets and demonstrations, that forced management back to bargaining.

There is a power and militancy brewing in these workers. The contagious excitement of their fight for justice can be seen in a conversation I had with a teenager, who was working a non-union minimum-wage job in a Las Vegas store. She said to me, "Even though I'm not in the union, can I join the picket line when I get off work?"

If there could be more communication and solidarity between workers such as those striking against the hotels, and against Southern California Davis Pleading in Los Angeles (see April, 1984 N&L), and against hundreds of other small shops and industries around this country, we could see the beginnings of something very new in the labor movement. It's the response of these lower-paid workers that we want to be watching closely in this next period.

Speed-up at GM Oklahoma

Oklahoma City, Okla. — Many of us were forced to transfer to Oklahoma City from other GM plants a year ago, and now GM is already dropping hints that we might face a lay-off. We've been working 54 hours a week most of the time, and management has been making a big thing out of quality control. When that happened at GM South Gate in California, it wasn't long before the plant closed.

The quality control circles have a lot of workers asking, "Why hasn't the union come out against this thing?" The "quality control" program is a system of creating stool pigeons throughout the plant to spy on the workers. A group of workers are supposed to be shifted from spot to spot, to report "defects." It's just another ploy to boost production.

We're already running 78 cars an hour down the line, and we usually get one Saturday off a month. With the contract coming due, there is a lot of talk of a strike. Every worker here says, "There will be no more concessions in '84."

One thing we talk about is where GM got its record profits from last year, since they sold 1.7 million fewer cars than when they were "breaking even." It looks like only one thing can explain that — the concessions GM took out of our paycheck. If the union thinks we will swallow some more in the year to come, they will be in for a surprise.

A sign of what workers are thinking was seen when Michigan autoworkers voted down a proposal at one plant, where management offered to add on a second shift in exchange for paying straight time for Saturday and Sunday work. Everybody said, if they can get that in the door, we'll be working seven days a week. Nothing can satisfy management's hunger for more and more profits.

—GM mobile worker

LABOR STRUGGLES ACROSS THE UNITED STATES . . .

The article on miners' safety in April, 1984 N&L really hit home for me. I just returned from a trip through Arizona and New Mexico. Truckers in Flagstaff talked about how they were being "sped-up" by being forced to drive longer and harder. Those who don't collaborate with management are likely to get the less choice trucks with more safety problems. Everyone was upset when we got word a few hours later that a Black trucker we'd been talking to about these problems had been killed in an accident, probably in an unsafe truck.

Navajo miners I spoke to are now on strike against Peabody Coal, not only for wages, but over the right to choose when they can take their two weeks vacation time. While 90% of the miners are Navajo, the managers are 90% white. The managers say: "You can't get these Indians to be bosses because they have strange ideas about treating everyone as brothers." It's not surprising that coal companies are squashing the UMW locals, but so is the official Navajo tribal government which earns profits from coal leasing to the company.

Marxist-Humanist anthropologist
Univ. of Utah

GM's new Orion Township plant is now operating, and it is a threat to every autoworker. I am not speaking about the long drive to work every day (about 35 miles for most Detroiters). It is the "world of robots" they have that worries me. For example, hi-lo drivers are becoming a thing of the past; they now have about 25 hi-los with automatic pilots — no drivers. God help you if you get in their way.

The company boasts that Orion Township is the most automated plant in the world. They have over 150 robots; and the paint shop is nearly all robotic. The workers who are left in the plant are divided into little groups and told to follow "Quality Work Life" — to squeal on other workers if they aren't keeping up the production standards (set by the robots).

These crazy companies actually think they can do away with the human being. They can't. All they will do is cause another Depression, worse even than the last one.

Former autoworker
Michigan

In the tenth week of the New York furriers' strike, no progress has been made toward ending it, and the 1,800 workers continue to walk the picket lines daily. The question of whether the employers can subcontract work to non-union shops is still the key. It is clear the bosses are trying to break this old, once-militant union. Apparently, workers who make ten dollars an hour cannot expect to keep their jobs in this day and age. Meanwhile, the strikers have received only a total of \$80 strike pay the whole time. It seems the International is not really backing the strike.

Strike supporter
New York City

It was reported in the business section of the L.A. Times that "Chrysler profits hit a record of \$705.8 million in first quarter." What gets me as an auto worker is how these profits are reported as "earnings." Those "earnings" are nothing but what rightly belongs to the Chrysler workers, who were forced to give wage and benefit concessions. Why is stealing called "earnings" when the capitalists steal from the workers, but it is called stealing when a worker takes something not his or hers?

Autoworker
Los Angeles

There are cataclysmic changes in the work place these days. The U.S. is finished producing low-cost commodities with lower technology. It cannot compete. Even my little company, which makes small measuring tools, has now purchased two plants in South America, and is shopping around for more. It would not surprise me if they just closed down the U.S. operations completely in the near future.

Worried
New York City

An article of a few weeks ago in the Chicago Sun-Times showed a picture of a 20-year-old named Andre Ricks of New York who jumped off a 20th floor to his death, a suicide. He demonstrated the fact that the human being, the creator of all value, has no value; or so he is led to believe by the forces of this society. But the human being has also shown the ability to overcome these conditions and build a better world.

Black worker
Chicago

Mine safety is the reason I left my job. I worked in a Huntington, Utah coal mine that didn't conform to OSHA standards. It had a cave-in and a miner was hurt and I was the only one with medical training but the foremen wouldn't let me help. They just didn't care. He had a broken sternum and I took him to the hospital for surgery. While I was there I called the mine safety people at their office in the university's research park. I was burned up and looking for help. I don't know what they can do though, since they were run off the mine site with guns. The miner died.

Former miner
Utah

. . . AND IN CANADA

The British Columbia provincial government is about to establish legislation for a large ongoing construction project called "Expo '86", a sort of showcase for the skills of "private enterprise." The building trades council had promised to provide a no-strike pledge and permit non-union labour on the site, providing union wages, benefits and conditions were paid to non-union workers. Yet the provincial government could not even agree to that offer. They insist that the site be declared an "open site" with union and non-union labour working side-by-side.

With something like 60% of its force unemployed for almost two years, the union coalition is in anything other than a position of strength. The anti-union attitude displayed by the public here is quite palpable. I am unable to forward newspaper clippings commenting on this, however, since both dailies are currently on strike.

Lefty Morgan
Vancouver, B.C.

REAGAN'S RHETORIC AND REALITY IN COLLISION

In China, Reagan missed no opportunity to proclaim his great love for democracy as the way of life. His hypocrisy is disgusting.

Would he make the same speech in the Philippines where he supports the dictatorship of Marcos? Or in El Salvador where his guns support the death squads? Or in South Africa where his capitalist friends profit from the oppression of the Blacks? Or in South Korea where the dictatorship is supported by 40,000 U.S. troops?

The people of Grenada understand his kind of democracy — the point of an American bayonet.

Disgusted
Detroit

Every night for the last week we have seen Reagan in China on the news. He makes a toast about bringing "our two countries closer together", and the reporter mentions that the U.S. will help the Chinese government build two nuclear plants. He goes to a "model commune" and we are told it is a "blend of socialism and private enterprise", but no one asks if these can be blended. No one suggests they are opposites, not the reporters, and not even the great flag-waving capitalist, Reagan. Words mean nothing when superpowers get together.

Hospital worker
Michigan

Many people I know slip when they are discussing Reagan and his policies. They call him "Nixon" by accident. They're not trying to make a point; it just comes out. I think it's because Reagan is acting like the Nixon they knew and hated, except worse.

High school student
San Francisco

The Ku Klux Klan's endorsement of Reagan for re-election says it all. And they know very well that his "repudiation" of them doesn't mean a thing. In 1980 they endorsed him, he "repudiated" the endorsement, and they got along fine forever after. I agree with your editorial (April N&L) about how Reagan is bringing "religious values to public life." They are the same values that are involved when the KKK burns crosses at night: when Israeli religious terrorists shoot into Arab schoolyards; or when Khomeini sends 12-year-olds to die in his "holy war."

College teacher
Ann Arbor, Mich.

The law is reeling backwards so fast it make you dizzy. Nixon, Ford, Carter and Reagan's appointments to the federal courts (life-time jobs), and to the National Labor

Readers' View

Relations Board and other agencies, have now succeeded in wiping out 40 years of labor law and 20 years of anti-discrimination law.

There is no more affirmative action for minorities or women. Companies no longer have to abide by union contracts; they have only to claim (not prove) bankruptcy to cancel them.

Immigration Service sweeps of factories to arrest undocumented workers are now sanctioned. In short, the "rules" of modern U.S. capitalist society have changed for the worse.

Lawyer
New York



LATIN AMERICA'S FREEDOM IDEAS

I don't think Reagan should have gone into Grenada. It was like what they did to the Dominican Republic in 1965. All I know is that we had a President elected by the majority, Juan Bosch. Then the Marines got there in the middle of a civil war between the people who wanted the elected President, Bosch, and the military.

It started between the military and the people — most of them were young people. They formed commandos — one good leader was Caamaño Deno. He said now was the time to finish the oppression of the United States. The Marines got there and killed the whole movement. I was only seven years old when it happened, but I remember. I still remember the big tanks on the street — as they were passing by they would break the sidewalk. It was like an earthquake.

My mother was almost killed by the military because she was helping the commandos. Everybody was for the President, Bosch. It's almost the same thing in Grenada. You get a big nation going into a little country, abusing. A country like Grenada or the Dominican Republic, we look like little dots next to the U.S.

Dominican student
City College, New York

I've been doing some reading of Latin American radical thinkers along with my work on Guatemalan and Nicaraguan support. Most recently, Eduardo Galeano's *Open Veins of Latin America*. He starts with some magnificent passages about the human costs of Latin American dependence and development, but he's an intellectual prisoner of the old, rigid, pseudo-Marxist ideas that the development of European capitalism is a universal through which all the world must pass. So Indians and peasants and workers are only victims for him, not actors — except where they are force in movements whose reason is supplied from above. So he blames the Latin American bourgeoisie for not accumulating sufficient capital.

At the heart of the book is the insistence on the necessity of protective tariffs. What a distance we have travelled — backwards! Theory and practice can't be left that far apart.

Activist
Arlington, Va.

CENSORSHIP IN THE SCHOOLS

Ida Fuller's assessment that the push for school prayer is part of an effort to subdue youth resistance is also seen in the increase of censorship at schools. A Vermont high school board prevented students from putting on a play about child abuse and runaway children. A St. Louis science teacher was forbidden to show his class the film "Inherit the Wind," about the 1925 trial of John Scopes, who was convicted of teaching the theory of evolution in Tennessee.

And Clergy and Laity Concerned is being kept off campus, despite a court ruling that they had access to Chicago public schools — because they counsel students against registering for the draft. What Reagan really wants is to control what is said in schools and in the media as tightly as the Communist Party does in Russia or the fundamentalist clergy in Iran.

Outraged
Chicago

On Marxism and Youth. I've conducted a few experiments on other students I am

good friends with. To a few students, I've explained some Marxist beliefs, telling them that the ideas are Marxist. To another grouping, I expressed the same ideas without mentioning Marxism or socialism. It seems people are "turned off" by the name itself. I think it is because all through life they hear about "the evils of communism," but never look into what exactly is "evil" in it.

High school student
Rural Pennsylvania

TYRANNY ON THE SEAS

I saw an article about a seaman in the Navy who was chained to the floor in some sort of helicopter hanger on one of the ships. His crime? He tried to commit suicide. So these things still go on somehow. When you're somewhat insulated as I am now compared to a few years ago, it seems that the world improves. But no, not the naval institution.

Woman ex-sailor
Seattle, Wash.

BLACK ANTI-IMPERIALISM

Two points seem crucial to me within John Alan's essay on Black opposition to U.S. imperialism in 1898-99. First is how the essay breaks down any false opposition between national and international, revolution at home and revolution abroad. The Black masses, who had been experiencing the revival of open, vicious, racism at the end of the 19th century were the ones to recognize that same racism uniting with expanding capitalism in its imperialist adventure. Second, one sees that the revolutionary vanguard role of the Black dimension had deep historical roots in America, especially in a Black woman like Ida B. Wells. Today's anti-imperialist movements could gain much from these revolutionary historical strands as they seek to grow.

Journalist
Detroit

I really appreciated John Alan's essay on Black opposition to imperialism in 1898-99 (April N&L) because it helped me understand genuine, revolutionary anti-imperialism. The essay became especially alive to me when I had a chance to talk about it with other activists at the April 16 Tax Day demonstration in Detroit against U.S. military intervention. One Black woman I met was especially excited by the essay. She said she was ready to march all the way to Washington, even though she was using a cane, because she was so mad at how Reagan is using her money for the military instead of poor people. She also liked the part about Ida B. Wells because she herself has joined the many Black women and high school students who are organizing against rape in Detroit.

Women's liberationist
Detroit



WOMEN IN NIGERIA ORGANIZE

We have just learned that the Women in Nigeria organization held its Second Annual Conference in Zaria last spring. The organization stated that it is not "interested in catering only for the interest of privileged women" and affirmed that the oppression of majority of our feminine population is a result of the exploitative nature of Nigerian society.

At the end of its deliberations it made among others, the following demands:

1. The elimination of early marriages, which because of the limited physical development of the girls result in ruptures of the bladder and rectum during child birth which may lead to death.
2. The banning of harmful drugs such as Depo-Provera which though "banned in their countries of origin (such as the USA) are commonly dumped by multinational drug companies in Nigeria and other Third World Countries."
3. That females should be given full and equal access to education with males, equal "access to land, wage jobs and other special resources on the same basis as men."

For more information, contact:

Women in Nigeria
P.O. Box 253
Samaru, Zaria
Nigeria

MARXISM TODAY: 'FIELD OF STUDY' OR PHILOSOPHY OF LIBERATION?

I fully agree with you . . . concerning a need to clearly distinguish Marx's theory from a variety of Marxisms. According to my opinion, Marx's idea of socialism differs more than it is recognized, from both Engels' and Lenin's not to speak of Stalin's, concept of a "totalitarian socialism." Closely connected with the above mentioned comment is your demand that a more clear differentiation should be made in regards to Bolshevism and Stalinism . . . I've also read with pleasure Raya's contribution to N&L on "Marx's philosophy of revolution vs. non-Marxist scholar-careerists in 'Marxism'"

Professor-activist
East Europe

I found one possible implication of the critique by Dunayevskaya of Terrell Carver really quite disturbing. In singling out as a category "non-Marxist scholar-careerists in 'Marxism'", aren't we speaking about a new phenomenon? What I mean is that throughout the decades since Marx died, when Marxism was within academia, it was represented by scholars (some revolutionaries, most reformists), who were socialists of one kind or another. When they studied Marx it was for purposes of advancing the movement.

But now we have scholars in the universities for whom the study of Marx is a "field," a "sub-discipline." The purpose of the research, even when thorough and creative, is no longer rooted in the problems of the socialist movement. Indeed, it may not even have any interest in today's struggles. Isn't this a mirror opposite of the "party" Leftists today who have tactical answers to every world event, who know which regime to "back," yet for whom Marx and his work is no longer of any interest? All this underscores how much the perspective of the "unity of theory and practice" is a rare and revolutionary one.

Long-time socialist
Brooklyn, NY

Raya's article against Terrell Carver (April N&L) shows Carver's misinterpretation of Marx. According to Carver, Marx's point was to have a "career." To me, it is Carver who is the careerist. He reminds me of my teacher, who spent a week teaching us Marx as literature. He gave us some outline sheets and told us: This is Marx, study him for a test. That is how Carver presents Marx. Both the teacher and Carver fail to see why Marx wrote his theoretical works. Marx wrote them to express the alienation the workers go through and the opposition they develop.

High school student
Los Angeles

The April "Theory/Practice" column on Terrell Carver reminded me of the critique that Lenin leveled against Bukharin, the main theoretician of the Bolshevik Party, in his Will: "his theoretical views can only with the very greatest doubt be regarded as fully Marxian, for there is something scholastic in him (he never learned, and I think never fully understood, the dialectic)."

Lou Turner
Detroit

One of the things I've gotten from the recent classes in the Marxist-Humanist body of ideas is a deeper sense of how new beginnings are always present in practice, if we listen to them and learn to become aware of them for what they are. Failure to see masses as reason will lead to the conclusion that "history is over," with its attendant despair, as with the Frankfurt School's view that Hitler represented the end of the dialectic.

I think it's also a key to the decay of the Left in this country after the withdrawal of U.S. troops from Vietnam, and the rebirth of social democracy. The war absorbed so much of the movement's energy, to the exclusion of an awareness of masses in motion, that when it ended, history ended for many activists. Of course that's only one part of a complex phenomenon, but it's something I saw vividly in NAM in the 1970s.

Central American supporter
Washington, D.C.

Twice when I was attacked for being a "communist," Black women workers turned the accusation against my detractors (union officials and their supporters) who were trying to tell the women who to talk to, what to think and "how to run our lives." To those women, communism means totalitarianism, and it exists here in their "leaders'" attitudes toward them. They are not afraid of ideas and want the freedom to discuss them openly.

Marxist-Humanist
Chicago

N&L is unique in its coverage of Marx. It's only through you that I know about Marx's Ethnological Notebooks, which I hope to read someday if an all-English edition comes out. My copy of the paper also has at least three other readers.

Subscriber
Graterford, Pa.

Your letter of February 17 reached me April 6. Contradictions of capitalist postal system? Under Communism it seems they

read your mail. Here they simply don't deliver it.

Intellectual
New York

I have been reading Raya Dunayevskaya's Political-Philosophic Letters on Iran, and I am very impressed. I am studying the origins of the liberation movements in the Horn of Africa and I think her writings shed a great deal of light on the relationship of revolutionary organization to Islam, among other subjects. The whole of Africa is facing serious problems now, with the disappointments, for example, of the Angolan Revolution. It is a very precarious situation, and it demands that Third World revolutions be considered carefully, not with preconceived slogans.

Eritrean student
In the USA

Ed. note: Copies of Counter-revolution and revolution in Iran: a series of political-philosophic letters by Raya Dunayevskaya, are available from N&L for \$1.50 per copy. They not only begin as the movement to overthrow the Shah neared its conclusion in 1978-79, and extend to Khomeini's counter-revolution and the present Iran-Iraq war, but include an examination of the 1906-09 Iranian Revolution.

LETTER FROM DIXON COLLEY

Many readers of N&L have expressed their concerns and offered assistance in the defense of W. Dixon Colley, editor of The Nation in the Gambia, West Africa. Colley, a veteran activist in the African freedom movement, had been charged with sedition by the Gambian rulers. We are very happy, therefore, to print the following message received from him in Banjul, the Gambia — ed.

After two months interval since Jan. 30, 1984, when both Counsels, Mr. Haasan Jallow for the State and Mr. Bai Modi Joof for the Defendant, Mr. W. Dixon Colley, ended their case, judgement was given.

The editor was charged with sedition: that the publication of a letter, "Till Doomsday", in The Nation, was seditious in that 1) it intends to bring into hatred, contempt or excite discontent against the administration of justice in The Gambia; 2) to raise discontent or dissatisfaction amongst the citizens or inhabitants of The Gambia.

On April 12, 1984 Mr. I.S. Mboob, the principal Magistrate, gave judgement in favor of the defendant, when he acquitted and discharged the editor of The Nation Mr. W.

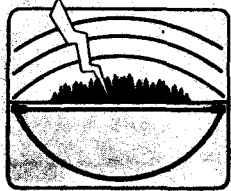
Dixon Colley, on all counts. To the many well-wishers, readers and sympathizers at home and abroad, grateful thanks. Special thanks to friends for donations and those who stood as guarantors for bail.

W. Dixon Colley
Banjul, The Gambia

THIS DEGENERATE SOCIETY

Recent revelations of the large number of male mass murderers of women and children who are at large in the country, are further evidence of the total degeneracy of this society. You captured the idea well in your statement on the New Bedford rape case, on the women's liberation page of the April N&L. Now the New York papers are full of the story of the mass execution of two women and eight children in a house in Brooklyn, apparently a drug-related revenge slaying. The neighborhood people took the opportunity of Mayor Koch visiting the site, to shout "we want jobs." And when the victims were buried, the family and clergy laid the blame where it belongs by stating that the Reagan Administration has failed to control the drug traffic which victimizes the poor.

Sick of this society
New York



STOP
PROJECT
ELF!

Project ELF, the military's plan to wire large parts of Wisconsin and upper Michigan for communication with U.S. submarines in nuclear war situations, has been stopped — at least for now. On Jan. 31, Federal Judge Barbara Crabb ordered an immediate halt to the bulldozer work already begun. The decision is a giant step toward ending the threat of first-strike nuclear war, and it is a solid step toward world peace.

This victory is also a landmark in the effort to protect public health from the risks of extremely low frequency (ELF) electromagnetic radiation. The Navy must now hold public hearings on the environmental impact, a process that may take eight months or more. We need the time to organize to stop Project ELF once and for all. In 1978 we were a few dozen people in northern Wisconsin. Today we are a two-state organization with some 3,000 members. If you want to help us or get more information, write:

Stop Project ELF
1444 E. Washington Ave.
Madison, WI 53703

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- ☐ American Civilization on Trial, Black Masses as Vanguard
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South Africa/Mozambique Pact setback for freedom

Editor's note: The following are excerpts from the official statement made by the Central Committee of the Black Consciousness Movement of Azania on the March 16 accord between the apartheid South African government of Prime Minister Pieter Botha and the FRELIMO government of President Samora Machel of Mozambique, which was signed on the border of the two countries at Nkomati.

With much fanfare and feasting, the so-called accord of Nkomati was signed by racist South Africa and Mozambique on the 16th March, 1984. For the racist, settler-colonialist regime in Pretoria, which had always been shunned by all peace-loving countries of the world, the occasion provided a propaganda exercise on an unprecedented scale. It was indeed sickening to hear the racist South African Prime Minister, Pieter Botha, in the presence of Machel, portraying the Boers as virtuous Africans who have always championed the struggle against colonialism and oppression.

These were the words of the same Botha whose forces had fought alongside the Portuguese colonial forces against FRELIMO during the liberation struggle and fought alongside the Rhodesian forces against the Zimbabwean liberation forces. It is the same Botha whose forces continue to destabilize the majority of the frontline states. Yes, it is the same Botha whose racist regime maintains a fascist and repressive machine which ruthlessly brutalizes, kills, maims and dehumanizes the Black people in Azania. This is the upper limit of cynicism and hypocrisy which only the Boers are capable of reaching.

AMIDST ALL the dazzling euphoria created by the signing of the non-aggression treaty between racist South Africa and Mozambique, it is important to keep in mind the fact that the root cause of tension in Southern Africa is the contradiction between the settler-colonial system on the one hand and freedom and independence in the frontline states on the other. The signing of the Nkomati accord marks the succumbing of Mozambique to racist South Africa's policy of destabilization and triumph for Pretoria and the so-called policy of constructive engagement pursued by

the Reagan administration. The Pretoria regime will certainly try its best to employ its superior economic resources to turn Mozambique into one of its soulless, consciousness and economically dependent neo-Bantustans.

We fully understand and appreciate the difficult circumstances in which our Mozambican brothers and sisters find themselves at present. The Mozambicans have been living under war conditions for the last 20 years, a situation which denied them suitable conditions for reconstruction and economic development. The past three years were particularly difficult for them: a devastating drought combined with South African banditry to exercise severe pressures on the Mozambican government and its people.

BY THEIR OWN admission, the Boers are now hallucinating about prospects of humiliating all the frontline states in a similar fashion one by one and finally gaining membership of the OAU (Organization of African Unity), as promised by Kenneth Kaunda (President of Zambia), without redressing the grievances of the Azanian people. Our view is that our brothers and sisters in Mozambique went too far by signing this unequal treaty. And the pomp and ceremony that accompanied the signing of the accord of Nkomati suggested to us that our Mozambican brothers and sisters experienced no pain at their compromise with racist settler-colonial oppression in Azania.

For the oppressed people in Azania, the slogan: A luta continua, remains. If anything, things look more ominous for us now. Fortunately for us, some of the frontline states have not changed their views on the plight of the Azanian people and will not forsake us. Our task remains the intensification of the struggle inside Azania. The racist settler-colonialist regime in South Africa should know that it can't create peace within its borders by destabilizing the neighboring states to submission and then signing non-aggression pacts with them. The true road to peace is to be found in the resolution of the contradiction between the oppressive power structure in South Africa and the oppressed and dehumanized of Azania.

Down with "constructive engagement"!!!

Down with the Botha settler-colonialist regime!!!

Forward to an anti-racist, socialist Azania!!!

AMANDLA!!!

Mexican activist speaks out against repression

Editor's note: Rosario Ibarra de Piedra is a socialist, feminist and human rights activist in Mexico. She is founder of the Committee of the Families of the Disappeared and National Front Against Repression. She was recently in Los Angeles speaking about conditions in Mexico. Below we print excerpts from her talk.

Nine years ago this month, my son was kidnapped in the state of Nuevo Leon. Ever since then it has been a terrible struggle for me. I have not yet been able to find the whereabouts of my son or the other 513 people who have disappeared in Mexico. One hundred others who disappeared have come back, and in these the mothers and wives of the disappeared have seen a little of the faces of their relatives.

Mexico is going through a grave economic crisis. It is the second largest debtor in Latin America, owing billions of dollars, and the government wants the Mexican workers to repay this debt, which is not owed by them.

In the countryside, the peasants own nothing but marginal land. The rich fields belong to wealthy landowners who export the products. Mexico has to import corn for people to eat.

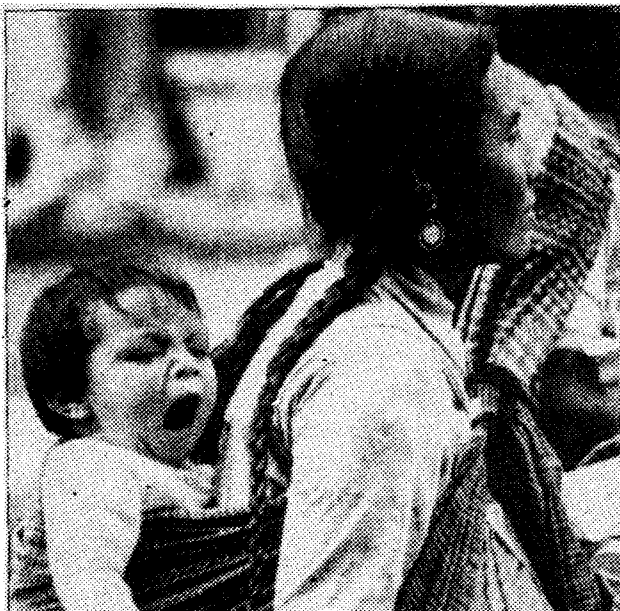
The peasants, and particularly the Indian peasants, are the most direct victims of repression. The big landowners have their own private police forces which they can use to machine gun the peasants, to drive them off the land.

If you've been to Mexico recently, you have seen there's been an increase in the armed police patrols there. They go around in patrol wagons with machine guns, and are dressed in black uniforms. In the poor areas on the periphery of Mexico City, after 7 p.m. if someone is picked up by the police without "adequate identification," they are arrested. There have been raids when as many as 1,000 people have been arrested, and then they're extorted for money in order to be released, sometimes as much as 5,000 pesos.

Another form of less direct repression is the massive unemployment. But when we talk about any of these conditions in the plazas, the authorities say we are agitators with evil intentions. The democratic forces in Mexican society are more and more being denied the right to use public meeting places, the schools, university forums, independent unions.

Last Oct. 18, the National Assembly of Workers, Peasants and Popular Forces, a coalition of 182 groups, held a national civic stoppage. Schools stopped, lands were seized, some factories went on strike, people went out into the streets. Meetings were held in the streets, in the subway stations. Housewives bought no tortillas, as a symbolic act of solidarity. At least three million people were involved, and we're planning another stoppage for June 5. Recently, before I left Mexico, there was a gathering in downtown Mexico City of 70,000 peasants that came into the city demanding land distribution.

In the middle of this mobilization that's going on are women — the wives of workers, peasant widows who have lost the tiny pieces of land their husbands used to cultivate, the women in poor communities who are refused the right to live on the tiny miserable scrap of ground where their home is located, the mothers of the disappeared.



Thousands of peasants marched on the capital, Mexico City, from all over the country, demanding better economic conditions. Marchers arrived, some after walking for 15 days, on the 65th anniversary of the death of Indian peasant revolutionary Emiliano Zapata.

Workers occupy Guatemalan Coca-Cola plant

Washington, D.C. — Less than four years after winning a bloody fight for union recognition, workers at the Coca-Cola bottling plant in Guatemala City — Embotelladora Guatemalteca SA (EGSA) — are sitting in to save their jobs.

On Feb. 17, EGSA's management declared bankruptcy and told its 460 workers that the plant would be closed — the next day. The owners claimed the plant was insolvent, offered a small separation payment, and left the country, trusting that a depressed economy and a repressive government would keep the union from responding. Instead, the workers sat down and occupied the plant. With the same courage and determination that kept them going in 1975-80, they have remained there.

In that five-year struggle to organize and maintain a union, seven workers were murdered. In Guatemala, where the line between the death squads and the government is often impossible to draw, being a trade unionist is a risky proposition and much organizing is clandestine.

Finally in August, 1980, under an agreement signed between Coca-Cola and the Geneva-based International Union of Foodworkers (IUF), the franchise was transferred to Guatemala and the union's right to exist was recognized. Coca-Cola agreed to finance the new owners, and committed itself to retaining management control of the operation for five years.

The bankruptcy may be manipulated and the closing designed more to break the union at a time when Guatemalan unions are starting to emerge in public again. The workers are holding out to keep the plant open and

BLACK WORLD

Black liberation crisis

(Continued from page 3)

sions I had on Garvey got transformed into very serious dialogues on the relationship of Marx's philosophy of revolution to the Black and Third World. Moreover, the composition of the audiences who participated in the discussions also revealed something of the nature of the discussion. Not only were there Black American students and activists, but there were also African students, Latino and Middle Eastern students, as well as white anti-war activists. More striking of all, however, was the fact that the majority were usually Black women.

In Chicago, one student activist who had come, because the flyer he saw for the meeting had the unusual combination of Garvey's and Marx's picture on it, was interested in Marx's American roots since most Marxists had very nearly written off revolution in the U.S. In Los Angeles, an African student took that point further by first criticizing those who say that Marx has no relevance for the Third World, but questioned whether Marx's view of the Black and Third World was anything more than a few random comments on the historical events of his day.

MARX'S RELATION TO BLACK WORLD

Here, the discussion turned from Marx's historical relationship to the Black world, to how that Black dimension in labor helped to fundamentally restructure Marx's greatest theoretical work, *Capital*, and how his theory of "revolution in permanence" developed out of his study of non-capitalist pathways to socialism in underdeveloped countries. Indeed, at one point this became the crux of a dispute with a Left professor who dismissed any affinity between Marx and Garveyism. Though his argument focused on some isolated facts concerning Garvey rather than the Black mass movement from practice known as Garveyism, the actual point at issue was not Garvey's but Marx's view of the Black world that he couldn't accept.

I found a very different attitude in Berkeley with Black and Middle Eastern activist-intellectuals, who wanted to pursue the question of the structure of Marx's work as the method of working out the dialectics of liberation today. To them, this was the precondition for re-transforming retrogression and counter-revolution into new revolutionary beginnings.

However, the most serious dialogue came out of a discussion with an American Black revolutionary intellectual who had come through the revolutionary experience of the '60s in search of a philosophy of revolution that he felt that period had failed to work out. His questions and thoughts seemed most critical because what concerned him was how to make Marx's philosophy of revolution concrete for Black liberation in America. For him, it wasn't a question of counterposing Black liberation to Marxism, as nationalists and Marxists had done since Garvey's day. Rather, his question was what form of Marx's philosophy was needed to work out, at last, the dialectics of Black liberation in its fullest, most definitive and revolutionary articulation.

The seriousness of these and other questions I encountered during this brief lecture tour, naturally, go beyond the preoccupation of any single dimension or subject of revolution. The interest of Black women in the Black revolutionary feminism of the Garvey period points to that.

Nevertheless, the fact that Marxist-Humanism has been able to discover the beginnings of Black Marxism in the Garvey movement, that the "new Humanism" that Frantz Fanon articulated out of the African revolutions coincided with the Marxist-Humanist projection of the two-way road to liberation between the U.S. and Africa, and the fact that the Black Consciousness Movement of Azania (South Africa) in concretizing Fanon's dialectic for a new stage of the African Revolution also found an affinity to Marxist-Humanism provides us with theoretic grounding for a new kind of dialogue which can as well be a pathway and method out of today's crisis in Black liberation.

operating. According to a delegation of North American trade unionists who visited Guatemala City in late March, morale remains high in spite of a worsening health and financial situation.

There is reason to fear for the workers' physical safety. Since March 12, the plant has been surrounded by the judiciales, the Guatemalan secret police, who are often involved in the kidnapping and torture of dissidents. The judiciales are also keeping the homes of union leaders under 24-hour surveillance.

Coca-Cola in Atlanta denies all responsibility for the plant, the franchise or the safety of the workers. Instead, it refers to "a serious contraction of the soft drink market." International action, publicity and a successful boycott helped force Coca-Cola to intervene in 1980. The IUF has announced plans for another world-wide campaign in support of EGSA's workers, which will include boycotts and other forms of action. The striking workers begin each day by reading letters and telegrams of solidarity.

Contributions for food, rent and expenses are being collected by the Network in Solidarity with the People of Guatemala, 930 F. St. N.W., Suite 720, Washington, DC 20004. Letters and telegrams should be sent to the Coca Cola Company, P.O. Drawer 1734, Atlanta, Ga. 30301, demanding safety for the workers and that the plant be kept open. Letters and telegrams for the strikers should go to the union, Sindicato de Trabajadores de la Embotelladora Guatemalteca SA Anexos y Conexos (STEGAC), at 24 Calle 6-01, Zona 11, Guatemala City, Guatemala.

—Ian Seale

May Day, 1984: Labor faces crises and challenges

(Continued from page 3)

wan or south of the border. Many of the young Asian and Hispanic women who worked at these companies brought in the last regular paycheck in families where fathers and husbands worked at Fremont.

What growth there is, is related to Reagan's military buildup as one in eight jobs here is now tied to the war industry. The sought-for goal of the Reagan economists in this "recovery" is the earth-shaking election year hope of an unemployment rate of 7.5% which is what it was when Reagan got elected with rhetoric about putting us back to work.

SPIRIT OF MAY DAY

Faced with such retrogressionist policies, it is important to look back at the spirit of May Day, which after all did have its origins, as we noted, in the American labor movement. As against today's concession-giving labor "leaders," American workers have had a long rich history of labor struggle. American labor rests on the heritage of the General Strike — St. Louis, 1877; Seattle, 1919; San Francisco, 1934 — which directly challenged the rule of capital. And the sit-down movement of the late 1930s, which brought Black and white workers together, established industrial unionism with the CIO and changed the very face of the nation. And the strikes against automation beginning with the 1949-50 Miners' General Strike which asked the question, "What kind of labor should human beings do?"

It is upon this ground that new labor opposition to Reaganomics and new links within labor have surfaced in a number of areas:

Against the background of massive permanent unemployment in manufacturing, 17,000 service workers are now leading the fight against concessions as they enter the fourth week of their strike against the lavish hotels of the Las Vegas strip. The daily battles of culinary workers, bartenders, stagehands, musicians and bellhops with police over their right to protect their job, their union, and earn a living wage points with a new concreteness to the class divide in this country. (See story page 5)

New links are also being forged as witnessed by the farmworkers who were in the lead in marching in solidarity with the Las Vegas strikers. The opposition of farmworkers to losing their jobs to automation and working under the domination of their own "los monstruos" (monster machines) has inspired lawyers for California Rural Legal Assistance to challenge, with some support on campus, the role of the state-supported University of California research in automating the agribusiness of the Central Valley. This research has also accelerated the bankruptcy of small farmers in this most urbanized state in the country.

In San Francisco, cabbies held demonstrations and declared they'll strike during the Democratic Convention if Mayor Feinstein goes through with her plan to issue 100 new temporary permits. They show they aren't looking to presidential politics as a solution. Cabbies count on working long hours to make a living wage in a city where new "low

income" prefabricated housing is being built with a starting price of \$120,000.

Earlier this year some 1,000 workers from 12 different unions came out on a weekday to support strikers at a distant Union Oil refinery in Rodeo, Cal. when a young picketer, Gregory Goobic, was murdered by a scab truck driver. The march up to the massive refinery from the union hall was a lesson in itself — this huge automated complex employs only 300 workers under conditions one worker described as "babysitting for a vast amount of capital." There is a growing sense as seen in the victory at Union Oil that no strike and no layoff is an isolated event.

Discussions with workers such as those at Fremont and Union Oil reveal a searching for a total view that makes workers' growing reliance on their own actions and ideas a firm link to the revolutionary origins of May Day and a pathway out of this 1984 reality.

Whose May Day is this anyway?

"Eight Hours"

*We mean to make things over, we are tired of
toil for naught,
With but bare enough to live upon
and never an hour for thought; . . .
We're summoning our forces from shipyard,
shop and mill, Eight hours for work, eight
hours for rest, eight hours for what we will!*
Excerpts from the song sung by thousands of Chicago
workers during the marches for the eight-hour day
which culminated in May 1, 1886 general strike.

POLAND — Thousands of Solidarity activists both attempted to hold their own demonstrations in Gdansk, Warsaw, Czestochowa, Szczecin, Wroclaw and Nowa Huta, and succeeded in infiltrating the official celebrations. The demonstrators were met with police clubs and water cannons. Lech Walesa managed to infiltrate the parade in Gdansk, stunning the officials.

EL SALVADOR — Workers attempted a mass march in San Salvador to present an alternative to the presidential election farce of May 6. The demonstration was broken up by the police with close to 100 arrests and many others injured. It was the first open demonstration expressing opposition to the government and to the U.S. in several years.

YOUTH

Shortcomings in solidarity movement

by Jim Mills, youth columnist

Newspaper reports in late April carried the news that the U.S. military build-up in Central America now enables the U.S. to "assume a combat role" in throttling revolutions there. This has been punctuated by the military maneuvers in Puerto Rico going on now, code-named Ocean Venture II. Just such maneuvers preceded Reagan's invasion and occupation of Grenada last year.

The heightened imperialist presence by the U.S. in the region makes it all the more urgent to deepen solidarity between Central American and Caribbean freedom fighters, and the other America here opposed to Reagan's Pax Americana. Ida Fuller's youth column in the January-February, 1984 N&L showed one way the solidarity movement can be deepened at home. A recent teach-in at Wayne State University in Detroit showed new voices, on the one hand, but shortcomings in the solidarity movement, even among its non-Stalinist Marxist participants, on the other hand.

A GUATEMALAN REFUGEE'S SEARCH

One of the speakers at the teach-in was a Guatemalan political refugee. He had been in the Guatemalan army, had witnessed its oppression of the people, and deserted. His family was murdered afterwards. So he fled, and has found assistance with the sanctuary movement in the U.S. His presence personified the need to hear Latin American revolutionaries speaking for themselves to activists here. However, what he had to say when he stopped at our literature table indicated the urgency for a deeper kind of dialogue as well.

He, like so many other Central American youth, thinks his country needs revolutionary transformation; however, he wants a transformation that would challenge and uproot the racism of the European-descent Ladinos towards the indigenous peoples. A Guatemalan Marxism, he thought, could realize this. Discussion with him made me think about our view of Latin America. It has been under the twin impact of the freedom struggles of the 1980s in Latin America and new discoveries from Marx's last decade that Marxist-Humanism has sought to deepen our view of the Latin American revolutions.

Our birth as the Marxist-Humanist tendency some 30 years ago came as part of a new humanism which emerged in such thought and action as the East European revolts of East Germany, 1953, and Hungary, 1956, the miners' struggles against automation in the U.S., and the Black freedom movement. At that same moment came the Bolivian revolution of 1952 with its struggles over production by miners and over control of the land by the peasantry. Then, as now, much of the Left failed to help create a framework of revolutionary thought that encompassed the new revolutionary forces that were emerging on a worldwide level.

Marx, particularly in his writings after the Paris Commune, sought out new revolutionary subjects who would point the way to new future revolutions. The peasantry was certainly one of those forces. Now, with revolutions in the non-industrialized world, particularly in Latin America, Marx's sensitivity to what he at times called "the rural proletariat" can help in revolutions of the 1980s. Marx's Marxism can form a basis of concrete solidarity work on Central America. In fact, the young Guatemalan wanted to discuss precisely these ideas.

NARROW CONCEPT OF SOLIDARITY

Unfortunately, one of the workshops at the teach-in which had two North American Marxists showed that such a true

of solidarity is not yet on the agenda for much of the Left. One of them was a university professor who spoke about the Guatemalan counter-revolution. He reviewed the history of government oppression of the people, "a descent into barbarism that is hard to comprehend." When he was through, he concluded that repression can work, leaving no foundation for a movement to regenerate. Since he could not explain how the possibility for change had arisen in this period from new, almost unanticipated forces like the youth, women and indigenous people, he could not present the other Guatemala that the other America could support.

Another Marxist speaker, this one a revolutionary activist, did graphically present an eye-witness account of the revolutionary reconstruction of Nicaragua and discussed what needs to be defended from Reagan's CIA-sponsored "contras." However, when this Marxist activist was asked what kind of solidarity movement do we need in light of the tragedy in Grenada, where one faction claiming to be Marxist settled an ideological dispute in bloodshed and thus opened the door to U.S. intervention, his answer was surprisingly narrow. He cited other tragedies as in the Salvadoran revolution where one revolutionary leader, Ana Maria, was assassinated by another, Carpio. He concluded that despite that kind of practice, the Salvadoran revolution would overcome such barriers.

Even if it is true that the Salvadoran revolutionaries will not be stopped by such practices, this Marxist activist has missed the point. It is not simply a question of whether or not imperialism can be overcome, but a question of what happens after a revolution, how can it not turn into a soured revolution which opens the door for imperialism to return. We need to come to grips with what we can do as revolutionaries in a way that recognizes the tremendous creativity of today's Central American revolutions and seeks to link these revolutions with the Marxism of Marx as the only way to forge new beginnings that can end imperialism's domination.

Immigration raids

Los Angeles, Cal. — The recent U.S. Supreme Court ruling allowing the immigration service to do as they please in raids on factories, against "illegals," means they're going to kick Latinos out of this country. A few days ago I was talking to a friend, and she was telling me that they have already started. "They laugh at us, they treat us as if we were creatures with no feelings," she said.

They have buses at the factories, and they take away people who work for a miserable wage just to survive. Many women have children at home, with no one else to take care of them. Immigration comes and the workers are separated from their families, not knowing if they will be able to make it back. They could get killed attempting to cross the border again.

The owner of one sewing factory refused to pay back checks owed to workers who were taken by immigration. She told them, "You are illegals and therefore you don't have the right to get paid by a citizen."

Somehow we have to bring a human change in this society.

—Young Latino

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Youth in Revolt



The opening of a new runway at Frankfurt International Airport on April 12 was met with four days of protests by several thousand youth, against the destruction of Germany's rapidly diminishing forests and against arrests in previous demonstrations in the three-year battle to stop the runway. The youth movement continues in other forms as well, from the mass Easter marches for peace, to the 4,000 who marched in opposition to an SS reunion. The movement is spurred on by the one million young people who are without jobs.

Over 1,500 demonstrators in San Francisco protested a speech by Henry Kissinger and the U.S. war on the peoples of Central America, April 16. The police viciously broke up the demonstration, arresting nearly 200 and injuring 24, who are now filing suit with charges of police brutality.

Demanding "university enrollment without restrictions," many thousand university students and applicants in all provinces of Argentina have been calling for a complete break with the admission policies of the military governments that preceded the current elected government. They have held street demonstrations, boycotts of entrance exams, fasts, classroom takeovers, and campus occupations.

Youth opposition to the Solomon Amendment, which requires all those seeking student or job training federal financial aid to sign a draft registration compliance form, has been unceasing since its inception last year. Two women and one man at Boston University won their case in Massachusetts, April 12, after refusing to comply and losing their aid. (Even women applying for aid must fill out these forms by indicating exemption.) Six Minnesota students are now confronting the Reagan Administration head-on in the Supreme Court where proceedings began April 23.

Worldwide anti-missile demonstrations

WEST GERMANY — Up to 600,000 turned out in local actions Easter weekend here. 20,000 made a human chain outside the U.S. base at Mutlangen.

BRITAIN — 110,000 came out at various locations in demonstrations called by the CND, April 15-16, beginning the spring anti-war offensive.

DENMARK — 40,000 people demonstrated for peace in Copenhagen while 13 other demonstrations took place in other towns.

AUSTRALIA — Over 200,000 people, including 100,000 in Sydney, demonstrated for peace, part of a large coalition involving Left, women's, youth and religious groups.

OUR LIFE AND TIMES

by Kevin A. Barry and Mary Holmes

In the most massive demonstration in Brazil's history, well over a million people rallied in Rio de Janeiro, April 10. They came from the city and the surrounding areas. Workers, farmers, the unemployed poor, student and non-student youth, women and minorities, professionals and the middle class — virtually all Brazilians were represented at the huge outpouring.

The central demand was "Diretas ja!" (Direct Elections Now) for president, instead of the process of the government-controlled electoral college. For hours the protesters chanted and waved banners against President Joao Baptista Figueiredo's military regime while opposition figures spoke. Some protesters held a mock burial of the Planning Minister, Antonio Delfin Netto, the architect of the policies that have subjected Brazilians to a soaring 200% inflation rate and worsening living conditions.

The Rio rally was only the beginning of a week of mass protests on the eve of a planned April 25 congressional debate on legislation to do away with the electoral college. Hundreds of thousands rallied in Goiania, April 12 and in Porto Alegre the following day. The next week began with an equally massive demonstration, April 16, of over a

Mass protests shake up Brazilian regime

million in Sao Paulo where people rallied and shouted "The dictatorship will end!"

A climaxing demonstration was to be held in the capital, Brasilia, but Figueiredo's shaken regime rushed to impose martial law in and around the city, dispatching 8,000 soldiers to occupy the area and prevent the demonstration. On April 25, the direct election law was defeated in Congress.

The April demonstration culminated months of protests against both Figueiredo and the crisis engulfing all Brazil. "Diretas ja!" has united millions around the immediate question of ridding Brazil of military rule, but the problems are pervasive and deep-seated. Many from the small middle class who joined the demonstrations have been thrown out of work or have seen their standard of living plummet as incomes fell anywhere from 20-40%. But it is the vast majority of workers, the unemployed, peasants and the poor who have borne the brunt of the crisis of the last decade, which has been exacerbated by Brazil's staggering \$100 billion international debt.

Thousands are daily falling below the official poverty line of \$50 a month, and they survive at best with marginal jobs. The hungry regularly expropriate food from stores around

the major cities and in the impoverished northeast sertao, taking items with high protein content to keep them alive. Children have been the hardest hit by malnutrition.

The five-year drought in the northeast was recently broken by rain which brought devastating floods. But the roots of the famine and poverty which have hit the people there are not "acts of nature," but the lack of agrarian reform.

The land and political power are concentrated in the hands of large landowners who actually profited during the drought.

The mass discontent and opposition which erupted in the April demonstrations point to a deepening revolt. In the industrialized areas, there is a strong foundation in a militant and experienced rank-and-file workers movement. There is a small but lively Women's Liberation Movement. There is unrest in the countryside. The Indian minority is increasingly vocal in the fight against the genocidal practices of the government. There is a new ferment of ideas. All these movements are developing to not only end military rule but to transform the total crisis in Brazil.

Guinea: military coup follows Toure's death

On March 26, Sekou Toure, Black Africa's longest ruling head of state, died on the operating table of the Cleveland Clinic, of heart disease, following an emergency flight from Saudi Arabia where he had gone to confer on the disputed Western Sahara. Three days after Toure's funeral a military coup ended the 26-year political rule of Toure's Democratic Party of Guinea.

Sekou Toure, the son of a peasant, had risen through the ranks of the African trade union movement to become one of the post-World War II new generation of African leaders in West Africa. The year after Kwame Nkrumah led Ghana to independence, Guinea was the only French colony to say "No" to General De Gaulle's referendum to remain in the French community in 1958.

"Guinea prefers poverty in freedom to riches in slavery," was Toure's declaration at that historic moment. The next 26 years saw the promise of "African Socialism" that Toure expounded succumb to the economic reality of the world market. East and West development aid and economic planning only led to underdevelopment, in spite of Guinea's rich mineral resources in bauxite, uranium and diamonds.

In taking over power, the ruling military council publicized what such human rights organizations as Amnesty International had reported on for years, namely that the record of human rights violations and the jailing of political prisoners in Guinea was one of the worst in all of Africa. Some 2,900 people are reported to have disappeared during Toure's reign.

The tragedy of Sekou Toure's Guinea is that of the African revolution as a whole. Though one of the original proponents of African unity, the separation of African leaders like Sekou Toure from the African masses undermined the promise of African Socialism and destroyed that unity at its root.

British miners' strike

Editor's note: The following are excerpts from the reports of two correspondents in Britain.

Oxford, England — The British miners' strike has arisen from the continuing efforts of the National Coal Board (NCB) to increase productivity, close down unprofitable pits, concentrate output in a small number of the most geologically-favoured, highly-automated mines, reduce overall output and cut down the number of workers in the industry.

The strike started when the NCB announced plans to axe about 20 pits, which would mean the loss of about 20,000 mining jobs (out of a total of 182,000). It began locally and spontaneously at a couple of the most threatened collieries — Polmaise near Stirling, Scotland and Cortonwood near Barnsley, Yorkshire.

The national executive of the National Union of Miners (NUM) supported the strike as it unfolded, but refused to hold a national ballot of NUM members on whether to have a national strike. The regional division within the miners' ranks has thus emerged as a major problem.

Eight thousand police are involved in a massive operation to control picketing. In South Wales miners have begun picketing power stations and have received solidarity from railway drivers who refused to take coal trains across the picket lines.

— Richard Bunting

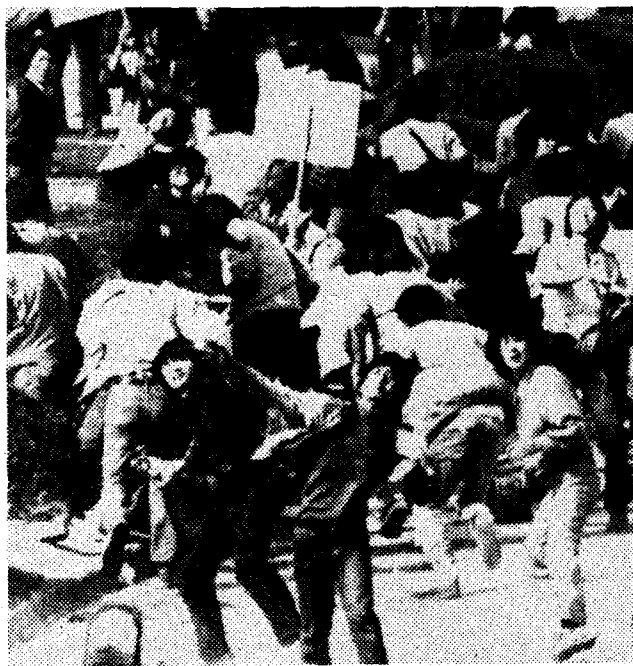
London, England — Some miners have been imprisoned after using such imaginative tactics as blocking the motorways with fleets of cars. Plainclothes police try to infiltrate pickets, phones are tapped, miners have been stopped from crossing county lines in their cars and coaches and the army is being prepared to move coal as the transport unions' solidarity blocking gets underway.

Miners' wives, who have to bear the hardship and sacrifice, are now demanding a voice in the strike. They have organized visits to other areas to persuade families to support the strike. Mass action by women in the strike could draw in those masses of women who have campaigned

against Cruise missiles at Greenham Common and all over Britain. A campaign called "Women Against Pit Closures," organized by miners' wives and feminist trade unionists, has just gotten off of the ground.

—Dave Black

South Korean demos



Marking the April, 1960 student uprising that led to the overthrow of the regime of Syngman Rhee, thousands of students demonstrated at ten South Korean universities, stoning riot police and demanding democracy and an end to U.S.-backing for Chun Doo Hwan's bloody rule. While Chun had decreed in March that police would be kept off campuses as part of a supposed "liberalization," the police quickly attacked students when they tried to take the demonstrations into the streets. The clashes followed weeks of protests calling for an end to military service.

Some professors have been allowed to return to teaching since the 1980 revolt which Chun crushed, but not at their home campuses. Some of the active oppositionist students have been drafted. In an attempt to further erase reminders of the 1980 revolt, especially in Kwangju, authorities have bribed families of victims massacred by the government to have the dead removed from one area of the cemetery. (As we go to press student demonstrations continue during the Pope's visit)

In Brief . . .

WEST GERMANY — New labor demonstrations in support of the 35-hour-week for 40 hours pay have shaken up West Germany. Several hundred thousand workers held one hour "Warnstreik" actions, and then demonstrated during that hour on the streets. Frequently demonstrators dressed as robots, symbolizing the new stage of production (and lay-offs) they are opposing. Capitalists, the press and the Kohl government have reacted with scorn and outrage.

INDIA — A dock strike shutting down all major ports late in March resulted in violence when port authorities in Paradip tried to bring in scabs under police guard. A thousand dockers charged and fought police and scabs. Six people were killed, including five police.

SOUTH PACIFIC — The anti-nuclear movement is on the rise in the South Pacific. In February, workers in Honiara, Solomon Islands, refused to provide services for the U.S. frigate Bronstein when the U.S. withheld information on its nuclear capabilities. The Solomon Islands government later announced it would not allow any warships in its waters without written assurances that the ships were neither nuclear-armed nor nuclear-powered.

China's mine project

While Reagan was in China, the Chinese government and Armand Hammer, chairman of Occidental Petroleum, announced agreement to jointly develop at Pingshuo the world's largest open-pit coal mine. This project, with the company that made Love Canal a household word in the U.S., is China's largest yet with a foreign company for private profit — over \$600 million in capital invested.

Unlike production in enterprise zones near Hong Kong which has been set up by foreign firms to take advantage of Chinese workers' below-Hong Kong wage levels, Occidental will be paying the equivalent of a wage originally based on U.S. miners pay. But not to the Chinese workers — that wage equivalent, now also based on the mine's productivity, will be passed directly to the state!

There may have been no portrait of Mao in Tiananmen Square to greet Reagan, but the portrait of Stalin erected for May Day — who Armand Hammer also negotiated projects with — reminds us that the latest massive project rests on over half a century of state-capitalist development.

U.S. military in Honduras

More than 25,000 people marched in the capital Tegucigalpa, on May Day shouting "Yankee Go Home!" They demanded the Honduran government force the U.S. military out of the country, as well as repair its own human rights record.

When the U.S. base at Puerto Castilla in Honduras was being opposed by many civilian politicians last year, General Gustavo Alvarez surrounded the Congress with hundreds of soldiers for "security" reasons, and then strode in and gave a speech which "convinced" Congress to approve the U.S. base plan. By 1984, Reagan had turned Honduras into the U.S.'s biggest base in the region, aimed at Nicaragua and El Salvador.

Inside Honduras arrests of members of labor unions and Left political groups were on the rise and the "disappearance" of oppositionists had begun. Suddenly, on the eve of Reagan's "Granadero II" military exercises aimed at Nicaragua, General Alvarez was arrested by younger officers, handcuffed, and put on a plane to Costa Rica. His "resignation" was announced. Apparently the Honduran military had not been as monolithically reactionary as others in the region.

Chilean revolt continues

Chile's first national protest of this year, March 27, turned into a virtual half-day general strike and a boycott of schools, stores and transportation. Demonstrations continued for a full week all over the country. The government deployed thousands of police, killing 10 people, but staying out of the poorest neighborhoods altogether. By imposing a curfew, the government actually aided the March 27 protest, giving people an excuse to leave work early. They went home and beat pots and pans. In April, university students called a one-day strike that was 80% effective.

The head of the military dictatorship, General Pinochet, had been visited by U.S. State Department officials just before March 27, and undoubtedly was told to avoid mass slaughter and to engage in "dialogue" with opposition groups.

Pinochet seems to be playing for time, hoping the mass protests will lose their momentum, while opposition "leaders" — including the Christian Democrats and other members of the Democratic Alliance, some of whom aided the military coup ten years ago — beg for "dialogue" and may even be holding back the projected general strike. These centrists talk seriously about reforms within the dictatorship, such as advancing the promised 1989 elections and creating a legislative branch.

Only a small part of the organized Left is calling for the formation of workers' and unemployed councils as the path to socialism. Meanwhile, the mass organizations of youth, workers and unemployed, women and indigenous Mapuche, continue to form and to grow. (For more information, write Committee for a Free Chile, P.O. Box 1121, Cathedral Sta., New York, NY 10007.)

News and Letters Committees

Draft Perspectives, 1984-1985

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role he saw for women in primitive societies, from the Iroquois women to the Irish women before they were conquered by British imperialism.

3) He projected the possibility of revolution coming first in an undeveloped land like Russia ahead of the industrially developed West.

With the outbreak of World War I a turning point in the objective world had been reached, even as, subjectively, a turning point was reached with the collapse of the Second International. Lenin felt a compulsion to go to Marx's roots in the Hegelian dialectic. This resulted in the Great Divide in Marxism, not only as loyalty to its revolutionary nature against the German Social Democracy's betrayal of the proletariat, but as the creation of a new philosophic point of departure. By singling out the dialectical principle of the transformation into opposite, in his **Abstract of Hegel's Science of Logic**, Lenin laid the ground both for his new theory of **State and Revolution** and the practice of the actual Revolution of November 1917.

Philosophically, it became the jumping off point also for our age, when, at the outset of World War II, we proved the transformation into opposite in our age, through a factual analysis of the Five Year Plans, as the transformation of a workers' state into a state-capitalist society. In 1953, with our further philosophic breakthrough on the Absolute Idea as a movement from practice as well as from theory, we thereby created the structure for **Marxism and Freedom**.

In restating Marx's Humanism for our age, **Marxism and Freedom**, 1958, began with the age of revolutions — national, industrial, social and political, as well as the intellectual revolution which discerned and developed the dialectics of revolution as the overcoming of stages of alienation. Beginning with the machine age and the revolutions of 1776 and 1789, **Marxism and Freedom** ended with the revolutions of our day — from the battles against Automation and the Montgomery Bus Boycott which signaled the Black Revolution both in the U.S. and Africa, to the East European revolts from under Russian totalitarianism.

Where, with our first breakthrough on the Absolute Idea, we had witnessed in the 1950s a series of new revolutions in East Europe from under totalitarian state-capitalism, the birth of a whole new Third World in the 1960s required further concretization of this philosophic breakthrough. This was achieved with our second major theoretical work, **Philosophy and Revolution**, in 1973.

There we concretized the dialectic of second negativity by going beyond Lenin not only politically but philosophically. **Politically** meant rejecting the vanguard party-to-lead, which had so totally misled the masses as to bring about the greatest tragedy of all — counter-revolution which came out of revolution and transformed the workers' state into a state-capitalist society. **Philosophically** meant working out Absolute Idea as new beginning, with a new sense of objectivity which revealed two kinds of subjectivity. One kind was voluntaristic. The

other was masses in motion struggling for total freedom despite their oppressive awareness of the new enemy, the new objective reality — state-capitalism calling itself Communism.

We had actually first projected this in the second edition of **Marxism and Freedom** in 1964, in the added chapter on "The Challenge of Mao Tse-tung," which had ended with a section entitled: "In Place of a Conclusion: Two Kinds of Subjectivity." (The footnote to this section indicated that this was to be "the burden of a new work in progress" — i.e. **Philosophy and Revolution**.) The two opposing kinds of subjectivity discussed here were: 1) "Mao's, which has no regard for objective conditions, behaves as if state power is for herding 650 million human beings into so-called 'People's Communes,' as if a party of the elite that is armed can both harness the energies of men and 'remold' their minds." Under that delusion*, Mao declared himself ready to ride the whirlwind of a nuclear holocaust. 2) The other type of subjectivity — that of masses in motion — "is the subjectivity which has 'absorbed' objectivity, that is to say, through its struggle for freedom it gets to know and cope with the objectively real."

Put another way, since the new enemy comes, not from traditional capitalism but from state-capitalism masquerading as Communism and continuing to use Marxist language, the struggle for total freedom becomes both more arduous and in need of a totally new relationship of practice to theory.

What that added chapter in **Marxism and Freedom** presented in embryo is what was worked out in the first chapter of **Philosophy and Revolution**: "Why Hegel? Why Now?" By then the world had witnessed the new passions and new forces of the generation of revolutionaries of the 1960s, East and West, as well as the new revolutions in Africa both in fact and in thought, as witness Frantz Fanon's Humanism. What was needed by then was also a new sense of objectivity — that is to say, a further development of the concept of transformation into opposite when it emerges, not from reformism's betrayal as at the outset of World War I, but from the transformation of the first workers' state into a state-capitalist society.

That further development into the philosophy of Marxist-Humanism could, in one way, also have been sensed from Gramsci's projection in his **Problems of Marxism**: "The philosophy of praxis is consciousness full of contradictions in which the philosopher himself, understood both individually and as an entire social group, not merely grasps the contradictions, but posits himself as an element of the contradictions and elevates this element to a principle of knowledge and therefore of action."

*Hegel, in working out unresolved contradictions, refers to his **Phenomenology**, where he analyses just such disoriented minds: "The self-alienated type of mind, driven to the acme of its opposition, where pure volition and the purely volitional agent are still kept distinct, reduces that opposition to a transparent form, and therein finds itself." (p. 610, J.B. Baillie edition)

V. Organizational Conclusions

We decided not to wait until our new book was completed, but published in **News & Letters**, in Jan.-Feb. 1979, the draft chapter we entitled: "Relationship of Philosophy and Revolution to Women's Liberation: Marx's and Engels' Studies Contrasted." By the time **Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution** was completed, this became the climax to the whole work when it was developed as the final chapter which focused fully on "The Unknown **Ethnological Notebooks**, the Unread Drafts of the Letter to Vera Zasulich, as well as the Undigested 1882 Preface to the



The fourth Miami rebellion in four years

The illumination that we gained from working out Hegel's three final syllogisms, especially para. #577, applies directly to our age. There Hegel says: "It is the nature of the fact, the notion which causes the movement and development, yet this same movement is equally the action of cognition." Where Hegel at that point consoled himself with "the eternal Idea," **Philosophy and Revolution** in our age could show that the "Self-Thinking Idea" was actually the Self-Bringing Forth of Liberty. We could do that because we had become witness to the birth of a new generation of revolutionaries and had recreated Marx's Humanism for our age. In that new sense of objectivity was imbedded subjectivity — a subjectivity that had "absorbed" objectivity.

The 1970s, during which years **Philosophy and Revolution** was published, turned out to be when Karl Marx's last writings, his **Ethnological Notebooks**, were finally transcribed. This made it possible to view Marx's Marxism as a totality, as distinct from all post-Marx Marxists, beginning with his closest collaborator, Frederick Engels, whose first work after Marx's death, **The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State**, had been presented as a "bequest" from Marx. Once the **Ethnological Notebooks** were available it became clear how very far from Marx's multilinear dialectic was Engels' unilinear view of humanity's development.

The new moments of Marx's last decade disclosed, at one and the same time, Marx's rejection of others' interpretation of his "Historical Accumulation of Capital" as a Universal instead of a characteristic simply of Western Europe, a characteristic which the undeveloped lands (which our age calls the Third World) need not follow; and a philosophy of "revolution in permanence" which was not only theory but practice.

Marx's philosophy of revolution seemed to us to hold a trail to the 1980s, both on the emergence of the Third World, and on the development of women's liberation in our age from an Idea whose time has come to a Movement. This sense of contemporaneity gained a new dimension also from a study we had been making of Rosa Luxemburg's concept of the spontaneity of the masses.

Although we found that Luxemburg was nearly tone-deaf on philosophy, as a woman revolutionary she was both active in the mass, working class, anti-war, women's movement of her day, and fought the leadership of her German Social Democratic Party on their do-nothingness against imperialism. What emerged during that sharp struggle was the most virulent male chauvinism against her.

disclosed that Marx's philosophy of "revolution in permanence" was ground also for organization, a concept we consider most pertinent for our age, including its importance to the Women's Liberation Movement's search for a decentralized form of organization.

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DRAFT PERSPECTIVES, 1984-85,
OF NEWS AND LETTERS COMMITTEES

will be discussed at the following meetings:

- Los Angeles
Sunday, May 20, 6:30 PM
Peoples of College of Law
660 S. Bonnie Brae
Speaker: Peter Wermuth
- Detroit
Sunday, May 20, 3 PM
Detroit Association of Women's Clubs
5461 Brush (at Ferry)
Speaker: Andy Phillips
- Bay Area
Sunday, May 20, 6 PM
Berkeley Community YMCA
1222 University Ave.
Speaker: Mary Holmes
- New York
Monday, May 28, 12 noon
Advent Lutheran Church
168 W. 100th St. (corner Amsterdam Ave.)
Speaker: Kevin A. Barry
- Chicago
Sunday, May 20, 6:30 PM
220 S. State, Room 304
Speaker: Eugene Walker

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Flint, Mich. 48502
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Arlington, VA 22204
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c/o 265 Seven Sisters Rd.
London, N4, England
- LONDON:

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(Continued from page 11)

Rosa Luxemburg, *Women's Liberation and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution* was published in 1982, along with new editions of *Marxism and Freedom* and *Philosophy and Revolution*, each with a new Introduction. They were the ground for our celebration of the living Marx centenary the following year.

In 1983 we projected a new slogan of "Have thumb, will travel" to extend the outreach of projecting Marx's Marxism as a totality. Even before then, there had been many international trips — to East as well as West Europe; to Asia as well as Africa; to Latin America as well as the Middle East. However it was the National Tour of the Chairwoman during the Marx centenary that found a multitude of new platforms, especially in Black studies, in women's liberation, and among both student and working class youth.

We thereupon decided to have a series of eight classes on the body of Marxist-Humanist ideas and the three works we call a "trilogy of revolution" as they have analyzed:

1) The revolutions of Marx's day — especially 1848 and 1871 — as they helped shape the works of Marx, for whom even the defeat of 1848 led to the theory of "revolution in permanence."

2) The revolutions of 1905, 1917 and 1919 when the dialectics of revolution in the 20th century revealed them as inseparable from the concept and act of world revolution. From 1905 on, Marx's original conception of a continuing revolution, which he had designated as "revolution in permanence," became so popular a phrase that Trotsky's essay, 1905, was designated as a concept of "the permanent revolution" although it was not rooted in, nor did it even refer to, the dialectic of Marx's projection of what was to be done after the 1848 revolutions were defeated.

3) The revolutions in our own age which we witnessed as the birth of a whole new Third World, where what had to be worked out anew was the relationship of the revolutionary forces of peasant/worker, woman/man, and reason as well as force that is inseparable from the organization itself.

The classes have given us a new self-development while our organization's outreach led both to a new local in Salt Lake City and new members-at-large in Kentucky/Ohio and Washington, D.C. At the same time, we experienced many inroads into the Latino world, and we challenged both post-Marx Marxists and non-Marxist scholar-specialists in "Marxism."

As we put it in our 1984 Call: "The Marx Centenary opened so many new doors for us in 1983, through our projection of Marx's Marxism as a totality, that it was possible to project, at one and the same time, his philosophy of "revolution in permanence" as ground for organization, and our 30 year existence as the organizational manifestation of Marx's Humanism for our age. At the same time, the death of our editor, Charles Denby, made all tasks, especially for organizational growth, more difficult. We did, however, have the advantage of his participation in laying the ground for both our Constitutional Convention and our move to Chicago."

The move of the Center to Chicago is to a city rich in both historical roots and present-day ramifications for Black and proletarian as well as intellectual and international dimensions. But Chicago is by no means alone in the impact that the move will exert. This new stage is both national and international for us and will be especially important for *News & Letters* as newspaper.

We will have three new publications in hand by the time of the Convention:

1) Our pamphlet on the *Miners' General Strike* against Automation brings us, at one and the same time, back to the very birth of the movement from practice in that 1949-50 revolt and forward to the new stage of robotics today.

2) The new edition of *Nationalism, Communism, Marxist-Humanism and the Afro-Asian Revolutions* expresses the whole question of a Third World in combat not only with imperialism but with the new revolutionary but administrative intellectuals who had come to lead but who soon misled. The new Introduction brings us fully to the present day, from the revolution and counter-revolution in Iran to the counter-revolution again coming out of the revolution in Grenada.

3) The new mini-pamphlet on Marx's 'New Humanism' and the *Dialectics of Women's Liberation in Primitive and Modern Societies* projects the question of Women's Liberation both in and for itself, and as an expression of Marx's Marxism as a totality, so that the philosophy of "revolution in permanence" can be seen as ground for organization and for the future direc-

*See Raya Dunayevskaya's Theory/Practice column in N&L, April, 1984 on "Marx's Philosophy of Revolution vs. Non-Marxist Scholar-Careerists in 'Marxism'."



Women's Liberation.

In 1985, which is our 30th year of existence, we will have in hand, as well, a collection of some of the extensive writings on *Women's Liberation* by Raya Dunayevskaya. It will be ready by International Women's Day and will contain the events as well as the analyses, beginning with our creation of the category of Women's Liberation as Reason as well as revolutionary force at our birth in 1955. The development of women's liberation as Movement and as philosophy of liberation will be dialectically tied together in an introduction that will indicate new perspectives.

All these publications will help us intensify our participation in the mass movements from the Black revolt to Latino support committees; from labor struggles to the Women's Liberation Movement; from youth anti-war activities to anti-apartheid struggles.

With these activities in mind, we are proposing a totally new way of presenting our Marxist-Humanist body of ideas, not alone through our books, but through their concretization politically. Our classes this year will focus around the Perspec-

tives Theses of the last ten years and selected Political-Philosophic Letters over that same period.

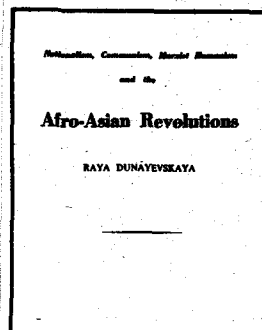
To concretize the momentous perspective of "revolution in permanence" for today is the arduous and imperatively needed task, if we are not to be buried in a nuclear holocaust unleashed by the superpowers to which all too many of the so-called Left kowtow.

The continuing CIA actions to destabilize the Nicaraguan government, the total contempt for the World Court, and the ongoing "war games" involving 30,000 military personnel from all service branches — which are being staged in the Caribbean, the Straits of Florida and the Gulf of Mexico and which match Russia's muscle-flexing in the North Atlantic — all make the Orwellian year of 1984 more ominous than ever. This Orwellian nightmare must be transformed into its absolute opposite — the beginning of new revolutions on the unified field of theory and practice.

—The Resident Editorial Board
April 26, 1984

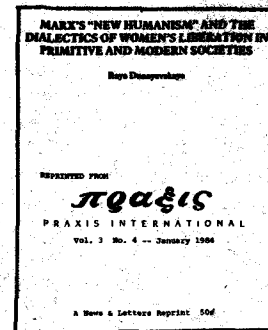
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A 1980s View

Off the press in June!

The Coal Miners' General Strike of 1949-50 and the Birth of Marxist-Humanism in the United States

Order from News & Letters, 2832 East Grand Blvd., Detroit, Michigan 48211

Who We Are and What We Stand For

News and Letters Committees, an organization of Marxist-Humanists, stands for the abolition of capitalism, whether in its private property form as in the U.S., or its state property form as in Russia or China. We stand for the development of a new human society based on the principles of Marx's Humanism as recreated for our day.

News & Letters was created so that the voices of revolt from below could be heard not separated from the articulation of a philosophy of liberation. A Black production worker, Charles Denby, author of *Indignant Heart: A Black Worker's Journal*, became editor of the paper. Raya Dunayevskaya, the Chairwoman of the National Editorial Board and National Chairwoman of the Committees, is the author of *Marxism and Freedom, Philosophy and Revolution* and *Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution*, which spell out the philosophic ground of Marx's Humanism internationally as *American Civilization on Trial* concretizes it on the American scene and shows the two-way road between the U.S. and Africa.

Where *Marxism and Freedom*, whose structure was grounded in the movement from practice throughout the 200 years from 1776 to Today, discloses Marx's "new Humanism," both internationally and in its American roots, *Philosophy and Revolution*, in recreating Marx's philosophic roots both in the Hegelian dialectic and in the actual revolutionary movements of his day, articulated these forces of revolution as Reason — Labor, Black, Youth, Women — of our day. By tracing and paralleling this age's 30-year movement from practice to theory with our own theoretical development for the same three decades, Marxist-Humanism in the U.S. has met the challenge of the "new moments" in the last decade of Marx's life by disclosing in them a trail to the 1980s. It is this trail, these paths of revolution — be it in the birth of a whole new generation of revolutionaries, including the transformation of Women's Liberation as an idea whose time has come into a Movement or the emergence of a whole new Third World — that form the content of *Rosa Luxemburg, Women's*

Liberation and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution.

This work challenges post-Marx Marxists to return to Marx's Marxism. At a time when the nuclear world is threatened with the extinction of civilization itself it becomes imperative not only to reject what is, but to reveal the revolutionary Humanist future inherent in the present.

News & Letters was founded in 1955, the year of the Detroit wildcats against Automation and the Montgomery Bus Boycott against segregation — activities which signalled a new movement from practice which was itself a form of theory. Vol. 1, No. 1, came off the press on the second anniversary of the June 17, 1953 East German revolt against Russian state-capitalism masquerading as Communism, in order to express our solidarity with freedom fighters abroad as well as at home. Because 1953 was also the year when we worked out the revolutionary dialectics of Marxism in its original form of "a new Humanism," as well as individuality "purified of all that interferes with its universalism, i.e., with freedom itself," we organized ourselves in Committees rather than any elitist party "to lead". The development of Marxist-Humanism in the U.S., 1941 to Today is recorded in the documents and on microfilm available to all under the title, *The Raya Dunayevskaya Collection*, on deposit at the Labor History Archives of Wayne State University.

In opposing the capitalistic, racist, sexist, exploitative society, we participate in all class and freedom struggles, nationally and internationally. As our *Constitution* states: "It is our aim . . . to promote the firmest unity among workers, Blacks and other minorities, women, youth and those intellectuals who have broken with the ruling bureaucracy of both capital and labor." We do not separate the mass activities from the activity of thinking. Anyone who is a participant in these freedom struggles for totally new relations and a fundamentally new way of life, and who believes in these principles, is invited to join us. Send for a copy of the *Constitution* of News and Letters Committees.

Theory/ Practice NEWS & LETTERS

'Human Power is its own end'—Marx

VOL. 29 — NO. 5

JUNE, 1984

25c

Can fight against Ronald Reagan, strike-breaker, begin here?

4,000 Toledo workers blockade plant, battle police

Toledo, Ohio — On May 21, 1984, 50 years almost to the day that workers battled the Ohio National Guard as they fought for union recognition at Toledo Auto-Lite (see "Story of 1934 Toledo Auto-Lite Strike," page 9), 4,000 workers from a dozen union shops throughout Toledo joined several hundred striking Local 14 UAW workers at the AP Parts plant in battling the Toledo police and the private strike-breaking cops of Nuckols Security ("Knuckles") hired by AP Parts. They were trying to stop non-union scab workers and the company from breaking their union and stealing the jobs of several hundred workers, and came out in defiance of a court injunction limiting picketers to six per gate.

The strikers and their supporters faced tear gas, riot sticks, shields and pellet guns, as the entire police force in Toledo was mobilized. Against a tear gas attack and billy-club swinging police, the workers responded with attacks on the vehicles of both the Toledo police and Nuckols Security. The scabs inside the plant were forced to remain overnight and could only leave under police escort 26 hours after they had entered the plant. Some 41 workers from almost a dozen plants were arrested.

The mobilization of workers in support of the AP strikers had spread like wild-fire throughout Toledo union shops such as Jeep, Teledyne and GM Hydramatic. As the day shift ended on Monday, May 21, workers in plant after plant streamed out and made their way to the AP Parts plant to show their solidarity. By 4 P.M. thousands of workers were



Toledo workers face tear gas in front of AP Parts plant on May 21.

in front of the plant. Thousands more tried to get there, but police set up roadblocks around the plant preventing workers from coming.

The astronomical concessions demanded by AP — give-backs of \$5.84 an hour, the elimination of seniority rights, the end of 30-and-out pensions — were recognized by workers throughout Toledo as the latest shot in the class war being waged against working people. They responded and class struggle raged in the streets of Toledo. That powerful self-mobilization of Toledo's working people was seen on television screens throughout the country. Whether or not this particular mobilization is able to continue, a signal has been given. Working people throughout the country have seen it. Below we print a compilation of comments by striking AP workers that News and Letters Committee members obtained while on the strike line.

by striking AP Parts workers

The Monday Rebellion, May 21

The news didn't show how mean it was out there on Monday. All of a sudden you heard tear gas getting shot. They

say there were wooden bullets too. The workers came to a rally at AP Parts which was heard about by word-of-mouth (See Readers' Views, p.7). The police caused the riot more than anybody else; they threw tear gas into the crowd. I don't think anybody knew what was going to happen, they just came out. They're breaking unions, that's why they came. Word was spreading through the factories. I would like to see it happen again. If they bring in scabs again, it probably will.

We didn't organize people to come down here on Monday, they know they're next. People came out because it affects all of us. If we go down, then everyone does. Detroit and Toledo are both big union towns. The Big 3 start negotiating their contracts in June, and they know if we fail everyone will. This strike is political. After Reagan broke the PATCO strike, I knew it would be bad for every union man.

Everybody has been speaking about what happened on Monday. People called me at home from different shops. People I haven't talked to in years. The workingman fears that the same thing will happen to him unless it is stopped here. It has to be all workers together, not just one plant left to fight on its own. But I'll tell you, this will not be (continued on page 9)

Black World

Literature & liberation in Azania



by Lou Turner

The consciousness of self is not the closing of a door to communication. Philosophic thought teaches us on the contrary, that it is its guarantee. National consciousness, which is not nationalism, is the only thing that will give us an international dimension. . . . It is at the heart of national consciousness that international consciousness lives and grows. And this twofold emerging is ultimately only the source of all culture.

—Frantz Fanon

June 16 is Soweto Day. It is a date which commemorates the 1976 Black rebellion against white apartheid South Africa. In 1984, it is a date when fresh acts of opposition remind the world that the struggle in Southern Africa continues.

Thus, protests greeted apartheid Prime Minister Botha during his state visit to London recently to gain new legitimacy from the Western powers at the economic summit after pressuring Angola and Mozambique into "non-aggression accords". The only thing that piece of hypocrisy disclosed is the fact that South Africa's attacks on Black organizations and trade unionists inside its borders accords with the support it now receives from the Reagan and Thatcher governments' attacks on Black South African exiles. And in accord with South Africa's recent nationwide attack on the offices of the Black Consciousness organization AZAPO (African People's Organization), the American INS (Immigration and Naturalization Service) has stepped up its attempt to deport South African exiles.

SKOTAVILLE: BLACK CONSCIOUSNESS AND LITERATURE

However, eight years after Soweto flashed across the world consciousness, the call of Black Consciousness, as masses in motion and as original idea, continues to find ever new forms of expression.

One new expression of Black consciousness ideas has recently come to the surface in the form of a new Black publishing house named Skotaville Publishing. Founded in 1982, following a decision made by the African Writers' Association to create a Black-run publishing house, Skotaville was named after T.D. Mweliso Skota, secretary-general of the

(continued on page 10)

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By Andy Phillips

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Nurses' strike exposes dehumanized care

Editor's Note — As we go to press, some 6,000 registered nurses in Minneapolis-St. Paul, Minn. have gone on strike at 15 hospitals which account for half the hospital beds in the seven-county metro area. This is the largest nurses' strike in U.S. history, with job security and seniority as two of the main issues. Below we print a story on a strike of nurses in Los Angeles as well as two other stories from hospital workers which we received independently this month.

Detroit: Hospital assembly line

At North Detroit General Hospital, I think they are trying to do away with both LPNs (Licensed Practical Nurses) and nurses' aides, and just keep the RNs (Registered Nurses), who have degrees. The LPN League joined Local 1199 to make us a stronger union, but when I got a letter from the hospital informing me that my hours were being cut from 80 to 72 every two weeks, I wanted to know why the union was going along with that, because it goes against our contract. Ever since Reagan busted the PATCO strike, unions have been going down.

Last December all the LPNs volunteered to take a day off so no LPNs would be laid off, but they laid off 15 anyway. Then they called them back but laid off all the nurses aides except three who were about to retire. Our yearly raise, for the LPNs, is up in July, and I'm saying to people now we're going to get what we have coming to us, because they'll lay us off anyway.

That's what has been happening everywhere. The people in the kitchen were cut to 20 hours a week, because then the hospital doesn't have to pay benefits. Most of these women are single parents who won't be able to make ends meet on 20 hours' pay. I don't know why the union's letting them get away with this.

But the worst problem is that the hospital is becoming more and more like an assembly line. I work on one-day surgeries, and where we used to keep people three days after surgery, now it's in and out, like a factory. Last week, they sent a little boy home who had just had a hernia operation. This is so dangerous, because if he coughed he could start to bleed. The doctors are keeping people in for the minimum time. They look at a Medicaid scale to determine how many days to keep people in, and we have to absorb the cost if Medicaid won't pay. As a result, we're only one-third full, and they're laying people off.

Women's lives in India

Editor's Note — Below we print excerpts of correspondence with a feminist in Bihar, India.

Yesterday evening one of my friends, Mukta, a woman of this village, came to give me the news that they want to arrange her marriage, and the family of the future husband will be coming tomorrow to take her. She said, "I don't want to, but they will get angry with me." So, she decided to go and hide in some other village far away for some time as she feels she won't be able to face the social pressure on her.

There are three ways to get married here:

- Arranged by family. This way is used seldom, in this particular tribe, because then you have to pay a heavy bride price like six cows and most of the families cannot afford it.
- The women go to the market place — a social event once a week — and from there are called by any man and instead of coming back to their parents' house, they will go to the new husband's home. Her friends will give the news to her family. This way is the most common.
- When any woman is working in the fields, a group of young men will come and take her by force to the new husband's home. She can cry or resist, all will be in vain.

There is however, one good thing to report, that wife beating in our area has come down very much in the last few months.

We are, of course, as usual quite busy with the women's center. I would love to take up many of the points we have been discussing much more fully, such as the question of China, and the role of the Indian Communist Party in the past. But I have some difficulties with time, that you will understand.

As long as I am in the village the whole day, there is somebody around, mostly women, who come to talk or come to us with their problems. This is beautiful and I love it, but I don't get much time to read except on market days when everybody goes to the market, which is once a week.

We don't have electricity; by 7 P.M. the day is over. I write with a kerosene lamp but my eyes start paining after some time. Also, I am far from any center or place where I can get material that I would need and have to wait for an opportunity to do it. That is why I take breaks from time to time to get more time to reflect and read.

Reflections on Nationalism and Frantz Fanon

In looking at the history of India I can summarize the nationalist movement as "a very limited Revolution from above to abort a threatening revolution from below." I have just read the chapter on "Pitfalls of National Consciousness" in Frantz Fanon's *Wretched of the Earth*. I had read it some years back but it is so REAL. The question of the single party, here in India, is seen in Indira Gandhi and the Congress Party as the modern form of the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, throwing few crumbs to the rest of the country and building grandiose buildings for prestige. All of this in order to hide the crisis at home and to impress the world with our elephants!

Fanon says it right when he writes, "cultures are too numerous and too voracious." Wealth is not the fruit of labour but "organized robbery," thus rich people equal "flesh eating animals."

If nationalism is not deepened into humanism, it leads up a blind ally! True, true, very true. — In Sisterhood, P.

They're taking out the human element. Last Friday, I had a 32-year-old woman patient with a lump in her breast. She went to OR for a biopsy, and when she came out her doctor had gone home. I looked at the surgery schedule, and saw her name was down for a modified radical mastectomy — and her doctor hadn't even told her she had cancer yet!

It gets dangerous when they start putting a price tag on people. I keep saying that we hospital workers have to look out for each other. If they lay some of us off, it affects all of us.

— Black woman hospital worker

Los Angeles: RNs strike for comparable worth

The 800 nurses at the Kaiser Sunset Hospital went out on strike on May 4 (ironically, the eve of National Nurse Recognition Week.) The daily picket lines continue to be lively and high-spirited, as the strike enters its fourth week, with the Black, white, Latina and Filipina nurses demanding the respect their work deserves.

Comparable worth is a key issue in the strike. Nursing remains to this day a profession heavily dominated by women, who earn a starting salary in many cases below that of the men who work in the hospitals with them.

"The doctors still see us as handmaidens," one nurse said. "But it is we, and not the doctors, who are responsible for the day-to-day life and health of the patients. We need more money, because many of us are single mothers trying to make ends meet; and most of all we are standing up for the dignity of our profession."

At the last bargaining session, May 23, Kaiser refused to agree to a comparable worth study, or to the payment of differentials for nurses who work in the operating and delivery rooms, as well as in special health care areas. Yet if the hospital hires a nurse from outside for these jobs, they must pay the differential!

The ongoing strike is proving costly to Kaiser. The hospital normally has a patient census of 560, but has been forced to reduce to less than 150 patients. The nurses are receiving support from other nurses throughout Los Angeles, and are determined to stay out on strike to win their demands.

— Women's liberationist

New York: "Doctors won't talk to aides"

At Bird S. Coler Hospital, there are not enough nurses' aides for the work they expect us to do. We're supposed to give each patient a shower and a bath once a week. Many are bed patients and wheelchair patients. We use lifts to put patients in wheelchairs, but if they're heavy it can still take two nurses' aides.

The doctor doesn't even talk to me — he only talks to nurses. Nurses on the wards do talk to us. Since many nurses' aides complained, they now assign patients to every nurse. Before, one nurse had medicine, another vital signs, etc.

In a new society, can they correct unfair labor practices? Aren't the unions run by the government in Russia? Here it's not so different, with AFSCME District 37 and the City. The union asks for 8%, and then the City says 4%, so the union takes the 4%. People were saying, "If I don't get my rights, I go to the union." But another worker said, "Gotbaum and the head of the hospitals corporation are on the same level. They probably socialize together after union contracts are settled." Sometimes they take the side of the supervision against the workers. One nurse said the union seems very remote.

— Nurses' aide

Word processor blues

New York, N.Y. — I have been a word processor at "The Company" for over two years. How I survived the regime is truly a miracle. While the company's executive staff has more than doubled in size since I've worked here, the word processing department has stayed the same size. There are presently only two full-time word processors (or VDT operators) employed, and we are handling a workload that is three times the size that it was when I was hired.

The work, apart from being over-abundant, is terribly detailed and complex, and we are subjected to a great deal of pressure. When I, or my co-worker, step away from the terminal to "answer a call of nature," my supervisor asks, "Where did she go?" I put in a great deal of overtime, because I can't live on my regular salary. When I leave work at my normal quitting time of 4:30, my supervisor gets upset.

Working in the word processing department is like working on an assembly line. And the pressure to produce more and more, faster and faster makes it seem as if the company is paying us for piece-work. We're in the same predicament as all the Detroit autoworkers who had to cope with plant production speed-up.

The general staff, which includes the word processing employees, are members of a so-called union. The union is absolutely no help whatsoever. Their response to any problem is "There is nothing we can do — that is a management problem." It's no wonder we are the victims of a sweet-heart contract — the union is a client of our company, (which is an actuarial firm), and that means that "our" company advises "our" union what health and pension benefits to provide union members with. All the union does is rob us of \$13.50 a month in dues, and yell at outspoken shop stewards for being "big-mouths."

Working in the word processing department is very dehumanizing, cold and unfeeling. I get the impression that since we work with machines, our bosses consider us to be machines. Their attitude is, just program us, and we'll keep going, all day and all night, non-stop.

— Word processing operator

Women's liberation in Marxist-Humanist Archives

Editor's Note: Below are brief excerpts from an article entitled "The Development of Marxist-Humanism's Concept of Woman's Liberation in the Archives of Marxist-Humanism" by Susan van Gelder. The full report appears in our *Women's Liberation Pre-Convention Discussion Bulletin* available from *Women's Liberation* — News & Letters for 50¢.

The 1969 Draft Chapter 9 of *Philosophy and Revolution* (P&R) contains not one word on women's liberation. What happened between 1969 and 1973? In November, 1969, N&L began the first *Women's Liberation* page. In 1970 "Notes on Women's Liberation: We Speak in Many Voices" was written by both Marxist-Humanist and non-Marxist-Humanist women. Thousands of women marched in New York City for women's liberation on Aug. 26, 1970. At our 1970 Convention some of the women from all this activity engaged in a heated debate over whether "all women are my sisters" could be a theoretical foundation for the developing movement.

But because today, we are trying to work out Marx's philosophy as ground for organization, it is especially interesting to return to the two documents from the founding of the Women's Liberation Committee in 1971: the minutes of the Marxist-Humanist Women's Liberation Conference, February, 1971; and the "Who We Are" statement worked out by the Women's Liberation Committee later that year. In Raya Dunayevskaya's presentation to that conference one is struck by how critique of Women's Liberation Movement theory and organizational perspectives for the Committee — Concentrating on Black and proletarian women; self-development; correspondence; and uniting theory and practice — flow from Hegel's philosophy and Marx's humanism. In the "Who We Are" statement the perspectives are there but Marx and Hegel nowhere to be found. I think this is why Raya asked us to read her newest article which appears in *Praxis International* last month, "Marx's New Humanism and the Dialectics of Women's Liberation in Primitive and Modern Societies" in conjunction with Chapter 9 of *P & R*. In that article a major point is how Engels did not fully grasp Marx's methodology in studying primitive societies and women's freedom. Likewise, we were so overwhelmed by the phenomenon of the Women's Liberation Movement that we did not fully grasp the methodology out of which our Committee was founded and which could guide its future development.

The "women's liberation section" of the 1973 published Chapter 9 occurs in the context of a very thorough critique both of the division between leaders and masses within the Black movement and of the mindless activism of the student youth. There is also a recapitulation of the "philosophic" part of the book. However, the Women's Liberation Movement is not criticized directly; only the movement's high points are stressed. The section begins (p. 275) with a Black woman speaking: "I'm not sure that when it comes time to put down the gun, I won't have a broom shoved into my hands, as so many of my Cuban sisters have," and ends: "women's liberation dares to challenge what is... and is an integral part of the very organism of liberation."



women-worldwide

Six days after more than 50 women's groups in Mexico organized a protest campaign, CIDHAL (Center for Communication, Exchange, and Human Development in Latin America), a resource center on women's issues, was reopened by the governor of the State of Morelos. In late March, the health minister had accused the center's clinic of performing abortions, which is illegal in Mexico. CIDHAL activists had also been working with peasant women in Tetelcingo, and the governor warned center workers to stay away from radical causes.

On April 13, the convictions of vote fraud against Alabama voting right activists Maggie Bozeman and Julia Wilder were overturned in federal court. In a case which had attracted national support, Ms. Bozeman and Ms. Wilder had been convicted of vote fraud because of their activity in helping elderly or shut-in Black voters to cast absentee ballots. (See March, 1982 N&L).

Six hundred women attended the first Irish Women's Conference in Dublin since 1978 on April 6 and 7. It was held at a primary school in the inner city, and included workshops on sexuality, violence against women, lesbian feminism and working women. Many women joined the discussion in the workshop on "women and the national question," but unfortunately the ground was whether one should fight for national liberation or women's liberation.

Information from Outwrite

In Colombo, Sri Lanka, 500 women from a number of pro-left women's organizations held an illegal march and picket on March 8. Police harassment did not stop the women, many with babies, as they shouted, "Victory to the Women's Liberation Movement." Demands included fighting racism by the Sinhalese majority government against Tamil women, including the release of Nirmala Nithyanandan (a Tamil author still held as a political prisoner) and support for the 1,300 women workers on strike at Ploytex Garment since Feb. 17.

Information from Off Our Backs

Miners' strike arouses British workers

London, England — Here in England the coal miners are entering the fourth month of their bitter struggle, making it the longest coal strike since 1926. The strike against closure of 20 pits, with the loss of 20,000 jobs and the virtual destruction of life in the mining communities, is over 80% solid.

MacGregor of the National Coal Board (NCB) had made arrangements to import coal from Poland and South Africa and brought in police, trained in Northern Ireland and the inner city ghettos. But the main problem about the strike continues to be the regional division within the miners' ranks. Nottinghamshire, Staffordshire and Lancashire are areas which tend to have the most accessible coal deposits and the most advanced equipment. They are not under threat of closures and redundancies, at least in the short term, and the miners get large bonuses under the 1978 incentive scheme — often far more than the basic wage — while miners in less-favoured areas such as South Wales may get no bonus at all.

PICKETS SPREAD STRIKE

Flying pickets coming from Yorkshire or Kent have been trying to shut down the important Nottinghamshire coalfield and win the miners there to the strike. This means trying to avoid the thousands of police — miners say some of them really troops in police uniform — who are stopping vehicles on the road and questioning occupants, telling pickets to turn back or be arrested.

Those who get through to the Notts collieries are sometimes able to put their case to the local miners, and some have joined the strike. Production in Nottinghamshire has been greatly reduced and night shifts at some of the pits have been suspended due to the number of miners in the area who are not working. Trials of strength, with masses of strikers trying to push through the police lines, are a daily event. Over 1,500 have been arrested, and many treated with various degrees of brutality by scared, angry or sadistic cops.

Whilst the government is pumping millions of pounds a day into the massive police operation, (police overtime alone costs one million pounds a day), it is trying to starve the miners into submission. However, many people have responded to the call for food and there has been a constant flow of food lorries to the pits.

More important, however, is money: the miners are not receiving strike pay or social security in many cases, so they are forced onto their savings. Money is needed not only to survive but also to pay the huge court fines and the expenses of carrying out picketing. Many workplaces hold collections every week.

Miners' jobs and homes at stake in copper strike

Clifton, Ariz. — On May 5, the National Guard came in here once again, against the workers out on strike for the eleventh month against the Phelps Dodge (PD) copper mines. (See N&L, May, 1984.)

The Morenci Miners Women's Auxiliary had sponsored a strikes support rally that day, and several hundred people had gathered together. The women were selling food and soft drinks to raise money. About the time the shift at the mines was over, some people went down in front of the clinic, where the scabs would have to pass when leaving work. Another group of people went over to Shannon Hill, to confront the scabs driving by there.

A scab drove back and forth by the crowd outside the clinic with his gun pulled out, aimed at the people. The DPS (state police) did nothing and the people were angry and started throwing rocks at the police cars. We have lived for months with harassment, beatings and jailings by the DPS.

Over by Shannon Hill, where the strikers were yelling at the scabs, the DPS started pushing people around, harassing people. The crowd there got angry too, and when they started throwing rocks, the police fired tear gas into the crowd. Then they came in and arrested eight people — just whoever they felt like picking up. Cesar Chavez' attorney was there and he was stunned at the violations of people's rights.

It was then that Governor Babbitt called in the National Guard again. They were patrolling everywhere with machine guns, just like when they were here last year. It seems like it's war, with soldiers coming into your area.

The National Guard has left, and Babbitt has said he won't call them in again. But we have learned that they have been placed on alert for the whole next month, and that there is a recruitment campaign to get more men in.

They are expecting trouble because PD is planning to evict families from the company-owned employee housing. Their rent has been paid, but PD says they can't live there because they are not employees. At the same time, the unemployment office tells the strikers they don't qualify for benefits because they're not unemployed!

Time are very rough, and if it weren't for our hatred for the company, we would have capitulated long ago. It's graduation time at the high school, and we can barely pay for the caps and gowns of our children. But we hope that more and more people are learning about our strike, and will help support our stand for working people's rights.

—Strike supporters

Send letters and contributions, payable to Morenci Miners Women's Auxiliary, to: Morenci Miners Women's Auxiliary, 1113 Third Ave., Safford, AZ 85546.

Neil Kinnock, the Labour leader, has given absolutely no support to the miners. He has been pleading with the Tories to intervene and settle the dispute. Other union leaders are more openly supporting the ruling class. The leadership of the power workers and the steelworkers have instructed their workers to cross picket lines. Even the unions that give verbal support have given no active support and the Trades Union Council (TUC) General Council is actively trying to sabotage solidarity action.

RANK-AND-FILE ACTIONS

Rank-and-file workers throughout the country have been actively supporting the strike. Early in the strike, health workers and nurses in Wales took sympathy action and joined picket lines. In defiance of the TUC there was a one-day sympathy strike in Yorkshire and the Humberside, where local government workers were prominent with picket lines out.

Dockers have refused to unload coal. Railway workers have refused to move coal. Print workers have refused to print a story in a right-wing paper depicting Scargill, leader of the National Union of Miners (NUM), as a fascist, and at the *Daily Express* demanded his right of reply to a front page article. Teachers, who are at present involved in selective strikes, over pay, have also been prominent at miners' demonstrations. It is the rank-and-file who have the power to decide the course of this strike, a strike the NUM says will last till December if need be.



British miners face strike-breaking police.

The cutting edge of the strike at present is the miners' efforts to block coal from British Steel's plant in Ravenscraig, Scotland, that in turn supplies body panels direct to the motor industry. However, the steel workers' union is only supporting the strike with words, for in practice they have demanded and received coal to keep the furnaces going. In the successful coal strikes of 1972-74 — when the unemployment figures weren't as dire as they are now — no coal was let in at all and the furnaces had to be rebuilt.

WOMEN DEFEND STRIKE

The left bourgeois press in a recent report stated that the present dispute resembled the 1926 strike which ended in a tragic defeat after nine long months rather than the successful '72-'74 strikes which brought down the Tory government. However, in 1926 there wasn't such a strong women's movement to add their creative ideas and energy.

Two weeks ago 10,000 women marched through Barnsley (Yorkshire) against pit closures organized by the many women's action groups around the country. In Nottinghamshire alone there are 23 women's support groups who have been organizing themselves to break the image that Notts women are strike breakers.

Women are organizing autonomously and are campaigning and picketing with the strikers. Miners' wives are having to survive and feed children on 10-12 pounds per week and as one woman said: "We are dependent on the mine in this area — there's nothing else. The only way we'll get anything done is for everyone to come out — it's our future we're fighting for."

—British Marxist-Humanists

CTA vs. riders, drivers

Chicago, Ill. — Eighty percent of the Chicago Transit Authority (CTA) bus drivers think the fare (90¢ plus 10¢ for a transfer) is too high. CTA should eliminate the transfers and lower the fare to 50¢. It is the people in the suburbs, the comfortable people, the commuters who are complaining about eliminating the transfers. But Chicago is 60% ghetto, and it is the poor people who have to use the buses.

CTA cannot afford to cut back any more service. It would hurt the ridership. At night people have to wait 45 minutes for a bus, or even longer if a bus breaks down. Besides, CTA needs more people, because we are working on our days off. I have been on the board with seven hours between shifts, which means I work twice a day for straight time.

The CTA never loses. You can be terminated for the least little thing you don't do on the standards. They will suspend you when you were only doing your job and say that you "did not use the best of judgement." All of my suspensions have been because of helping people out. One day a man was short of change, and I let him put in 57¢. A spotter wrote me up. I have been suspended for stopping pickpockets.

When the company threatened to fire 1,000 drivers, Weatherspoon (the union president) bargained away our pension fund money. But Reagan has cut transit funds and subsidies, so they will fire us anyway. If we don't get our pension money back now, we'll never get it back.

—Woman driver



Workers need shorter work week to live

by Felix Martin, Labor Editor

Part of Reagan's re-election propaganda is the claim that unemployment is "no longer a major problem" because it has supposedly "fallen" to 7.5%. But workers inside and outside the unemployment offices are saying this kind of talk by the politicians is a damn lie.

I was talking to several workers at an unemployment office in Los Angeles. Most of them had been laid off for two or more years, and had recently obtained new jobs, which lasted only a month or two. Now all of them are unemployed again. None can draw any unemployment benefits, because they had been out of work so long. It is these people who are ignored when Reagan says "unemployment is no longer a major problem."

ONLY TEMPORARY JOBS

One worker told me, "The reason the unemployment figures have come down is that after we get out and work and get laid off again, we're not counted as unemployed. There is no place for us to go but welfare." The truth is that a lot of companies have found it profitable to hire the unemployed for short stretches like two or three months, since that way they don't have to pay them union scale. After getting laid off a second or third time, the workers say they have no way to live.

One worker used to work in the Ford Plant in Pico Rivera, and has had many such jobs since the plant closed. He was sent to work cleaning out an oil refinery, where workers had been on strike because of management's effort to bring in a two-tier wage system. He was paid \$8.69 an hour to do the sloppiest, dirtiest, most dangerous work he had ever seen, even though the union wage is \$13 an hour — and that job lasted but 11 days!

This worker told me, "After being forced to work under these kind of conditions, I wonder where we will be if we get Reagan for another four years. It's a shame how workers struggle to build these unions, and now these same unions are sending in unemployed workers as scab labor."

A lot of the workers have families, but no job, no benefits, no health insurance. A lot of these families are breaking up under this pressure. What kind of "recovery" is it that does this to people, and breaks up families which Reagan likes to praise so highly?

It is this situation of being forced to almost inhumane conditions that has a lot of workers searching for what to do next. One worker said, "There is no way you can make this system work." While some workers are forced off jobs and off of benefits, many auto and steel workers labor 54 hours a week with forced overtime.

GERMAN AND U.S. WORKERS

It is for that reason that workers are going to look carefully at what is going on now in Germany, where the workers are demanding a 35-hour week with no cut in pay. German workers face 9% unemployment — which is really closer to the real figures here, if Reagan and the politicians did not lie about them. What the German workers are striking over is even more needed here, where the 40-hour week has become a thing of the past. Only reducing the conditions of over-work for those laboring 50 or more hours a week will allow many of the unemployed both here and in Germany to survive.

But the crisis is so total that the capitalists will fight any such effort tooth and nail. In Germany the manufacturers say they might give the workers a pay raise, but "reduction in the work week is out of the question." The same is the attitude of Reagan and the capitalists here. Only by uprooting this system as a totality will labor in this country be stopped from being forced into even deeper poverty.

Asian deportation fought

London, England — On May 5, a Bangladeshi woman, Afia Begum and her three-and-a-half year old daughter were forcibly deported from Britain after a massive police search that ended in a dawn raid on a council estate house in East London. She had been in hiding for over a year.

Afia Begum had been given an entry certificate to come to Britain and join her husband. Shortly before she came her husband died in a fire that destroyed the slum tenement where he lived. According to the Home Office, Afia Begum had lost her right to stay.

In challenging this racist, sexist British society, a long campaign to let Afia Begum stay was fought by her supporters including the new celebrated "Sari Squad" who traveled around the country rallying support and exposing the white male supremacist mentality of Home Office regulation. They are now beginning a tour of Europe and will take Afia Begum's case to the European Commission of Human Rights. The focus of the campaign remained, however, in the Asian area of London, especially Brich Lane in East London where militant demonstrations and street meetings were regularly held, gaining support from all the community.

The treatment of Afia Begum by the massive state security and police operation highlights the treatment of thousands who have been deported since the Immigration Act of 1973. Every Black person in this country whether "legal" or "illegal" is under threat of police raids, passport checks, questioning and racist harassment. If you are Black, you are guilty until proven otherwise.

What is new in the case of Afia Begum is the movement against this racist state, the high stage of underground organization that gave the police the run-around for over a year and the new mass character of the campaign that spread throughout the country involving Black, women's and anti-racist organizations.

THEORY / PRACTICE

This month I am turning over Theory/Practice to my colleague Michael Connolly. — Raya Dunayevskaya.

Late Marx and the Russian Road — Marx and 'the peripheries of capitalism' Edited by Teodor Shanin. Monthly Review Press N.Y. 286 pp.

What Teodor Shanin politely calls "a peculiar history" has characterized a full century of attitudes by post-Marx Marxists toward Karl Marx's crucial writings on Russia in the 1870s and 1880s. Marx's 1881 letter to Vera Zasulich, in which he examines the Russian peasant commune as a "fulcrum for social regeneration", was actually hidden by Zasulich and Plekhanov for decades until finally discovered and printed in 1924, 43 years later. The four lengthy drafts of that letter — Marx's fullest discussion of pathways to the needed Russian Revolution — were found by D. Riazanov in 1911, transcribed in 1913, yet only published in 1924.

Some illumination of the causes of such disregard for Marx's writings can be gleaned from reading Riazanov's 1924 article on the discovery of the Zasulich letter drafts, which dares to baselessly refer to Marx's "undermined capacity for work" in this period (the actual Russian word means something more like "torn") as the reason for the brevity of the reply Marx finally sent.

By the 1930s Stalin's Russia banned all discussion of Marx's concept of the "Asiatic mode of production" and his study of the commune, and portrayed Marx as an adherent of a unilinear evolutionism in which diversity of societal forms was explained by global developmental stages. The post-World War II era has done more, but not enough, to open these writings to a full discussion.

LISTEN TO MARX 'THINKING ALOUD'

In sharp contrast to that dismal record, we can say that the "case presented by Teodor Shanin" in this volume is one of the most important contributions to the understanding of Marx's last decade since Lawrence Krader transcribed Marx's 1880-82 Ethnological Notebooks in 1972. It provides new insights into years in which Marx was "thinking aloud" on multiple paths to revolution. Marx's final decade is one unlike those in which one can cite chapter and sentence from his printed work. The unfinished nature of his labors in those years, which included 30,000 pages of notes, have tested all Marxists since his death, beginning with Engels and including ourselves.

Part Two of *Late Marx and the Russian Road: Marx and the 'peripheries of capitalism'* offers us the first full English translations of the drafts of his letter to Zasulich, together with his 1877 answer to Mikhailovskii and the 1882 Preface to the Russian edition of the *Communist Manifesto*. Helpful to a view of Marx's study of the works of Russian populist revolutionaries is the translation of some 60 pages of writings from that movement in Part Three. From them we can see why Marx so firmly supported the struggles of the "People's Will" organization against Tsarist police terror, and why his interest in the work of these non-Marxists was often more intense than in the work of other Russian socialists who claimed to be applying Marxism to Russia.

The interpretive essays by Shanin, Haruki Wada, and by Derek Sayer and Philip Corrigan that make up Part One of the book, as well as the chronology of Marx's work after *Capital* by Sayer, both trace the development of Marx's thinking and writing on Russia 1867-83, and raise crucial questions about the relation of this work to the whole of Marx's Marxism.

The nature of the Russian peasant commune and its relevance for revolutionary perspectives were already under sharp debate before the 1870s. One camp viewed the commune as a "creation of the Tsarist state," serving as means of control and preserving backwardness in agriculture. The other camp, including N. Chernyshevskii, saw in the peasant commune a remnant of pre-class society which controlled three-fifths of the arable land of European Russia, worked pasture, harvest and forest collectively, organized community services, and defended itself against outside intrusion.

LEARNING RUSSIAN AS 'LIFE AND DEATH'

Marx focused his attention on Russia in the fall of 1869, teaching himself the language. Jenny Marx reported that "he has begun to study Russian as if it were a matter of life and death." From the first Russian book he read — V. Flerovskii's *Situation of the Working Class in Russia* — to the very end of his life, rarely did even two months pass in which he did not read and make notes on "the Eastern Question." In Aug. 1881, Marx compiled a list of Russian books in his personal library; there were then nearly 200.

Haruki Wada's essay, "Marx and Revolutionary Russia," traces Marx's studies, contrasting his footnote to the 1867 German edition of *Capital*, which had attacked Herzen's optimism on the Russian commune, with the 1873 German edition, which both deleted that footnote and added a postscript praising Chernyshevskii's work. Marx's reading of Chernyshevskii directly preceded his clarification of a key sentence in the 1875 French edition of *Capital*, where Marx now strictly limits the expropriation of the peasant from the soil in the English manner to "the countries of Western Europe."¹

The years 1875-77 saw Marx's most intensive study of Russia, leading to his answer to Mikhailovskii, with its insistence that Russia's future path was still open to avoiding the "fatal vicissitudes of the capitalist regime."

By the time we reach Marx's 1881 drafts of his letter to

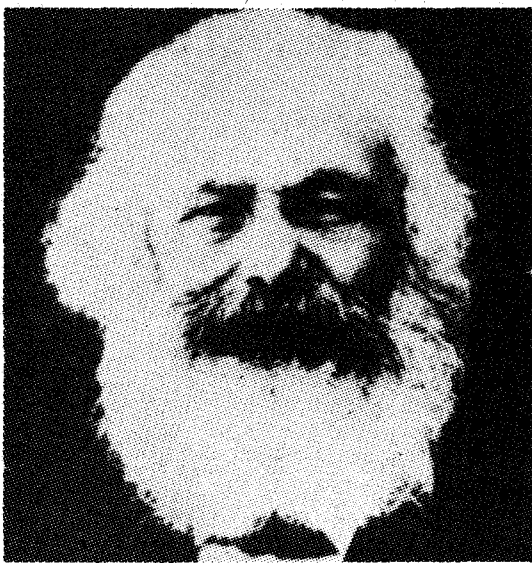
1. For further discussion of the changes Marx made in the 1875 French edition of *Capital*, see Ch. 10 of Raya Dunayevskaya's *Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution* (Humanities, 1982). See also Kevin A. Barry's "The French edition of *Capital*, 100 years after," in *N&L*, Oct. 1981.

Marx's last writings on Russia: new paths to revolution and philosophic continuity

Zasulich, it is clear that what was the determinant for Marx's analysis of Russia was not the "peasant commune" (though that was the point of study), but the "needed Russian Revolution" that alone could save the commune. What was at issue was the commune's "internal dualism", with "property elements" at odds with "collective elements", a dualism which remained to be worked out.

Finally we come to the Preface to the second Russian edition of the *Communist Manifesto*, written in Jan. 1882. It concludes: "If the Russian Revolution becomes a signal for a proletarian revolution in the West, so that the two can supplement each other, then present Russian communal land ownership can serve as a point of departure for a communist development". Though jointly signed by Marx and Engels, Wada believes that it "expresses the opinion of Engels more directly than that of Marx," and cites Jenny Marx's death as well as Karl Marx's poor health as the reason. Politically, Wada views the Preface as differing from the Zasulich letter drafts in that it "postulates" revolution in the West "as a precondition" for a Russian Revolution.

Sayer and Corrigan, in their "Late Marx: continuity, contradiction and learning," on the other hand, demonstrate that



Marx in Algiers, 1882, one year before he died

what we know of Marx's reading and correspondence in Jan. 1882 reveals no paralysis of mind. Further, this reviewer does not see in the text of the Preface any such "precondition," but rather a vision of the way revolutions in technologically backward lands can spark revolution in advanced ones, "so that the two supplement each other." From our perspective 100 years later, that formulation seems more relevant than ever.

'BREAK' OR 'DEVELOPMENT' IN MARX?

Throughout the book, the "new moments" from Marx's last decade raise questions on the extent to which they represent a break with Marx's previous 30 years of work, and on the way in which his view of the "Russian road" relates to other breakthroughs in the years after the Paris Commune. These questions form the centerpiece of Sayer and Corrigan's critique of the Shanin and Wada essays. Shanin had argued in "Late Marx: gods and craftsmen" that *Capital* "did not jettison the kernel of evolutionism" widespread in mid-19th century Britain. And even though Marx had, in the 1850s, already presented the concepts of "Oriental Despotism" and the "Asiatic mode of production" as "supplement and alternative to unilinear explanations", those concepts are seen as insufficient. Shanin contends that such societies were viewed by Marx as "a-historical" until disrupted by capitalism, at which time "the iron laws of evolution finally assume their global and universal pace."

To Sayer and Corrigan this "overstates the degree to which the Marx of *Capital* was a consistent evolutionist." One might also argue that in Marx's writings (1850-62) on China's Taiping Rebellion, dualities within the Asiatic mode of production are suggested. And far from Europe unilinearly showing China the "image of its own future", the Taiping Rebellion re-appears in the first chapter of *Capital* as encouragement to European revolutionary perspectives.

Nevertheless, Shanin makes an important contribution on the divergence between Marx and Engels on the Asiatic mode of production when he pinpoints Engels' last use of the concept as Feb. 1884, and reveals that in the next 11 years, through "3,000 pages of writings and letters, it was not even mentioned once". Hobbsawm's argument that Engels replaced it with the "broader concept of the Archaic Formation," is shown to be far off the mark.

The notes on "Marx after *Capital*" offered by Sayer shed light on the breadth of Marx's study and activity in this period, and on the way seemingly separate "topics" are related in thought as well as in date.² Looming above all in that last decade was the experience of the 1871 Paris Commune. It resulted, Sayer and Corrigan point out, "in a body of material as important, as neglected, and as subversive of much 'Marxism' as the writings on Russia published in this volume."

Concentrating on Marx's drafts of *The Civil War in France*, their powerful and thought-provoking essay points both to

2. By the late 1870s, and into the 1880s, Marx's work extended to non-capitalist societies world-wide. In the months after Jenny Marx's death, Marx traveled to Algeria where he observed anti-colonial resistance and investigated Arab landed property forms. About the same time he compiled a 1,700 page manuscript chronology of world history "from the first century BC to the mid-17th century," a manuscript still unpublished today.

Marx's self-critique on the role of the state machinery in working class emancipation and to his new perspectives on the means through which this emancipation is possible. Those means are spelled out as a "sustained attack on the divisions of labor that render administrations and government 'mysterious, transcendent functions only to be trusted to the hands of a trained caste.'" And they conclude with Marx's declaration that "whatever the merits of the single measures of the Commune, its greatest measure was its own organization."

MARX'S VIEW OF WOMEN; AUTHORS' DISREGARD OF PHILOSOPHY

In a book as path-breaking as this it is necessary to ask: how does it happen that Marx's view of women, as Subjects of revolution, gets left out of the account of his last decade? Whether Sayer and Corrigan on the Paris Commune, or Shanin or Wada on Marx and the "Russian road", the story of Elizaveta Dmitrievna Tomanovskaya is hardly told. Yet here is a Russian revolutionist who joined the International, met regularly with Marx in London in 1870-71, and discussed with him the destiny of the peasant commune. Before the Commune burst forth, it was she Marx sent to Paris to organize a women's section of the International; she became an activist in the *Union des Femmes*, and reported to Marx on the magnificent self-organization of the women of Paris. It is disturbing to see that not even a sketch of her life is included among the 23 biographical paragraphs from the "Russian scene."

The immediate ramifications of the participation of women in the Commune included for Marx a resolution at the 1871 London conference calling for the formation of IWA branches exclusively for women. The ramifications in thought were to last the rest of his life. By 1879, Marx was concerned with the dialectics of man/woman relations in "primitive" societies as well, compiling in that year a "copious bibliography on matriarchal law."

Marx's Ethnological Notebooks of 1880-82, which inquired into the destiny of women in primitive communism, are among his final writings. When we were able to see how Marx pointed to both the greater freedom of women in pre-class society, and the fact that elements of women's oppression arose from within primitive communism, the contrast between Marx's view on the man/woman relationship and Engels' later expression in *Origin of the Family* was uncovered. But what was also visible was a divergence on method, on dialectics.

None of the participants in this volume seem concerned with dialectics. Shanin only raises the question of Marx's method in the framework of whether Marx was "god or craftsman." Sayer and Corrigan pose his development from the 1840s to the 1880s as: "Marx was supremely good at learning. It is to assert a continuity of concern..." (Their emphasis).

The point, however, for our age, is not continuity of concern, but the continuity of a philosophy of revolution — and not alone in Marx's time, but in ours. It is, after all, a fact that none of the present authors take note of, that the theory of state-capitalism was being worked out as early as 1941 by Raya Dunayevskaya, when she was inspired by her study of the 1875 French edition of *Capital* as she labored over the original Russian documents of the Five Year Plans. The specific paragraph that Marx had added in 1875 was in the section on accumulation of capital, analyzing the law of concentration and centralization of capital as reaching its ultimate "in the hands of a single capitalist or capitalist corporation."³

Such a philosophic ground can lead us toward a view of the uniqueness of Marx's method, and toward his concretization of revolution in permanence⁴ for one technologically backward society, in which human forces of revolution, in the right "historic context", could change the world. Whether one agrees with that assessment or not, the authors of this remarkable book have given us an opportunity to "hear Marx think" and work it out for ourselves. —Michael Connolly

3. Long before our age's creation of the concept of the Third World, Dunayevskaya was taking issue with Rosa Luxemburg's counterposing Third World "reality" against Marx's theory of accumulation of capital. By the time she wrote *Marxism and Freedom* in 1957, she summed up 16 years of development of the theory of state-capitalism (pp. 132-137), by not only differentiating Marx's theory from Luxemburg's, but pointing to Marx's 1883 legacy as a new direction for our age.

4. Marx's concept is to be sharply distinguished from its near opposite, Leon Trotsky's "theory of permanent revolution," as well as from Mao Zedong's "uninterrupted revolution," which will require "a century or several centuries" to complete after the conquest of power. See Dunayevskaya's discussion of Marx as a philosopher of permanent revolution in Chapter 11 of the above 1982 work.

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Mexican workers strike foreign bosses

by John Marcotte

Reagan's message to American workers is that unemployment and wage cuts are caused by "foreign competition." But Reagan and our "free press" do their best to keep the truth from working people when it really blows open. I'm talking about two events, on two sides of the border, which shed light on what the problem really is and who's doing something about it.

On this side of the border is the Toledo, Ohio labor rebellion (see Lead article) which was virtually blacked out of the NY news media. And right across the border is the tremendous wildcat strike and ongoing struggle by some 7,000 Zenith workers in Mexico.

The Zenith Corporation's television parts plant in Reynosa, Mexico is one of the maquiladoras (factories), most of them right across the border, which produce only for export. Most of them are owned by U.S. corporations, some by Japanese. They employ over 150,000 workers, 80% of whom are women. At Zenith, these workers are mostly between the ages of 16 and 24. They make \$3.31 a day.

ZENITH WORKERS WALK OUT

When the 7,000 Zenith workers walked out on Nov. 8, 1983, they were joined the next day by 5,000 other workers from nearby maquiladoras such as Kimco, Hamill de Mexico, Genesco, Datacom, Controles de Reynosa, Sociedad de Motores, Lambda Electronics and Lambda Semi Conductors.

The Zenith strikers had three demands: 1) the release from jail of Daniel Lopez, an 18-year-old rank-and-file leader whom the union president had had arrested; 2) a wage increase because of 100% inflation; 3) getting rid of the corrupt union leadership.

They returned to work after four days, only when their first demand was met and they were promised immediate union elections by the Confederation of Mexican Workers. Their op-

position slate won four to one, and four women were elected to the executive board for the first time. The union Confederation then refused to recognize the election results.

In January, local union elections were promised. Again the opposition won a majority, again the results were not recognized by the union. Meanwhile opposition activists were being fired and forced to resign. On April 10, the workers organized a hunger strike, lying on cots in front of the Reynosa city hall, with regular demonstrations of their supporters. The army occupied the plaza, and on April 17, the police dragged off the hunger strikers to the local hospital.

'FOREIGN COMPETITION' IS BIG CAPITAL

Though the Zenith workers may have been temporarily defeated, they are showing us in their struggle where this "foreign competition" really comes from — Big Capital, be it U.S. or other, and its insatiable thirst for ever greater profits and lower wages. Those in the forefront opposing it are the very workers who, far from "taking our jobs," are fighting right now against such super exploitation on their side of the border, while on our side the battle heats up in Toledo.

Add these two events to the fact that the U.S. government, Republican and Democrat alike, has not succeeded in its long attempt to get American labor to turn against the undocumented immigrant worker as a scapegoat for unemployment, as it further unleashes its racist INS factory raids with the recent Supreme Court ruling and looks to pass its anti-immigrant Simpson-Mazzoli Bill.

Also in New York, workers imprisoned by the INS in its new detention center on Varick St. dared to go on a hunger strike May 1, in the face of intimidation and threats of immediate deportation. That gives you a picture of where the impetus is coming from that will tear down these borders that have too long divided us as working people.

'Changes mean nothing in Dominican Republic'

New York, N.Y. — "The Dominican people are quiet for now. The government, as a result of the April rebellion, raised the minimum wage of 125 Pesos a month (\$40 U.S.) to 150 Pesos. That is nothing! Then they started mobile subsidized food stores for the poor neighborhoods. Do you know the lines in front of them are miles long? You have to get in line at dawn to get a chance. These changes mean nothing! Things are quiet for now, but that is even more serious, because the Dominican people endure and endure but can explode at any moment. It was like that in 1965."

So said a Dominican worker in New York of the events following the three day rebellion over International Monetary Fund — imposed (IMF) food and medicine price increases. As thousands of troops patrolled the country and the National Police occupied the offices of the union centrals, five union centrals called for a "march against hunger" for May 1, to start in the poorest neighborhoods in the north of the capital, where street fighting had been fiercest. The government response was promises on the one hand, such as the miserable wage increase and food stores; and on the other hand, threats that they "could not guarantee the safety" of the march — presumably at the hands of its own military and police.

The unions called off the march at the last minute, instead calling on the people to stay home and drap their doors in black, while they went to the National Palace to meet with President Jorge Blanco, who praised their "good will" and promised to meet with them every month to "maintain a direct dialogue on the situation of the working class." His latest move has been a show of "breaking off negotiations" with the IMF.

The New York Dominican worker concluded: "All over Latin America the people are in revolt. And in the Dominican Republic, where the people have a long history of struggle, it's quiet today. How long do you think that will last?"

Utah protest opposes U.S. intervention

Salt Lake City, Utah — About 400 people gathered at the State Capitol for a rally and march, May 19, to protest the growing threat of U.S. intervention in Central America as well as Reagan's drive towards the brink of nuclear holocaust.

The speakers included an Iranian whose solidarity with the American movement and Central American revolutions was not separated from his own country's struggle for freedom. Another Middle Eastern woman spoke of her participation in the anti-nuke movement in England's Greenham Common. She said that with so many struggling around the world "we'll make it."

The high point for me was meeting a Cuban exile who had been forced to come to this country in 1980. He told me that he had graduated from the university in Cuba and then, as part of his mandatory two year service to the government, was sent to Ethiopia to fight against the Eritrean movement for self-determination. This upset him as he had once been taught to respect the Eritrean struggle while in Cuba.

He returned to Cuba and, with other friends from the university, attempted to publish a book on the situation but they were arrested and jailed. He said his disillusionment with the revolution grew as he saw opposing ideas were not allowed.

He expressed concern that "too many are trying to use the Third World. The Cuban influence on the Nicaraguan revolution could be dangerous. The U.S. is trying a divide-and-conquer strategy in the region. The question is how to find an independent road?"

The dialogue with this Cuban reminded me of the Youth Column in the May N&L which discussed shortcomings in the Solidarity movement when, in protesting U.S. imperialism, the issue of "what comes after?" is not discussed. If we are really for the American revolution, but leave that so abstract as to only oppose U.S. foreign policy, I'm doubtful that we will develop our solidarity with the Central American and anti-nuke movements to the point where we do make it to a new human society.

50,000 Puerto Ricans oppose U.S. war games

On April 29, up to 50,000 pro-independence demonstrators in Puerto Rico marched to protest use of their island for U.S. "war games" aimed at Nicaragua, and for storage of nuclear weapons. Organized by the Puerto Rican Independence Party (PIP), it was joined by members of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party and other groups. It was the largest Left demonstration in years. Ruben Barrios, President of the PIP, stated: "Today independentistas tell the empire that we will not allow them to send even one Puerto Rican against our Nicaraguan brothers. Where are the jails they will need to put all the Puerto Rican patriots who will refuse to fight?"

Meanwhile, Ocean Venture '84, an "exercise" by 30,000 NATO troops, was taking place in and around Puerto Rico. The island of Vieques, where a simulated "invasion" took place including dropping "practice" bombs, has civilian population of 11,000 people. The Vieques Fishermen Association has long fought these U.S. military exercises. Fisherman Rafael Ayala was arrested May 3 and held indefinitely for violating an injunction prohibiting entering the Navy's restricted areas during military exercises.



Workers at the Coca-Cola bottling plant in Guatemala City have won their campaign for union recognition (See May N&L). After sitting in the plant since February, when management attempted to close it, the workers reached an agreement on May 26, in Costa Rica. The negotiations were made with the local and United States Coca-Cola corporation representatives. The plant will reopen in July with a new owner, and the workers will be paid to continue to occupy and maintain the plant. They are guaranteed jobs when the plant reopens as well as union recognition. In addition, Coca-Cola is setting up a fund for the widows of the workers who were slain during the organizing drive at the plant from 1978 to 1980.

LA demonstration against Simpson-Mazzoli bill

Los Angeles, Cal. — Two demonstrations here during the month of May showed how closely interwoven are the aspirations for life, peace, and freedom of the people of this city with the freedom struggles and aspirations of the people of Latin America.

On Mother's Day, Sunday, May 13, a coalition of women's groups and Central American solidarity organizations sponsored a "Mothers March for Peace," in solidarity with the "mothers of the disappeared" throughout Latin America, who have been marching against military dictatorship and demanding an accounting of their "disappeared" sons, daughters, husbands, sisters, brothers.

Fully half of the several hundred participants in the march were from countries of Central and South America — Guatemala, El Salvador, Argentina, Chile. Those who had lost a relative to government-sponsored "disappearance," murder, or war wore white headscarves and banded pots, as is the practice in the demonstrations in their countries. American women who had lost a relative in the wars and police killings in this country were also invited to march in front, with white scarves. The feelings and the determination of the marchers was very strong.

The following week, May 19, saw another march and rally, this time against the Simpson-Mazzoli immigration bill passed last year by the Senate and due for consideration by the House of Representatives. If Simpson-Mazzoli passes, it will mean a stepped-up deportation of Central American exiles from this country, back to their lands of disappearances and death.

Such deportations happen now. TACA airlines has taken over the "death flights" to El Salvador, after protests forc-

ed first Western and then Mexicana Airlines out of the business. But the cornerstone of Simpson-Mazzoli is sanctions against employers hiring "illegals," depriving Central Americans and Mexicans of any chance of earning a livelihood.

At the same time that the proposed employer sanctions would be spelled out as discrimination against all Latino workers, foreshadowing as well a national identity card system, Simpson-Mazzoli also has provisions for a "temporary workers program" for bringing in foreign workers without protection of U.S. labor laws. The Roybal bill, touted by many as a "progressive" alternative to Simpson-Mazzoli, is without the implications of a national identity system, but nonetheless places emphasis on strengthening border patrols human beings dubbed "illegals."

Jesse Jackson, campaigning for the June 5 California primary, headed the march, which was a genuine, exciting, high-spirited "rainbow coalition" of thousands of Blacks, whites, Latinos and Asians. By the time the march reached the rally site of City Hall it had grown considerably, as passers-by and downtown shoppers joined the ranks.

Jackson got his biggest applause when he told the rally that "Mexican workers don't drain the U.S. economy, they have subsidized this economy," and "We don't just need a new president, we need a totally new direction."

Whether or not Jackson offers that "totally new direction," what is clear is that there is a hunger for a vision of liberation that transcends national boundaries and opens pathways to comradeship and self-development for peoples both here and south of our border.

— Marxist-Humanist

ON OUR DRAFT PERSPECTIVES — FIGHTING RONALD REAGAN: STRIKE-BREAKER, WORLD OUTLAW

I agree with your headline that "Ronald Reagan is a strike-breaker." He is trying to make people think that everything is rosy now, but look at what is happening to the workers in Toledo and at Phelps Dodge in Arizona. Reagan says nothing; he sanctions the police and National Guard violence against working people. I think that if more of these worker confrontations with management and with the police reach the news media, people will see the difference between that and Reagan's campaign commercials.

Angry
Californian

The recent deaths of Ford workers at Rouge and Wixom are the fruit of Reagan's policies. It began with PATCO, and it has hit home in all industries now. GM has 10,000 robots in its plants. It was a robot that killed the worker at Wixom. To me that means there are 10,000 potential murderers in GM's plants. Overtime is another killer, and when there are no jobs, it's insane.

The only industry I know that is growing in employment today is the guard industry. They give you \$3.50 an hour, a gun, and no benefits. The owner is protected from the desperate, you risk your life, and he makes off with the money. In the sit-down strikes, they threw managers over the fence. We should do that with Reagan at the White House.

John Allison
Detroit

I am on layoff now from a non-union construction job, with little hope of going back. I worked since Jan. in a masonry shop here in Brunswick, making pre-fabricated brick walls. Sounds crazy, but that's what we made. Entire brick walls, some of them 40 feet by 20 feet, built inside of a huge welded frame, then trucked to the jobsite to be installed.

This is a new trend in masonry I hear, because the walls are made on an assembly line in a non-union shop. As usual the workers do not benefit from the new method one bit.

One of my best impressions from the job was that workers are as ready to organize as ever, if the organizing is done from a rank-and-file perspective. Many of my co-workers were former union members, and they all talked about the "good old days" of higher wages, with some pretty good conditions. They all realized that those days are gone, and to them the economic future looks bleak.

I was able to do quite a bit of talking and listening in the couple of months I was there, and my faith in the working class has been really reinforced. Political, union-oriented discussions with workers are so easy, as long as you ease into the subject and refrain from a salesman's approach.

Subscriber
Brunswick, Ohio

I have eleven years seniority at Rouge Steel. When they laid off people with two years seniority, I wasn't worried. When they laid off people with five years, I wasn't worried. I got really worried when people with nine years were getting laid off.

Each time we give Ford concessions, they lay some people off. It started in 1978. If the steel workers give up concessions in their contracts, Rouge Steel will come around and say we want to open up your contract for more breaks. They are putting people out of work. The unemployment lines get longer than the factory lines. Sooner or later, the unemployed are going to want some of it, and they'll come into this factory and occupy it.

Rouge Steel worker
Detroit

The Draft Perspectives (May N&L) were accurate about even profitable firms now demanding permanent pay cuts and about what the word "competitive" means. Jewel Food Stores in Chicago unilaterally lowered wages in the middle of a contract, contending that the high wages put it at a competitive disadvantage with the discount and no-frills stores. Afterward workers at Dominick's and Eagle stores were forced to accept a wage freeze until the suit which the union has filed against Jewel is decided. Meanwhile, of course, Jewel's profits have continued to climb.

Regular reader
Chicago

Ronald Reagan is a "world outlaw." It is proved everywhere he goes. I felt very proud when I saw thousands of Irish marchers denouncing Reagan's mass murder policies in Central America, and declaring their support for liberation movements in El Salvador and Guatemala. When you think that Galway is a little city of 25,000, it is amazing that 5,000 turned out to protest Reagan. There were even priests and nuns, some of whom must have been to Central America and seen it themselves.

For once Reagan's rhetoric didn't work. He came to pose as a "native son" looking for his genealogical roots, but the people were interested in the real crisis of the here and now — including 20% unemployment in Ireland.

Irish-American
Michigan

After reading the Draft Perspectives, I felt it was important to grapple with the Iran-Iraq War with the sense of objectivity that has absorbed subjectivity as it was discussed there. Reagan says he is for freedom of navigation in the Persian Gulf, but not in Nicaragua. In Iran there was no May Day holiday this year. Instead there were new labor laws and attacks on women. The discussion of Mao in the Perspectives made me think about Khomeini. You can see a lot of Mao in his attempt to re-mold minds. He sees both genuine Marxism and the masses as his opposition.

Iranian activist
San Francisco

You wake up in the morning, turn on your TV and try to guess what new crisis will be told. Will Reagan send U.S. troops to Lebanon or Nicaragua, Grenada or the Persian Gulf? The Persian Gulf outcry at the State Department makes me sick. They didn't say anything while hundreds of thousands of Iranian and Iraqi youth were being slaughtered, but they scream loud and long when their barrels of oil are delayed or spilled.

Black worker
Detroit

BLACK MOVEMENT'S IMPACT...

One of the things that is most striking to me about the Jesse Jackson campaign is the way in which Jackson himself has been radicalized by the movement. I remember him from a few years ago, when he headed Operation PUSH in Chicago and preached about women staying in the home to make sure their children went to school every day in clean clothes (little girls in dresses and boys in suits), and that the children learned to respect authority in the home, school, and society.

Now he speaks all the time about women's rights, and far from stressing "respect for the forces of authority," he is challenging many "authorities" of this society. There is no doubt that he is saying some revolutionary things, and yet he stops so far short of opening up the idea of social revolution.

Feminist revolutionary
Los Angeles



... AND WOMEN'S LIBERATION'S CRITIQUE

Sunday night at the restaurant where I work they gave the waitresses a new uniform with a scoop-back tank-top leotard. We had to start wearing it the very next day, but I put a blouse over it because it was freezing and rainy and I had a cold and had to hand out fliers outdoors.

My boss told me to take off the blouse and then to take off my bra. Then she told me if I didn't I could just go home, so I did. Why should I be out there freezing? If I have to sell my flesh, I might as well hook.

No longer employed
Chicago

The May 11 anti-rape rally in Detroit really fell on its face in some ways because the NOW, UAW and City of Detroit self-appointed leaders did little or no publicity among the schoolgirls and mothers who

Readers' View

did the organizing in their neighborhoods against rape in the last few months. Nevertheless, among those few hundred who did turn out, the most passionate response came from the youth there, many of whom were in junior high school.

One 14-year old girl was enraged about the rapes of schoolgirls that have been taking place, but her rage was also toward the attitude to youth in her high school, where students have to wear I.D. tags every day, and where teachers act as if the youth can't think.

Participant
Detroit



NATIVE AMERICA'S ONGOING STRUGGLES

There are now over 71 indictments in Washington and Oregon against native people for fishing their own waters. They face felony and conspiracy charges, with huge fines and possible imprisonment, under the notorious Black Bass Lacey Act. This is a covert conspiracy designed by the Federal and State governments to circumvent recent court decisions favorable to Native Americans.

In Michigan, a similar struggle has gone on for a full 10 years, ever since Judge Noel Fox ruled that Ojibway and Ottawa people have treaty rights to fish in northern Lake Michigan and eastern Lake Superior without interference. The campaign of vandalism and violence against Indians that followed the decision seems to have abated this year, and more Indian families are going into commercial fishing. For more information on support for those arrested in the Pacific Northwest, contact:

Northwest Indian Women's Circle
PO Box 8051
Tacoma, WA 98408

We were so glad to hear about the court decision that Leonard Peltier can apply for a new trial, after more than six years in prison for a crime he did not commit. It turns out that the bullet which was in the trunk of the dead FBI agents' car (which was supposed to match his gun) wasn't from his gun at all. The FBI documents that said that were suppressed by the prosecution.

My brother went to see him in prison, and he says it was like Christmas there when the news came. But there's still a long way to go before he gets freed.

Shainape Shcapwe
Detroit

YOUTH'S REBELLIOUS IDEAS...

Most people don't talk about what's going on in the world. There is a group of elite seniors who act like they know about the current events, but they don't have insight into political oppression or anything like that.

As for Reagan's "squeal rule," I always thought it stank. It's a hundred percent unconstitutional, but what does the constitution mean anyway? I would have been directly affected by it if it were not killed. My American history teacher told us that they only make laws for people eighteen and older. That is, they only answer to the people who elected them, but that much isn't even always true anymore.

High School woman
Michigan

I'm seventeen. All the time I was growing up, I was told to shut up when some kind of discussion was going on. All I wanted to do is express my opinion. It brings me back to that saying: "children and teenagers are to be seen and not heard." Why is this? When a doctor's diagnosis is wrong, you sue them for malpractice. Why can't we sue our parents for malpractice in parenthood?

My way of thinking has been changing. I'm more open to other things, including my choice of friends, their religions, race and color. Parents' prejudices against religions, race are just a few of the reasons for the gaps in communication.

Woman teenager
Oklahoma City, Okla.

In the capitalists' attack against U.S. workers, one obstacle is the minimum wage, won by labor struggles in the 1930s. But Ronald Reagan, strike-breaker, is trying to destroy it by attacking the youth first with a proposed law known in Reagan-speak as the "Youth Employment Opportunity Wage Act." It would extend to 16-to-19-year olds what other workers have been experiencing — the "opportunity" to earn lower wages — by legalizing a sub-minimum wage of \$2.50 an hour. He says it will create jobs, but I say it's just one more way of lowering our standard of living.

Subscriber
Chicago

... AND THE REVOLUTIONARY FORCE OF PHILOSOPHY

What is so interesting about your Draft Perspectives is its refusal to separate the analysis of the objective situation, especially the horror of Ronald Reagan, from what you call subjectivity. But I was wondering about the way subjectivity is broken down in the article. You speak of two kinds of subjectivity — of masses in motion struggling for total freedom — and a voluntarist kind of subjectivity of misleaders who substitute themselves for masses in motion.

However, it seemed to me another kind of subjectivity emerged as well when you traced Marxist-Humanism's development in three major writings through three decades of world events. Isn't there this third kind of subjectivity, that of a revolutionary grouping which rather than being vanguardist helps to bring forth what the masses are doing, their revolutionary subjectivity. At the same time because of a global and historic view, it can actually push the movement forward.

When the revolutionary subjectivity of masses in motion is interpenetrated with this third kind of subjectivity of a revolutionary philosophic action group, then isn't that the time when one can truly transform objectivity? Or translated, isn't this the pathway whereby we can really get rid of Ronald Reagan in way which doesn't allow his kind ever to come back into power?

Philosophy student
Michigan

The Draft Perspectives discusses the need for a new relation of theory to practice, and then shows how to practice such a new relation by examining the way News and Letters Committees responded to world events of the 1980s, beginning with 1979 and the revolution in Iran.

The task of seeing to it that 1984-85 becomes not a year of counter-revolution, but of new revolutions "on the unified field of theory-practice" is not an easy job, but, as Marx told us, history does not pose problems that it is incapable of resolving. I think the Draft Perspectives emphasizes the need for us to break from old routines, break from intellectual sloth, break from the tendency to fasten on a set of conclusions, and instead creatively develop philosophy.

Subscriber
Los Angeles

News and Letters Committees must be the only socialist group on earth that reviews Marx's contributions each time it sets out to decide on what to do for the next year. The reflections on Marx are fascinating in themselves, and I find the whole procedure a real one-of-a-kind thing.

Not-so-old politico
Massachusetts

Thank you for printing that magnificent quote from Antonio Gramsci in your Thesis. When it said that the philosopher "not merely grasps the contradictions, but posits himself as an element of the contradictions and elevates this element to a principle of knowledge and therefore of action," I felt he was speaking to me. We always say someone is "an armchair philosopher," or that he is "a tireless activist." Why shouldn't those two meet in one human being? Incidentally, did you quote that passage to explain how News and Letters Committees sees its own role?

Student
Oakland, Calif.

WHAT HAPPENED IN TOLEDO — WORKERS' VIEWPOINTS

I was down on the AP picket line in Toledo a week after 4000 workers battled police in the streets, to cover the story for News & Letters. While the spirit of the workers had not diminished, despite the court injunction limiting the number of picketers, it was at a local bar where workers from every factory and shop in the area gathered that you saw, heard and felt the "indignant heart" of the American working class.

When workers from AP, Jeep, Teledyne, Dana, Sun Oil and numerous other plants get off they stop by the bar to eat, talk about what's happening in the world, and especially what is happening at their own plant.

Hanging over the bar is a whole array of caps from the various unions, with the latest joke being an old WW II gas mask suspended in the middle of the collection of caps with a sign on it reading: "AP Parts Hard-Hat!" Workers have also decorated one of the beams over the bar with their old grievances from AP. Bar policy provides striking AP workers with food and beer at half price.

We had gone to Toledo to show workers the story we had recorded from our discussions with them. When we left the bar, the workers who had brought us there with them so that we could talk with other workers told us how much they appreciated the way we had covered their strike. "You guys from News & Letters have been better than anyone else because you really listened to us and got the story down in our words."

Lou Turner
Detroit

You want to know how we heard about the demonstration on Monday (May 21)? My daughter told me. She's ten years old. A ten-year-old friend of hers whose daddy works at AP told her, "something's going to be happening there."

What happened was a membership rally. The union didn't do it, and they don't have any right to say they did. It was so spontaneous that no one knew what was happening. When the shift changes at American Motors, the news goes around. We went to show everyone: "You guys have support world-wide."

It was in my interest to be there. My son should be able to get an apprenticeship when he gets old enough to work. If he works in a Burger King or pushes buttons, how do

they expect him to buy a vehicle?

Jeep skilled tradesman
Toledo, Ohio

The UAW at Jeep were viewed as leaders of the rally at AP. We had been on alert ever since the previous week. People were waiting for when the signal would be given down the line. For days they had been pressing to hear it. The plan was to spread it along the assembly lines to people who were forewarned.

People are trying to send a message that unions have to draw a line. People are ready and willing to do it. True to American history, it will take a violent confrontation to get that kind of publicity. We haven't heard any response from the union officials yet, but I get another response: People ask me every day, "Is today the day we go back to AP?"

Jeep chief steward
Toledo, Ohio

When I heard how the workers in Toledo were fighting the police for protecting the scabs that were taking their jobs away, I wished so much that I could be there to join them. I feel just the way these workers feel — that a scab is the lowest form of life that exists on this earth.

When a scab comes down the street men turn their backs and angels weep in heaven, and the devil shuts the gates of hell to keep him out. No man has a right to scab as long as there is a pool of water deep enough to drown him in, or a rope long enough to hang his carcass with. Judas Iscariot was a gentleman compared to a scab. For betraying his master, he had the character to hang himself — a scab hasn't.

A worker who knows his class
Kentucky

Yesterday I was selling N&L at the unemployment office and a UAW member laid-off from GM Norwood who bought the paper got to talking about the AP Parts strike in Toledo. He told me that "they're doing what we all should have done." And he said that when and if he gets called back he "hopes to be able to bring that spirit in to the shop and the local." He wants to talk more about the views in N&L.

Marxist-Humanist
Cincinnati, Ohio

the parties took the arms away from the people. If the Dominican people had guns and pistols like are available in the U.S., do you think we wouldn't have made a revolution by now?"

Dominican worker
New York City

OUR COVERAGE OF AFRICA

Your coverage of Africa in N&L is excellent. I especially like the way you have not forgotten the Black Consciousness Movement ideas and struggles. The statement in the last issue from them on the treaty between South Africa and Mozambique was exactly the kind of critique that is helpful now. The other thing I appreciate is the fact that you don't consider "independent" Africa as a sphere where the battle is over. In fact, it needs to begin again, and this time it will have to sweep away the fakers and parasites who were born in Africa, but left it in mind. They work hand and glove with U.S. imperialism.

I should say "imperialism," period, because Russia's support of the Ethiopian dictatorship is important also. Without Russian backing they would never have been able to stop the Eritrean liberation struggle from total victory.

African liberation activist
New Jersey

BRITISH MINERS AND THEORY

Things are starting to buzz over here with the miners being the primary movers, but there has been developing for some time a rupture within the ruling class corresponding to the deepening crisis. This crisis is also mirrored by the left. There is such a serious gulf of ideas on the left on the relationship between activity and thinking as an activity, that there is a profound pessimism permeating the ranks of socialists. It is as if theory is a game played between the periods of intense class struggle activity.

Reader
London

EDITORIAL

U.S. imperialism out of the Gulf!
Stop the Iraq-Iran genocidal war!

The latest intensification of the Iraq-Iran war is the most serious since Iraq's invasion of Iran triggered that war four years ago. Can it become the actual flash-point for a nuclear confrontation between the super-powers? This cannot be ruled out. Today the threat has been fired up by Khomeini's declaration that June 5 is an "epic day." That this does not refer to the actual 1979 revolution, but to the religious demonstration against the Shah in 1963 when Khomeini was expelled from Iran, should not be lost on revolutionaries who might have any illusions left about the Islamic revolution.

On the other hand, there is an accumulation of other facts in this lengthy, bloody, barbaric, stale-mated war which points to its continuing regional character.

Thus, despite all the threats of Iraq's ruler, Hussein, to destroy Iran's chief oil depot, Kharg Island, he has not gone all out at that spot, although he has Exocet missiles and superior air power, has degenerated to using mustard gas and has attacked individual targets, even when these tankers belong to his main benefactor, Saudi Arabia. This tyrant who had deluded himself that the invasion would bring a quick victory soon learned that when a country has gone through a revolution, as Iran had, such tremendous new energies manifest themselves — even as the revolution is being turned into its opposite and the crisis at home is already evident — that it will defend itself from attack.

Hussein was thus compelled to increase his dependency on Saudi Arabia, which has been sending him endless money since its rulers, too, had learned to fear a revolutionary upheaval in their own country after Iran had encouraged the occupation of Mecca. Hussein has also had the support of the Gulf emirates. He is now attempting to instigate super-power intervention — hopefully on his side.

Herein is the rub. The super-powers want neither Iraq nor Iran to win. They will not allow them to decide where the nuclear confrontation will begin.

It is true that Ronald Reagan was all too willing to jump at that opportunity. The impotence of the U.S. imperialist Behemoth has never been clearer than since Reagan's fiasco in Lebanon. Thus, despite the massive Navy armada in the Gulf, despite the Rapid Deployment Force established by Carter, despite Reagan's all-too-eager, unsolicited offer to come to the "defense" of the Gulf states, none would take the bait. So hated is U.S. imperialism in the Middle East that even his imperialist friends in the Gulf region had to reject the offer because all too obvious were the global strings attached to this "aid" — the request for U.S. bases in the region. Reagan had to take a step back and settle for sending 400 Stinger missiles.

Even that he had to do without asking for the consent of Congress. It is not for any human reasons that Congress does not want to send troops to the Middle East. Rather, it is because Russia has made it clear that it is not intervening in that war and is not looking for any confrontation with the U.S. at that spot, at this moment. In a word — as true imperialists but not as trigger-happy as Reagan — the U.S. Congress will not allow Iran and Iraq to decide where the U.S.-Russia confrontation will take place.

WHAT THE IRAQ-IRAN WAR COST IN HUMAN LIVES:
THE MIDDLE-EAST NOW

One million lives have been lost and more than another million are disabled, diseased, famished. In Iran alone over 2,000,000 have been left homeless. Nothing stops these bloody rulers. At this very moment 300,000 Iranian troops are massed for attack and if there is such an attack Iraq promises to destroy Kharg Island.

The super-powers look on and want neither side to emerge as victor. That is the reason this war has remained regional. It is true that Oil is crucial to the whole West — to the U.S. less so than the rest of Europe, and to Western Europe only a little less than to Japan. But the most that they are willing to do at the moment can be seen from the hints by Japan (which has an open line to both Iraq and Iran) that it will try to get a joint statement from the six powers now meeting in London asking for a cease-fire. The question is: Why?

The truth is that the Middle East has so many trouble spots that it is no longer possible to call anything the lifeline. Ever since the 1975-76 Civil War in Lebanon, that has become the test, not only for the imperialists but for the entire Left. Because that revolution remained unfinished, nothing — absolutely nothing — in the Middle East could be decisive without asking the question: Whither Lebanon?

Thus, although Syria had the illusion that it won — and in an immediate sense it did — the PLO didn't think it had lost, because Lebanon remained its "home" base. And if Israel deluded itself that the neo-fascist Gemayel victory meant that it had a "friend", that was the greatest of all illusions because it prompted them to undertake the 1982 genocidal invasion of Lebanon. At this point, that war was not only disastrous for Lebanon but proved to be devastating for Israel itself, which now finds itself wracked with internal strife and sinking into ever-greater degeneracy.

Finally, despite Syria's victory, Syria itself is so unsure of how long its domination of Lebanon will last, that it is not excluding a deal with the U.S. — not alone in Lebanon, but in the Iraq-Iran war.

What, then, are we, as revolutionaries, to do? First and foremost, everything possible, must be done to stop the Iraq-Iran war, and, as American revolutionaries, it is imperative to stop any intervention by U.S. imperialism. These two principles — Stopping the war and keeping U.S. imperialism from intervening — go hand in hand with clearing our heads on the fundamentals, that is on the revolutionary goals of creating a new, human society. Isn't it high time — indeed, way beyond high time — to dig deeply into the question of why the 1975-76 Civil War in Lebanon remained unfinished? It certainly is no academic question. The fact that the Left has not met the test of that Civil War for a full decade has resulted in the totality of the crisis now, which confronts us with the possibility of a nuclear holocaust that will put an end to civilization as we have known it. The only way to end the horrors all around us is through genuine, social revolution.

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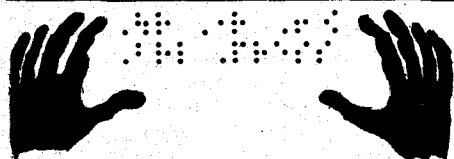
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I, like many other blind people, want to read books, pamphlets and articles about the freedom movement for myself, as you are doing right now. Reproduction of print publications in Braille or recorded format is controlled by a few agencies "for" the blind. With the exception of N&L very few publications from the freedom movement are available on cassette or in Braille.

We have formed our own organization, the Our Right to Know Braille Press, Inc. Our major project is a quarterly magazine, "Freedom Ideas International" (F.I.I.). It reproduces articles from many movement and minority publications from around the world on 4-track cassettes. All of our labor is volunteer, but production costs are much higher than subscription fees can cover. We urgently need duplicating equipment of our own if we are to keep up with the interest of our readers. Helping us get access to the ideas of freedom is a real act of solidarity.

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Detroit, MI 48217

DOMINICAN MEMORIES

If Balaguer had not in his 12 years in power killed off 400-500 of the best Dominican youth, we would have been out of this situation a long time ago. In '65 the people — men, women and children, a lot of women died fighting in '65 — started with sticks and stones and ended up with tanks! We had the military by the throat, that's why they yelled "Communist!" so the U.S. Marines would come to their help. And still the revolution dragged on for a year. But

BLACK-RED VIEW

The Brown decision: decades of struggle

by John Alan

"Only when people themselves begin to act are rights on paper given life blood..." —Martin Luther King

Thirty years ago the U.S. Supreme Court in the historic Brown vs. Board of Education decision ended the "separate-but-equal" doctrine that had dominated the Court's legal position toward Black Americans since 1896. In setting aside this odious doctrine that gave judicial sanction to the practice of racial discrimination, Chief Justice Earl Warren concluded that "In the field of public education the doctrine of separate-but-equal has no place. Separate educational facilities are inherently unequal", thus casting into limbo all other practices of "separate-but-equal".

It is unfortunate that many of those that commemorate the Brown decision have focused their remarks on the legal aspects of the case, how it has succeeded or failed over the decades, saying little or nothing about the two decades of Black mass activity that literally prepared the group for the 1954 decision.

The one person who seemed to have some indication that the decision of the Court was caused by forces beyond the Court and the legal profession is Paul Wilson, the former assistant attorney general of Kansas who was on the losing side. Wilson told the *New York Times*: "I really did not see how the decision could have been otherwise — history had simply overtaken the law". (My emphasis)

Indeed the history of the two decades that preceded 1954 was one of radical changes in Black mass activity and consciousness that was only later surpassed by the Civil Rights Movement and the urban mass revolts of the 1960s. It was during those decades, while the Supreme Court was finding it prudent to be bounded by the "separate-but-equal" doctrine, that Black masses were challenging and cracking the racial structure of American society; upsetting, wherever they could, the racist equilibrium that it wanted to establish.

TWO DECADES OF BLACK MASS ACTIVITY

The 1930s witnessed a major transformation in the relationship between Black labor and white labor, beginning with the formation of the CIO. Not only did Blacks become an integral part of organized labor, they were crucial to the rise and the success of the CIO. At the same time, Black workers contested racism both within the unions and the factories.

Outside of the CIO the severity of the Depression caused the spontaneous growth of a Black movement called Jobs For Negroes Campaign that used direct action methods of picketing and boycotting to compel white merchants doing business in the Black ghetto to hire Black workers. This movement started in Chicago but soon appeared under various names in every major city. Of course such a movement alone could not solve the ills of unemployment. It did, however, serve notice to Roosevelt's New Deal that Blacks were not going to permit the old disadvantages and discrimination to remain intact.

Mass activity was directed against restrictive covenants that kept Blacks locked in the most undesirable section of the cities at the mercy of the landlords. Mass support was given to the Scottsboro case to prevent legal lynching, while the activity of the Southern Tenant Farmers Union virtually led an underground existence. And not the least among this Black mass activity was the March On Washington Movement that put American civilization on trial during World War II.

The March on Washington Movement combined the negative attitude that Blacks had toward U.S. imperialism's involvement in World War II and a militant demand for racial equality. It was universally felt, as proclaimed by the Chicago Defender, "that Negroes had their 'Own War' at home against oppression and exploitation", and that the disparity between the idea of freedom and the practice of so-called American democracy had to be resolved first.

Although the 1941 March On Washington did not materialize — a choice of the leaders and not the masses — it, nevertheless, was a genuine spontaneous movement of large masses of Blacks engaged in political protest at a time of war. Its significance was not the magnitude of its successes (it did open holes in the walls of segregation that never could be sealed again) but its existence as the self-movement and self-development of an oppressed people in the act of transforming racial conditions of inequality in this country. It was that which eventually found its fullest expression in the Civil Rights Movement of the 1960s.

THE BROWN DECISION — THEN AND NOW

We should know that the 1954 decision of the Supreme Court did not end segregated schools. Linda Brown, in whose interest the school litigation was started, recalled recently that "it was not the quick fix we thought it would be." E.D. Nixon, one of the original leaders of the Montgomery Bus Boycott, said that "we thought that the problem was over until we took the children to the school and the police pushed us out, that's when our feet hit the ground. We found that if we wanted to really integrate, we were going to have to fight for it. It was from this that the idea of boycott grew."

What must be emphasized is that any serious assessment as to the degree of Black freedom in history, in the present and in the future, is unrealistic without grasping how central the activity and thought of the Black masses are in its achievement.

Czech anti-nuke activist: "No mutilated Europe"

Editor's Note: Zdena Tomin is a Czech writer who is a part of the Czechoslovakian human rights group Charter 77. She is now in exile and active in the European Nuclear Disarmament movement. The following are excerpts from a talk she gave earlier this year to an anti-nuclear group.

Our movement faces constant harassment and persecution, but that hasn't succeeded in breaking the movement. There are now 1,200 involved, with more signatures coming. Two years ago Charter 77 opened itself to dialogue with Western peace movements even though we are a human rights movement.

Nine months after entering Britain in 1980 I lost my Czechoslovakian citizenship, and cannot return. Having lived in both parts of the world, I have no illusions about either. I feel human rights, freedom, democracy and peace are two sides of the same thing. We cannot have lasting peace without basic freedoms.

I was in Prague when the tanks came. The first week after the Soviet invasion (in 1968) was one of the best I have ever lived. I was proud of being Czech, it showed me what non-violent resistance of a people can do. In that week unarmed people in the hundreds of thousands were surrounding the Soviet tanks, talking to the soldiers in their own language. It was the only time we wanted to speak Russian. We said don't you see we want socialism of our own kind, a democratic socialism? I have seen Russian soldiers weeping with frustration. Everyone was helping everyone.

We were winning because no amount of tanks and soldiers could kill us. After a week the Communist Party leaders signed a capitulation, for they had no faith in us and that broke it. I say this to show why I'm deeply involved with the Western peace movement. Having been made stateless, I am a citizen of Europe.

Many of my fellow Czech exiles have accused me of being a duke for Moscow, which is silly. In charter 77, we ask for something, not just against something. Even the German Democratic Republic was forced to admit SS-20s were deployed on our territory. This broke the lethargy for the first time since 1968. First the Charter 77 leaders were rounded up and told not to speak out, threatened with 10-15 year prison sentences. Then the government went around looking for support for deployment. Usually they take around petitions and people support them because it's easier. This time there were whole factories where the workers flatly refused. These were expressly political questions, and it is not easy to do this in Czechoslovakia or East Germany. The official CP paper had to print an editorial protesting the deployment. The protest was so widespread it was considered wiser to mention it.

There is a petition circulating in Czechoslovakia saying that we protest the deployment of all nuclear weapons in all of Europe. It is tremendously courageous, and it is protesting both sides' missiles. Over 2,000 signed this. Signing a petition with your name, address and your job takes great courage. Your whole life can change, your children may be punished, like the dissidents. This is the physical beginning of a peace movement.

Thousands of youth are adopting an anti-nuclear stance, and again saying peace, love, freedom — youth who don't even remember 1968, and when 99% of Czech writers have been banished. The youth are grouped around punk rock groups, with Czech lyrics that are actually protest songs. Last year we had two demonstrations of about 400 young people that were brutally broken, but they were calling for peace and for freedom.

I have a message for you. Please don't betray this overcoming of barriers in people's thinking, this growing awareness that is also of the East European movement. We can't live in a mutilated Europe.

One thing I feel is not enough understood is the fact that if we are opposing nuclear weapons, I think all must see that the nuclear threat comes out of the cold war. We must smash the cold war. We can't say let's have the freeze first.

The Communist Party calls their missiles "the workers' bomb." I am from a worker's family. I don't want a bomb. No workers want bombs.

Thatcher and apartheid

London, England — British capitalism thrives on racism, Thatcher particularly knows the profitability of British capital of South Africa. She has eagerly welcomed a visit by South Africa's fascist Prime Minister Pieter Botha.

The trading links with South Africa, the banks, the gold, the diamonds, even the exported coal (in the midst of the miners' strike) are as lucrative as ever. Thatcher will also conclude a spy plane deal on behalf of British Aerospace. The United Nations 1977 arms embargo can easily be bypassed by arguing that the aircraft will be used as part of civil authority in coast guard work.

The depth of hypocrisy in Thatcher's racist Britain was again shown when a white South African athlete, Zola Budd, was immediately given British citizenship, as a guest of the very rightwing newspaper *The Daily Mail*. The British authorities have bent over backwards to make sure she could be on the British Olympic team. And at this very time a British Rugby team is touring white South African clubs and this may lead to Britain being banned from the next Commonwealth Games, as there is a ban on tours of South Africa.

The fact is, however, that South Africa's apartheid rules, that Thatcher wants to uphold, were set up by the British so that they could keep control of the land. And British capital, today, continues to govern South Africa's daily affairs. Thatcher's Britain drips with the blood of exploited Black labor.

For over 20 years the British ruling class had been frightened of inviting a South African Prime Minister here, though a lot of politicians (including a Labour Party visit in the mid-1970s) happily visit South Africa. Thatcher's cheeky invitation to Botha will be met by mass demonstrations. We will show her that fascists are not welcome here.

— Nigel Quinten

Who We Are and What We Stand For

News and Letters Committees, an organization of Marxist-Humanists, stands for the abolition of capitalism, whether in its private property form as in the U.S., or its state property form as in Russia or China. We stand for the development of a new human society based on the principles of Marx's Humanism as recreated for our day.

News & Letters was created so that the voices of revolt from below could be heard not separated from the articulation of a philosophy of liberation. A Black production worker, Charles Denby, author of *Indignant Heart: A Black Worker's Journal*, became editor of the paper. Raya Dunayevskaya, the Chairwoman of the National Editorial Board and National Chairwoman of the Committees, is the author of *Marxism and Freedom, Philosophy and Revolution* and *Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution*, which spell out the philosophic ground of Marx's Humanism internationally as *American Civilization on Trial* concretizes it on the American scene and shows the two-way road between the U.S. and Africa.

Where *Marxism and Freedom*, whose structure was grounded in the movement from practice throughout the 200 years from 1776 to Today, discloses Marx's "new Humanism," both internationally and in its American roots, *Philosophy and Revolution*, in recreating Marx's philosophic roots both in the Hegelian dialectic and in the actual revolutionary movements of his day, articulated these forces of revolution as Reason — Labor, Black, Youth, Women — of our day. By tracing and paralleling this age's 30-year movement from practice to theory with our own theoretical development for the same three decades, Marxist-Humanism in the U.S. has met the challenge of the "new moments" in the last decade of Marx's life by disclosing in them a trail to the 1980s. It is this trail, these paths of revolution — be it in the birth of a whole new generation of revolutionaries, including the transformation of Women's Liberation as an idea whose time has come into a Movement or the emergence of a whole new Third World — that form the content of *Rosa Luxemburg, Women's*

Liberation and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution.

This work challenges post-Marx Marxists to return to Marx's Marxism. At a time when the nuclear world is threatened with the extinction of civilization itself it becomes imperative not only to reject what is, but to reveal the revolutionary Humanist future inherent in the present.

News & Letters was founded in 1955, the year of the Detroit wildcats against Automation and the Montgomery Bus Boycott against segregation — activities which signalled a new movement from practice which was itself a form of theory. Vol. 1, No. 1, came off the press on the second anniversary of the June 17, 1953 East German revolt against Russian state-capitalism masquerading as Communism, in order to express our solidarity with freedom fighters abroad as well as at home. Because 1953 was also the year when we worked out the revolutionary dialectics of Marxism in its original form of "a new Humanism," as well as individuality "purified of all that interferes with its universalism, i.e., with freedom itself," we organized ourselves in Committees rather than any elitist party "to lead". The development of Marxist-Humanism in the U.S., 1941 to Today is recorded in the documents and on microfilm available to all under the title, *The Raya Dunayevskaya Collection*, on deposit at the Labor History Archives of Wayne State University.

In opposing the capitalistic, racist, sexist, exploitative society, we participate in all class and freedom struggles, nationally and internationally. As our *Constitution* states: "It is our aim . . . to promote the firmest unity among workers, Blacks and other minorities, women, youth and those intellectuals who have broken with the ruling bureaucracy of both capital and labor." We do not separate the mass activities from the activity of thinking. Anyone who is a participant in these freedom struggles for totally new relations and a fundamentally new way of life, and who believes in these principles, is invited to join us. Send for a copy of the *Constitution* of News and Letters Committees.

Toledo workers challenge Reagan: blockade plant, battle police

(continued from page 1).

another McDonnell-Douglass.

Many of us backed the cops when they were on strike last year. And look what they did on Monday. It was real police brutality. They beat people left and right, beat some bloody. They fired tear gas. You saw three cops beating on one worker, dragging him and hitting him.

One AP Parts worker left the rally after it was over and drove past the pickets and honked. The police followed him for about a mile, then stopped him, pulled him out of the car and beat and kicked him. They handcuffed him and beat him again, and called him names. They charged him with driving intoxicated and resisting arrest.

Another AP Parts worker got arrested in the street. They said he was throwing rocks. At the time the police were sending tear gas bombs into the crowd. I believe he was identified from the Knuckles shack camera on top of the plant. Knuckles has been photographing us, operating the gates, patrolling and looking for fights ever since the strike started. But on Monday, when we had 4,000 out here, they showed they are a bunch of wimps; they hid behind the police vans.

The press coverage of our strike has been the worst ever. You can't believe anything you read in the Toledo Blade. But the lowest thing they did was to print the names, ages and home addresses of the workers arrested on Monday in their paper. They are saying: you'll never work in Toledo again.

The day after the arrests, every one of us got a letter from Paul Putnam, the president of AP Parts, offering a reward for information leading to the arrest of workers who supposedly destroyed property and hurt people in the strike.

Story of 1934 Toledo Auto-Lite strike



Toledo, Ohio, 1934. Workers at the Auto-Lite company were on strike 4,000 strong fighting to get their union recognized by management and to win their first contract. A judge friendly to the company ordered that no more than 25 pickets could walk in front of the gates. Quickly the company brought in scabs until 1,800 were working inside and the strike seemed headed for failure.

But on May 7, 1,000 members of the Lucas County Unemployed League led by A.J. Muste showed that not only would they not scab, they would support the strikers. They broke the injunction and began mass picketing. Their numbers swelled to 6,000 by the third day and continued for two weeks.

When a bolt thrown by a scab sent a woman picket to the hospital on May 23, the pickets erupted, battling police tear gas, clubs and fire hoses with bricks and home-made slingshots. They forced the police to retreat and blockaded the scabs in the plant for 15 hours until they were rescued by the Ohio National Guard.

The next day the Guard fired into the crowd of strikers and supporters, killing two and wounding 25. But by then no force could stop the workers or keep them from victory. The company agreed to close the plants, and on June 1, 40,000 rallied at Lucas County Courthouse, where the unions of Toledo voted to call a general strike. On June 4, the company recognized the union and granted a first contract. Two years before Flint, Michigan made the CIO a reality, the Toledo Auto-Lite strike showed it could be done.

They say they will pay up to \$10,000 for this information. We call this the "Judas letter," and none of us are ever going to call their "Reward Line." Putnam said we are a "nameless and shameless mob." Well, they are the ones who are nameless and shameless. We don't even know who really owns the company. And then Putnam has the nerve to say he knows most of us personally. He sits up in his office. He wouldn't know me if he saw me on the street.

What we had down there at the rally Monday was union solidarity, like it should be. You had workers from Jeep and Dana and Teledyne and construction workers, all together. We didn't plan it. I was walking the picket line Monday morning — our regular shift — and when I went home that morning I had no idea 4,000 workers would show up to support us. I didn't even know there would be a rally. None of us did.

It was unity and brotherhood that brought people down there. Brothers, sisters, fathers, uncles. Everybody on strike here has people in these other plants, and they are worried that what happened here could happen to them. Yes, on Monday we put a railroad tie through a Knuckles truck and smashed up other things. We threw rocks to defend ourselves. We are fighting for our lives here.

"The reign of terror," March to May

Things had been building for three months before the contract ran out in early March. When they started negotiating in January, the company offered a package that included \$5.84 an hour taken out of wages and benefits. We had already given up \$1 an hour three years before, and now we were working six and seven days a week in overtime. We were looking to get some things back. The package they gave us was meant to change the whole agreement. When the contract ran out March 3, they just imposed their final offer.

About that time they hired Nuckols Inc. They put up stockades and they installed flood lights. They were planning on a strike from the beginning. They also began shipping machinery out to their non-union plant in North Carolina. They were all set for a long strike. They started taking applications from scabs.

We took a strike vote and voted to authorize a strike. But the union leadership said we could fight better from the inside. So on March 3 we held a big meeting and voted to go into the plant without a contract. That weekend they set up all the new security equipment outside the plant. They were ready for a strike. On March 6 they implemented their contract; they had "offered" us a 40% wage cut, no thirty-and-out, mandatory overtime. There was no posting on union bulletin boards. They started reprimanding people for "loafing." Often these were the hardest workers, and they were running 100% of production. But in that plant 100% production doesn't make it; they say they have to have 150-180% of production.

I never thought I'd see management become so evil; I think they were trying to get rid of us. They were writing people up for everything — you had to raise your hand to go to the john. There are some things that I just refuse to do, and that's one of them. I haven't raised my hand to go to the john since I was a kid, and I'm not about to start now. Even if they put us back to work, I won't come back because they treated us so inhumanly. There are just some things a human being can't do.

We stayed eight weeks under their conditions. They fired several of our people. Everybody got time off. I want to put in that all the good foremen, the ones sympathetic to us, got fired in this period. They didn't want to carry out the company's plans. There were about eight foremen who were fired, and they have been coming to the picket line during the strike.

Through this whole period of working without a contract, there were no negotiations. It was hell. That was a reign of terror.

On May 2 we walked out. We had demonstrations downtown at the company's building. They treated us like dogs, like immigrants. They want us to be like slave laborers.

End theft of Indian youth

On the Canadian radio show, "Our Native Land," I heard about a Manitoba Indian boy adopted over seven years ago by a white single man in North Dakota. The Child Protection Agency (CPA) accepted him as an adoptive parent because he was well-off. He took the boy home and abused him physically and mentally — raping him. After many years of this, the boy shot him. He was tried in the USA, found guilty of murder, and is now in prison. Manitoba Sioux are demanding that at least he be returned to Canada so they can look after him.

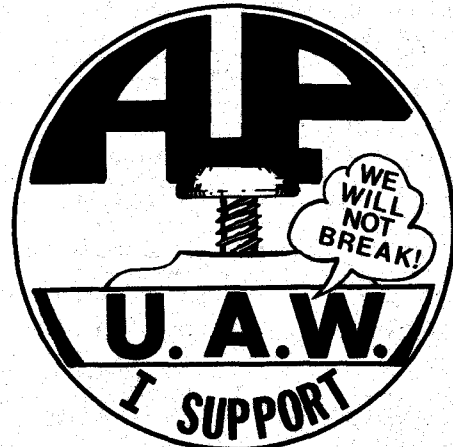
When I was growing up we used to hear the CPA putting out all these statistics. They attributed suicide rates among native people to our life style, to "slovenly living habits." The Public Health Service Indian Division doctors would often take babies from young girls and sell them. It wasn't just for the money; it was their attitude. When I was 11, I heard a doctor saying "Why would you let anyone live like that with those?"

The CPA always gave babies to white families; I never saw one go to a native family. It's more than just pushing people off the reservations; it's a genocidal policy. In the last few months, the CPA is saying they regret some mistakes they made. It's not from the charity of their hearts. It's from the attack on their policies by Native Canadian and Native American groups. We are demanding that they allow children to go to another Native home, that money not be the only thing considered. We are putting emphasis on Indian children knowing their own culture. It's good to see the agencies scared. We at least are making them do something a little different. — Shainape Shcapwe

The union even offered the company a package, not knowing whether they could even sell it to the membership, of \$3.40 an hour in concessions. But the company said no. The workers would have refused it, too.

There are only three women in the plant. But I want to say that all our wives picketed downtown, in our demonstrations. Last week a man who was on strike died. He had 27 years with this company. They wouldn't pay any benefits. All the company did was order flowers to be sent to the house. His wife and some other people took the flowers and brought them down to the picket line and threw them back over the fence and called the company murderers.

We held a rally for the strike at a park here in Toledo. One of the speakers was Baldemar Velasquez, the leader of the Farm Labor Organizing Committee (FLOC). He told us: "Welcome to the bottom!" That is the truth. Have you ever seen the conditions of migrant workers? That is where we



are all going if we don't put a stop to these companies and the concessions.

The guys who walk around with slide-rules and calculators are making the decisions for this company. They don't listen to us. Now we are told we have to pay for their screw-ups. We will never agree to their concessions. You have to have something to live for, and that is why we won't give in. It says it right on our button: "We will not break!" Then came Monday.

One worker's story

One AP Parts worker was arrested two days after the Monday rebellion as AP, Nuckols and the Toledo police proceeded to bring in more strikebreaking scabs. Here is his story from an interview a few minutes before he was arrested.

I was the first to be fired at AP. They said the reason was because I was loafing. That meant that I couldn't keep up production as a welder after I had asked to be put on another job. Because they had suspended the contract we couldn't bid on jobs any more, so they made me work at a job that I had asked to be transferred from because of health reasons.

AP's main plant is in Goldsboro, North Carolina. It's non-union and AP is trying to make the Toledo plant non-union. For years AP made replacement parts, then in the 70s they switched over to major parts assembly with the Goldsboro plant. In 1977 they began lay-offs. Some people, like myself, were out as long as four years. By 1981 they were back up to full production making major assembly parts of the exhaust system of the car. It was after that that AP began to move to break the union.

That's why they prepared in advance for confrontation. They brought in a professional strikebreaking security outfit from Cincinnati; they built a guard house on top of the plant; and they built a second fence around the plant. What AP didn't expect when negotiations broke down was that we would continue to come to work rather than go out on strike right away. So we were still in the plant. That was when they started to harass us and come up with reasons to fire us.

I have worked at AP for 17 years, and like many workers here I had been in the service during the Vietnam War. From Nixon to Carter to Reagan, the situation for working people in this country has gotten worse. Nixon made us fight his war in Vietnam and Reagan wants us to fight more of them. I can't see fighting somebody else's war. The only fight I have is right here at home for myself and my family.

You see all these guys out here on this strike, this is our cause. Our fight is right here and we have been supported by workers from all over Toledo. Workers have come from Cleveland and Detroit because everybody sees that if we are going to stop what began when Reagan destroyed PATCO, labor is going to have to take a stand here in Toledo. After Reagan broke PATCO they went after the Greyhound workers. It's clear now that the next target is the UAW. If we don't stop them here we can forget it. Everybody understands that, that's why workers came from all over this city on Monday to support us.

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BLACK WORLD

Literature and liberation

(continued from page 1)

banned ANC (African National Congress) during the 1920s and 1930s.

Skota founded the ANC's newspaper *Abantu-Batho* and in the late 1920s made the radical call for the ANC to convene a Pan-African congress in South Africa with the aim of linking the Black struggle there with others in the Black world. Along with being author of *Nkosi Sikelela i Afrika*, the African national anthem, Skota is regarded as one of Black South Africa's early modern writers.

The chairman of Skotaville Publishing is Es'Kia Mphahlele, the South African essayist, novelist and teacher, who returned to South Africa in 1977 during the Black consciousness upsurge sparked by Soweto, after 20 years of exile. Upon his return to South Africa Mphahlele immediately recognized the new objective/subjective situation created by the Black Consciousness movement. He criticized the older political leaders for claiming that they had organized the revolt from exile, and instead declared that "the students did it all on their own steam, driven by their own hurts and esteem of themselves."

Along with establishing Skotaville, Black writers have also revived the literary journal, *Classic*, published originally in the 1960s. In the first issue of *Classic*, Mphahlele wrote movingly of the world of exile and the meaning of return to South Africa where "life for an oppressed person is one long, protracted, agonizing compromise," but separated from which, the Black writer "cannot create a sustained literary work."

STRUGGLE, CULTURE DEFINE EACH OTHER

To break free of an imposed European literary and educational tradition to create a relevant literature that has the "purpose of promoting the liberation struggle" is how Mphahlele Mutlootse, one of the young founders of Skotaville, views the significance of the publishing house. Through such a "purpose" the writers at Skotaville feel that Black literature can truly reflect the Black community.

From the historical beginnings of Black literature in South Africa, when the first novel written by an African, Thomas Mofolo's *Chaka*, both took as its subject an heroic Black figure and was written in the author's native language of Sesotho, language, literature and liberation have developed inseparably. Thus, in 1976, the Soweto Rebellion had begun over the imposition of the oppressors language of Afrikaans as the medium of instruction in education.

Mphahlele had been quite eloquent on the relationship of culture to liberation in his 1971 introduction of the American edition of his famous novel, *Down Second Avenue*. In singling out the American Black struggle, Mphahlele concluded that it is not our "negritude" that will be brought to account in the struggle for freedom, but "mastery of the techniques for bringing down the white power structure that will count. And, I insist that this very struggle defines a culture . . . Culture and political struggles define each other, all the way."

That extended internationally through the Black dimension in literature in 1960, the year of the bloody Sharpeville massacre, when the famous African-American poet Langston Hughes collected a volume of African writing for an American audience. Hughes' anthology called *An African Treasury* showed such sensitivity to the new developing sub-

jective forces of liberation in South Africa that he led the way in publishing the voices of African women writers, such as Phyllis Ntantala's "Widows of the Reserves."

When she gathered her writings on Black women under apartheid into a single volume called *An African Tragedy*, Ms. Ntantala acknowledged Langston Hughes as "the great African-American poet and humanist, who . . . wished me success in my writing, adding also that if more women state the case of the African woman, perhaps we would get somewhere."

Not only intellectuals, but the masses have shown the greatest creativity with new forms of opposition as seen in the massive trade union movement whose human power, today, challenges the very capitalist foundations of apartheid; in the guerrilla strikes against military and economic installations; and in the internationalism expressed through the many support committees abroad working out linkages with other struggles.

Thus, whether as international outreach, as historic continuity, as the subjectivity of Black women's liberation, or as actual freedom struggles, the liberation of Black literature from the confines of an imposed European tradition of necessity marks the beginning of a literature of Black liberation.

Inner city health care

Chicago, Ill. — More than 100 health care workers and students attended a panel discussion, sponsored by the SCLC (Southern Christian Leadership Conference) in Chicago on the "Crisis in Health Care for Blacks and Minorities." Though the panelists were health care professionals who reported statistics on the latest health care situation in Chicago and nationwide, the one speech that was well received and deeply felt was given by a Black woman health care, have no health insurance and are forced to go to the saying, "I've been to many of these meetings, where we come to testify, but I must criticize many of the speakers tonight, because they lack the passion that is needed to fight the crisis we face." Rather than giving more statistics, she wanted to make us see the "flesh and blood" of these statistics.

She recounted stories of the women and children she had met through her work in the clinic and told us of the horrors that are involved when people can no longer afford clinic care; have no health insurance and are forced to go to the Cook County hospital. One of her stories included a pregnant woman: "I talked with a young mother who tried to self-abort 5 times because she refuses to lose her dignity by going to Cook County." She also told us how she carried babies to the hospital during the winter months. She wanted us to remember that women and children are the statistics that hospital bosses see on paper.

—Diane Lee

"If ever America undergoes great revolutions they will be brought about by the presence of the black race on the soil of the United States: that is to say, they will owe their origin, not to the equality, but to the inequality of condition." — Alexis de Tocqueville, Democracy in America.

Southern Black politics

Montgomery, Ala. — As far back as September, 1983, any average politician could predict that the Rev. Jesse Jackson would vie for the Democratic Party's presidential nomination. For Black Montgomerian politicians to say that they were taken off guard when Jackson announced is hard to digest.

The constituencies of some of these Black politicians . . . began to look for new leadership. Joe Reed, city councilman in Montgomery and head of the Black-wing Alabama Democratic Conference (ADC) of the State Democratic Party, lost one-third of his constituency, despite Rev. Jackson's coming to Montgomery to campaign on Reed's behalf, to Mrs. Corine Dunaway, a Black post office worker in the 1983 municipal elections. In every race, local and statewide, particularly in the Black belt, a contender from the people challenged the ADC-machine candidates. This Black-on-Black challenge signaled that being Black was not enough.

Black politicians, sensing the insurgency of the masses, moved from the color line rationalization to that of telling the masses that their candidates were not intelligent enough to handle matters of government. Twentieth century plantation politics took ironclad shape with Black politicians serving as overseers to whip the masses in line.

The stride toward freedom pattern since slavery has always been a process to maximize and concretize the gains for inclusion, for first class citizenship. These movement patterns without exception have been mass in character . . .

Since the world-shaking 1955-56 Montgomery Bus Boycott, there has been no significant people's movement in Montgomery to date. The people are admonished not to march as a means to express discontent. They are ridiculed if they even suggest a people-led demonstration as "undignified." It is reasoned that Montgomerians, after all, are the contemporary authors of "direct action" which reverberated around the world in the form of protest marches; therefore, it is incumbent upon Montgomerians in this period to be more "sophisticated" in their tactics to deal with injustices. Montgomerians are bombarded with rhetoric to make them feel ashamed if they dare replicate their 1955 creative approach to redress civil wrongs. Meanwhile, their gift of organized protest is hailed and practiced by progressive forces the world over as a means to advance democracy.

People who encounter injustices, particularly police abuse, are advised that these are personal problems and that they should "grin and bear it." Suffering injustices without redress has become a way of life. Democracy in Montgomery has not been advanced since 1956.

When it was proposed that African Ambassadors be invited to the 25th Anniversary of the Bus Boycott to be observed in Montgomery, SCLC welcomed the proposal, but MIA (Montgomery Improvement Association) vehemently rejected the proposal. MIA insisted that the observance be strictly Montgomery-oriented. MIA leaders have yet to understand and to appreciate that the Bus Boycott Movement served as a model for democratic action to fight for African independence. MIA has yet to see the linkage between African-Americans and Africans in the struggle against world-wide racism.

—Montgomery Black activist

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YOUTH

Academics trivialize Black revolutionary history

by Ida Fuller, Youth Columnist

The Reagan Administrations' crusade to change school text books has recently shown itself in every major report on education. Thus the latest commission on school federal funding concluded that a "greater discipline" can be imposed by re-writing school books.

Reagan's move to re-write history comes from his attempt to stop opposition to his capitalist-imperialist policies. But just as dangerous is the attitude of some liberal academics contributing to that re-writing by ignoring historic periods of revolt in the U.S.

Recently I took a class on Afro-American history and was shocked to find out that the professor gave the credit for U.S. slave emancipation, not to the revolts of the slaves leading to the birth of abolitionism, but to Abraham Lincoln. We were told that Abraham Lincoln emancipated slaves from the goodness of his heart and not from the pressure that Black struggles exerted on him.

In a further re-writing of history, our professor claimed that the American Black population supported the imperialist Spanish-American War. He thus totally ignored the opposition of Black anti-imperialist leagues of that period which related the fight against the war abroad to battling racism and lynching at home.

To challenge this re-writing, I read parts of an essay article on "Black Opposition to U.S. Imperialism at the end of the Nineteenth Century" from *News & Letters* (April 1984) to the whole class and received an exciting response from students who rushed up to get copies of *News & Letters*. They wanted to discuss the roots of Black anti-imperialism manifesting itself in opposition to the Grenada invasion today. The professor on the other hand, simply said: "I did not consider that period significant."

Contrast his attitude to history to a talk I heard given on the same campus by a Marxist-Humanist, Lou Turner, on "Black Consciousness from Garvey to Fanon to Biko." In taking up Garveyism, Lou Turner broke with the history book definition of it as a "Back to Africa Movement" and showed that its real essence was "freedom here and now" in the U.S. He did not dissolve that movement into Garvey's personality, but instead brought out its simultaneous race, class and sex consciousness as a ground for today. Furthermore the

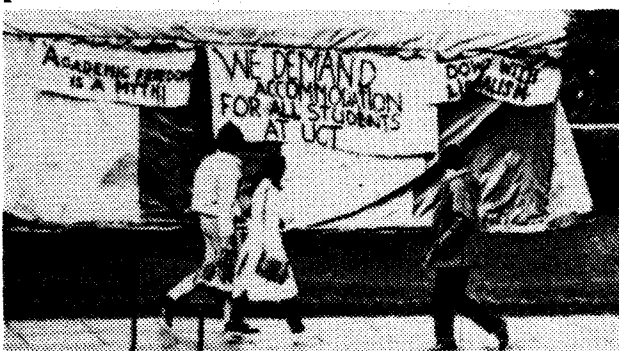
talk showed the internationalism of the Black movement in Garveyism's solidarity with the Latin American revolutions and in the three-way road of internationalism, masses in motion and ideas between the U.S., the Caribbean and Africa, especially South Africa.

The search of Black youth for these ideas could be seen in the comments of a young Black activist who found the Marxist-Humanist analysis of the Garvey movement very relevant for today. "The reason I'm in Jesse Jackson's campaign" he said, "is not because I believe in Jackson, who can't change much within this capitalist system anyway, but because the Black masses are moving. This is why I feel the need for ideas which can push the movement forward."

Another youth, a South African, appreciated hearing about the roots of Black revolutionary internationalism: "It was very much the self-activity and ideas of the American Black struggle that inspired our Soweto revolt." This interest further manifested itself in the Jesse Jackson demonstrations of the past month here in California.

Clearly, in this battle to rediscover our past for the sake of the present, it is not only Reagan who must be fought but all those historians who aid a burial of revolutionary movements by considering them "insignificant."

Youth in Revolt



Black students at the University of Cape Town, South Africa, pitched eight tents on campus in May, demanding adequate housing for Black students. The areas where apartheid laws force Blacks to live are far from universities; housing is overcrowded and dilapidated, and transportation is costly. Hundreds of Black students marched on campus calling for "Black workers and students to unite for better housing," and Black students at other universities expressed support.

Meanwhile, the government closed the elementary and high schools in Atteridgeville, which students have been boycotting since police killed a girl during a student strike (see January-February, 1984 *N&L*).

Anti-war activity continues in the Midwest, from Minneapolis, where about 300 people were arrested in a protest against weapons manufacture at Honeywell, including many supporters who had broken no laws; to Des Moines, where dozens created a human billboard opposing the re-commissioning of the USS Iowa as a nuclear missile carrier.

Beginning May 5, the third anniversary of the death of Bobby Sands in the infamous H-Block prison in Belfast, bands of youths in several cities of Northern Ireland attacked police stations and army patrols, throwing stones, gasoline bombs, and bottles. Police fought back, arresting 17 youths and injuring several others.

all, but the advance shock troops of the CIA.

In solidarity, comradely, Chris

I felt your May column in *N&L* contributed a great deal to the debate on Latin American support work which has been central to the movement as a whole since the invasion of Grenada. My experience right after Grenada was that while activists in the Bay Area threw themselves passionately into demanding U.S. imperialism out of Grenada and also stepped up opposition to Reagan's intervention in Nicaragua, few of the "independent Marxists" "had the time" to discuss what I think is the most urgent question: What was wrong with the very attitude toward Marxism within the revolutionary leadership in Grenada that could have left Bishop dead and an opening for Reagan's invasion? I especially want to know how could one who had so shown that he was with, and for, the masses — Bishop — yet feel that the differences among the leadership could be kept private from the Grenadian masses?

Many youth I know in the movement do want answers to questions like these and are very concerned with a philosophy of revolution. Yet so many of the self-styled left leaders in this country try to keep the movement in check by only calling for an end to U.S. imperialism. The speaker you reported on who did address Grenada acted as if the discussion of philosophy of revolution were unnecessary because mass spontaneity alone could guarantee the next revolution. If they want to limit the discussion of revolution in Central America, how will they relate to masses in motion — like the youth — in this country?

— Laurie Cashdan

Dead end jobs for youth

Detroit, Mich. — Last summer I worked in the Michigan Youth Corps, but I hope I don't have to do the same job this year because they worked us so hard. The girls worked picking up papers, with our hands, out in the hot sun.

I felt most sorry for the guys who worked in the fields (open lots), slinging scythes, cutting grass, out in the sun. It was such useless work. The city should have had a big mower out there, so we could do something useful, like planting gardens. My first year I worked at the pool watching kids and cleaning the floor on my hands and knees. But that was better than working in the fields.

This summer I hope they'll put me at the pool again, if they call me back. I have arthritis in my knee, and they worked us so hard in the outside job. I sometimes came home limping. They ignore it when we write things like this on our applications.

The supervisors treated us like we were nobody — unless we did everything they said, and were at their feet. Some kids were suspended just for acting smart, and some for saying that the work was too hard. When you get suspended, you usually can't work anymore that year. They replace you right away from the waiting list. A lot of kids had a hard time from all that work. And the supervisors always had more papers for us to pick up at the end of the day.

I think Governor Blanchard just wants to keep youth off the streets. He says it's an opportunity for youth to learn something, for our futures, but you don't learn anything except pulling weeds. There are few good jobs, and you have to know someone to get one of those. But the only alternative would be to work at a fast food restaurant, and you have to have connections for that too.

I could never start a bank account to save for my future on what they paid us — minimum wage. The sub-minimum wage Reagan's proposing now would mean only working for bread or breadcrumbs. Out of what we were paid, I had to save for school supplies, and school clothes, and I was also contributing to my household every week. To start a bank account you need \$100, and I couldn't save that.

We can't save, and in Detroit they want to close the public libraries, so it'll be hard to get books. And this mindless work doesn't develop us for the future. It's terrible the way youth are treated. They should take some machines out of the factories, and have people working instead of robots.

— Black teenager

Student protest actions: England and South Africa

London, England — Students at North London Polytechnic occupied and closed down their Department of Philosophy in protest over an organizer of the NF (National Front, a neo-fascist organization) attending their lectures. However, the fascist is now being escorted to college by 150 of his friends, the police, who knocked down barricades erected by the students and lined the corridors and lecture hall.

Several hundred sympathizers and students have since been demonstrating outside the college and several people have been arrested. A NF photographer was chased, knocked down and had his camera stolen after he had already given the police pictures of the student demonstrators. Fourteen senior staff members refused to identify those photographed, and so were summoned to appear before the High Court which had also prevented college authorities from banning this racist.

Neil Kinnock, leader of the so-called opposition to Thatcherism, supports the right of the NF to express their views, and the students were called "a vociferous band of law-breakers" by the lawmakers.

Six thousand pupils have been boycotting classes at six high schools near Pretoria, South Africa where angry students stoned the staff rooms. Eight hundred miles away in the Eastern Cape Town of Cradock, the boycott continues of seven local primary and high schools, and in the nearby town of Reinet most of the pupils have been struck off the register for having boycotted classes.

The initial sparks to these flames of protest, which are fueled by the inhumanity of South African apartheid, are varied — solidarity with a fellow student who was arrested, demands for a representative student council, protests against corporal punishment and the removal of a vice-principal, Mathew Goniwe — who is also chairman of a local residents' association in Cradock and a local Black leader.

He has since been arrested by security police to which students responded by increasing their action and overturning a school inspector's vehicle which was then set alight.

— Lydia A.

What direction for Central America solidarity?

Below are two excerpts from letters I received from a young worker in Ohio and an anti-war activist from San Francisco — Jim Mills, youth columnist.

In your column (May, 1984 *N&L*) you make several good points about the shortcomings in the U.S. solidarity movement. Your last paragraph is particularly important. As you say the question is not whether or not imperialism can be thrown out, but what will be the nature of the newly created state? Our function as I see it is to generate a broad-based opposition to Central American intervention — hoping to give the revolutionary forces breathing space.

It is easy to be too critical of the revolutionary movements in Central America, especially from a college campus in this country, or from any other safe, relatively prosperous position in this country. We have no right to selectively pick and choose who we will support in Central America. We must support ALL of the revolutionary movements, at the same time doing our best to stop U.S. support to the fascist forces in the region. Central America will be an acid test for radicals in this country. It is only logical that if you fail to support a progressive, revolutionary movement against fascism in Central America, then you will probably fail in the same way to support any similar movement of the working class in this country.

You mentioned the Grenada case — where one "Marxist" faction shot the other out of power and opened the door to the U.S. invasion. Grenada was a tragedy and another notch on Reagan's gun, but was Bishop the victim of an internal power struggle or a CIA fifth column? I am convinced that those who murdered Bishop were not Marxists at

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OUR LIFE AND TIMES

by Kevin A. Barry and Mary Holmes

It began on May 14, "the toughest fight" the West German labor movement has made since World War II, over the demand for 35 hours work for 40 hours pay designed to reduce the double-digit unemployment rate. The campaign centers on the union, IG Metall, concentrated in the auto industry. The movement built slowly, fighting reactionary capitalist propaganda all the way, including polls of workers by the media showing their supposed lack of enthusiasm.

Some union leaders have publicly "thanked" conservative Chancellor Helmut Kohl for angering workers by breaking a postwar tradition of public government neutrality in labor disputes, in order to attack the 35-hour proposal as crazy. They replied that the same reasoning thought 40 hours, and before that, 60 hours, to be "impossible." A surge of rank-and-file support for the proposal followed Kohl's attacks.

Christian Democrats have also attacked the Social Democratic Party (SPD) for being "the party of strikes." One leader became almost hysterical when the printers' union head publicly threatened to concentrate its selective strikes on the most anti-labor publications, and he started foaming at the mouth in the Bundestag about interference with press

200,000 strike throughout West Germany



Thousands of workers march in Bonn.

freedom, "demanding" the SPD do something about it.

By late May, major firms such as Honeywell, Daimler-Benz, and Opel were closed down partly or completely by either strikes or lock-outs following selective strikes. It is expected to be a long, bitterly-fought struggle, since so far

management will not even consider the demand for 35 hours.

Union solidarity is 100% — more than 200,000 workers — and picket lines at plant gates are merely symbolic. Management still seems stunned that this is happening to them in "peaceful" West Germany and unsure of what to do. Some argue that it is an influx of young anti-war workers and "militant foreign workers" who are behind this new type of labor movement.

At a small rally in Stuttgart, transport workers came out in solidarity with the 35-hour demand of the auto workers and against the government and employer "offensive." They had earlier shut down the tramways for 15 minutes to show solidarity with the labor representatives at the beginning of negotiations.

"We will not let them bring us to our knees, like in 1933. It is not a question only of reduction of labor time, but of maintaining our democracy," stated transport union leader, Manfred Kanzleiter. Another speaker demanded: an end to management's right to lock out workers, sending back the Euromissiles, and support for the people of Nicaragua and Chile, all to big applause. On May 28, thousands of workers marched on Bonn to show their serious intentions, but so far the nerve center of the movement remains in Stuttgart.

Food riots in Haiti

On May 21, mass food riots broke out in this famine-ridden country, less than a month after the food riots in the neighboring Dominican Republic. It began in the large town of Gonaïves, when a woman was killed by a soldier of the hated Duvalier dictatorship. Enraged townspeople attacked the central military barracks in the town, looted food warehouses, and burned stores and homes owned by government big shots.

CARE food sent for free distribution to relieve the famine had been openly sold in the streets or lay undistributed in the warehouses. Duvalier sent in the army who restored "order" by machine-gunning people.

On May 29, rioting spread to the country's second largest city, Cap-Haitien, a scene of many previous revolts. People had seen CARE trucks giving food to pigs while people starved. Rebels looted food warehouses, shouting "Pigs are being fed while people starve." Soldiers began to fire, killing at least five people. On June 1, riots over food also broke out in the town of Hainch.

A Haitian revolutionary-in-exile told us: "The main reasons for these riots are 1) 27 years of repression, 2) hunger, 3) government austerity plans, and 4) these people next door in the Dominican Republic. You have people, especially market women, going back and forth all the time between the two countries. The U.S. and the Haitian government are very worried. This is the first time in years that masses of people are revolting in the streets to protest hunger, repression and their miserable living conditions. A U.S. vice-admiral, Ralph R. Hedges, suddenly appeared on a three-day visit to Haiti beginning May 23. So we know American imperialism may have already been asked for help by Jean-Claude Duvalier."

(Information thanks to Haiti Information and Documentation Center and Haiti-Progres)

Banking crisis

The banking institutions of the world, which exist on the confidence that their depositors have in their ability to withdraw their funds on demand, is facing the greatest crisis in its history. When large depositors at Continental Illinois started withdrawing millions of their deposits, they started a run that could only be stemmed by a \$7.5 billion backup by the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation (FDIC) which is supposed to back only deposits of up to \$100,000.

In a period where literally hundreds of smaller banks are hard pressed for cash and have hundreds of "unproductive loans" outstanding, the FDIC has committed over 30% of its assets to bail out failed banks, and if hard pressed, could not meet its obligations to guarantee the funds of the depositors.

Internationally, dozens of governments, both in Latin America and in Europe are in essential default on loans that are in the billions and constitute a large part of the assets of America's largest banks. Outright repudiation of these loans could topple the entire banking system.

The International Monetary Fund and the World Bank struggle on a day-to-day basis to keep up the interest payments and defer payments of principle to the distant future,

but they demand a price. As a condition for extension of loans, they impose economic conditions on the countries involved that affect the daily lives of millions throughout the world. They demand restriction of imports, devaluation of currency, austerity on national budgets and are, in reality becoming a super-world government that regulates what national governments do.

Outside of repudiation of international debts, which is unacceptable to world capitalism, there is nothing that capitalism can do that will ever see these debts paid off, or the debt of the U.S. government of \$1¼ trillion dollars which grows week by week as Reagan wastes more billions on arms.

The irony of the situation is that capitalism cannot even permit the "communist" countries to go broke! European banks recently added a \$250 million loan to Russia while Poland and Yugoslavia have huge debts to U.S. banks. Loans are being made to mainland China and the good health of the "communist" countries is of deep concern to the banking world.

Irish anti-Reagan rally

Many groups gave Ronald Reagan a taste of rebellious Ireland on the recent campaign swing through his "ancestral" land. Some 10,000 demonstrators paraded through the streets of Dublin June 4, joined by families and other passersby. Shouting "Reagan! Out!" and singing "Go home, ya bum" to the tune of Auld Lang Syne, the protesters rallied near the Parliament building, as Reagan addressed the legislators.

Faced with double rows of steel barricades and walls of police, two and three deep, demonstrators cheered speakers denouncing U.S. foreign policy, especially in Central America. "What the Americans are doing in El Salvador and Nicaragua is just another form of tyranny," said a librarian marching with her family.

On May 26, before Reagan's arrival, 1,000 had marched through Dublin led by nuns called the Sisters for Justice who carried a coffin bearing the names of the four U.S. Catholic churchwomen murdered by Salvadoran army soldiers in 1980. The marchers carried a petition of 20,000 signatures opposing Reagan's foreign policy and presented it to their government.

Free Papua Movement

When the Great White Father, Pope John Paul II, recently stopped in Papua New Guinea, the ignorant Western press duly reported on how tribal people greeted him in traditional dress and dances. In fact, the Papuans have resisted religious colonization longer than most. The Catholic Church, after a century of missionary effort, still has to import over 90% of its priests from the West.

In neighboring West Papua (renamed Irian Jaya by the ruling Indonesian government), the Melanesian indigenous people are waging a life-and-death struggle for survival. Under "leftist" Sukarno, Indonesia took over this land after the Dutch pulled out in 1963, much the same as they militarily annexed East Timor under rightist Suharto after

the 1975 Revolution forced the Portuguese to leave. A group of West Papuan rulers colluded with the Indonesian government to formally join Indonesia in 1969.

Recently the Indonesian government began its own mission to, as they imperialistically declared, "bring Irian Jaya from the Stone Age into the 20th century." A campaign has begun to transport poor farmers from the island of Java, often against their will, along with government officials to settle in West Papua. What the Indonesian government calls converting "nomads running around naked" into settled farmers, the Melanesians call land piracy, out to uproot them and destroy their centuries-old culture. Hundreds have already been forced from their traditional lands.

A group which emerged in the 1970s to fight for self-determination — the Free Papua Movement (OPM-Organisasi Papua Merdeka) — has intensified its resistance in the face of this genocidal plan. Militarily, they often have to face the Indonesian Army, which is equipped by millions of U.S. dollars, with nothing but spears and arrows. In late May, the Indonesian Army stepped up its attacks by holding exercises with troops, ships and air support along the border with Papua New Guinea. Thousands have fled into Papua New Guinea seeking refuge.

The Pope had nothing to say on this self-determination movement. But 100 years ago, Karl Marx foresaw the long struggle when he praised an Australian Aborigine as "the intelligent Black" for rejecting all the missionary-colonizers' lies.

Philippines rural revolt

For more than a decade in the Philippines, the indigenous Igoro tribal peoples of the mountain provinces of the North, have been in the forefront of rural resistance to the genocidal thrust of the "development" projects of U.S. backed dictator Ferdinand Marcos and his World Bank-IMF overlords.

It was the Bontoc and Kalinga peoples in Ifugao and Mountain Provinces who for a full decade battled the government's projected Chico Dam, which would have driven them off their lands. They eventually forced a government retreat in late 1981, in what has been called the equivalent of the Philippines of the 1968 Tet debacle in Vietnam.

But in a typical Marcos-type "victory," 81 Igoro families of the tiny Ibaloi indigenous group had their land expropriated to make way for the Marcos Park, planned since 1976. Relocation of the displaced people was planned in the form of 45 cogan huts, located on a hillside in the park. The idea was to provide tourists with the spectacle of an "authentic Igoro village." However, with no electricity, no water, and no land to farm, the huts — except those of a few workers who were given jobs as caddies and gardeners in the park — stand empty and broken-down as erosion pushes them down the mountain.

In Brief . . .

GRENADA — The Maurice Bishop Patriotic Movement was officially founded as a political party by Kendrick Radix and other comrades of the martyred Bishop on May 28, the 40th anniversary of Bishop's birth. The new group has also launched a weekly newspaper. Its very right to existence is being challenged in a vicious McCarthyite manner by the Grenadian Voice, a new reactionary paper.

FRANCE — Two giant Citroen plants near Paris were occupied by workers for a week in May. At the Optalix transistor plant in Amiens, 250 mainly women workers — worried about a plant shut down — took 15,000 transistors out of the factory (value over \$200,000) and hid them "in a safe place" pending negotiations to make sure the plant stays open. Meanwhile, trains went on strike for a day, as workers on the national railroad demanded a 35-hour week.

JAPAN — Anti-war protesters marched and rallied in Yokosuka. They surrounded the ship base there to demand a halt to the projected deployment of nuclear-capable missiles on U.S. ships which use Yokosuka and other Japanese bases.

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Theory/ Practice NEWS & LETTERS

'Human Power is its own end'—Marx

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Sweatshops not economic recovery



by John Marcotte

Ronald Reagan's recovery is recovery for the rich. While corporations report record millions in profits, 35 million, or over 15 percent of the country live below the official poverty rate, the highest in 20 years. In my shop while our bosses drive around in the newest Cadillacs and take trips all over the world, we had to fight six months just to get a pair of cotton socks for our boots in the acid soaked plating room.

What kind of new jobs does this Reagan recovery offer? The poverty rate tells it all. They're not the better paying jobs that were lost to robots and plant closings. They just hired a dozen new workers in my shop. They're paying them \$3.62 an hour. Some have to travel an hour and a half each way to get here. They all spend \$22 a week on transportation. One of the new women leaves her three children home alone to come to

(continued on page 5)

Black World

Black women writers today



by Lou Turner

The new in the literature of Black women writers in both America and Africa impels a second look in order to work out how it relates to the earlier Harlem Renaissance writers and the present situation. The Black women writers to be briefly taken up here—Paule Marshall, Buchi Emecheta, Alice Walker and Phyllis Ntantala—present a critical dimension of Black thought in a body of literature expressing not only a bold originality of mind but a warmth of life embracing every aspect of the Black and woman's condition.

Distinct, however, from Black women writers from the Harlem Renaissance, the critique of existing social relations, especially personal relations, in the literature of today's Black women writers necessarily flows out of the political experiences of women in the Black movement of the last 30

(continued on page 10)

Reagan's Central American wars vs. revolutions in theory and practice



by Raya Dunayevskaya

National Chairwoman, News and Letters Committees

Editor's Note: The 1984-85 National Convention of News and Letters Committees met the second week of July. The opening address, *Marxist-Humanist Perspectives, 1984-85*, was delivered by Raya Dunayevskaya, National Chairwoman. Below we print brief excerpts from sections of this Thesis, *The Movements from Theory as well as from Practice vs. the great Artificer, Ronald Reagan, for whom the whole World is a Stage*. The full text of the Thesis is available from News and Letters Committees. See ad page 9.

To Ronald Reagan, for whom the whole world is a stage where he prances around with a smile on his face but armed to his teeth, this year's trip to the Summit was preceded by, and is being followed by, getting Congress to enact all his goals, whether it be on the MX missile and the astronomical deficits, or whether it be in playing up the "strong recovery." The real coup he recently engineered was the continuation of the stranglehold on Central America, specifically El Salvador. As initiated by his first Secretary of State, the war-hawk

Haig, who had declared El Salvador the center point of the global crises, this is continued by the soft-spoken but equally rapacious Shultz. The latest image Reagan had put over on Congress (who had heretofore not approved the money for El Salvador) was the presentation of Duarte as a democrat who would put an end to the death squads if only Congress would provide the money to help him "control the Army." That is the phrase used by Duarte for many a year now, and hardly for democratic purposes.

It is true that Duarte did not enjoy the confidence of the extreme rightist regime against whom he had won the election in 1972, that he had been arrested, tortured

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ON THE INSIDE

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News & Letters subscription drive begins

Nineteen eighty-four has been a year both of Orwellian overtones and of intense freedom action and thought. Ronald Reagan "jokes" about the annihilation of Russia, launches his war upon the peoples of Central America through surrogates like El Salvador's President Duarte, dictates to the world (along with the Pope) what are acceptable methods of population planning, and continues his offensive against the mass of American people through his union busting National Labor Relations Board, his anti-Black, anti-woman Justice Department and Supreme Court.

The other poles of world capitalism, Russia and China, continue their own forms of oppressive rule, whether in Afghanistan or Poland, or stifling dissent within their own respective countries.

As against these practitioners of unfreedom, East and West, there has been a blossoming of revolutionary deed and idea from all corners of the globe: the dissidents of Poland's Solidarnosc defiant still; the permanent rebellion within Southern Africa; Latin America's masses in outright insurrection from the southern cone to the isthmus of Central America. Within our country a "second America" — of Black masses' activity of which the Jackson campaign was but the tip of the iceberg, of labor militancy as in the Toledo rebellion of last May, of anti-Central American intervention youth, of women battling the feminization of poverty and the battering of women — continues to make its presence felt.

Nineteen eighty-four is a crucial year for us at News and Letters:

- We have moved both the publishing center of News & Letters and the organizational center of News and Letters Committees to Chicago after almost three decades of functioning in Detroit.

- We have issued *Marxist-Humanist Perspectives, 1984-85* from our National Convention. (Excerpts are printed beginning on this page.)

- Raya Dunayevskaya, the Chairwoman of the Na-

tional Editorial Board of News & Letters is completing an introduction to a new work, a selection of essays on Women's Liberation, to be published by Humanities Press in 1985. This will be an extension of the living Marxist-Humanist body of ideas which has created three major works — *Marxism and Freedom, Philosophy and Revolution* and *Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution* — as our view of Marx's Marxism and its rearticulation for our day.

- This fall we will be holding classes in each of our locals which will combine a look at objective events over the past ten years and the Marxist-Humanist methodology which has both analyzed those events and singled out revolutionary pathways forward.

AND WITH THIS ISSUE OF NEWS & LETTERS WE ARE LAUNCHING A SUBSCRIPTION DRIVE AS WE BEGIN PUBLISHING IN OUR NEW HOME, CHICAGO.

News & Letters is the only journal in the world which presents a Marxist-Humanist analysis of global events and presents all the voices of revolt, writing reports of their own actions and ideas. At the same time News & Letters refuses to separate this analysis of objective events, this presentation of freedom activists speaking for themselves, from the working out and presentation of a philosophy of freedom, Marxist-Humanism, within our pages.

Three columns help to tell what kind of a paper we are: *Theory/Practice* by Raya Dunayevskaya presents the theoretic-philosophic framework of Marxist-Humanism within our paper. *Black World* written by a young Black intellectual, Lou Turner, presents the Black dimension as national/international, as thought/deed. *Workshop Talks* is written by two workers, Felix Martin, a worker with almost two decades experience in the auto shops, and John Marcotte, a young worker whose experience has been in smaller production shops, working side by side with immigrant workers from many Third World countries. In addition there is a Women's

Liberation page and a Youth page, each written and edited by activists in those movements.

With this issue of our paper we are launching a subscription drive which will run through December 31. You as News & Letters readers can become a part of our drive. You can participate by first, of course, subscribing yourself if you have not already done so. You can buy gift subscriptions for your friends who you think would like to read this paper, or for a library which you want to carry this paper. You can send us names to be sent a sample copy of News & Letters to see if they would want to subscribe. Perhaps a bookstore where you live might be willing to carry a small bundle of papers each month and you might visit such a store with News & Letters in hand and ask them to order it.

Finally, you can send us suggestions of groups—union locals, community groups or activist solidarity organizations—where we might be able to give a short talk about our newspaper.

Please let us hear from you on your ideas.

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WOMAN AS REASON

The following are excerpts from a review of *Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution*, written by Michelle Landau, and a letter on Raya Dunayevskaya, the book's author, written by Terry Moon. Both were published in full in the August-September issue of *off our backs*.

...Dunayevskaya's tracing of Luxemburg's feminist dimension is no scholastic matter of isolated quotes, nor is it a psychological reconstruction of what Luxemburg "really" felt. Rather, it is that today's Women's Liberation Movement has given Dunayevskaya new eyes and ears to see both Luxemburg's greatness and her shortcomings; it is that for Dunayevskaya, the dialectics of revolution...can never again be kept in a separate compartment from Women's Liberation....

It is (the) urgency for social revolution that animated Luxemburg's vision, action, thought, and speaks to us today, for surely social revolution is needed if we are ever to end this nightmare world. It was the dialectics of the 1905 revolution in her native Poland—when the masses in motion were a "land of boundless possibilities"—that drove Luxemburg to new heights, in everything from actual participation in the revolution to her pamphlet summing up those experiences, *The Mass Strike, the Party and the Trade Unions*....

And yet...both on the "Woman Question" and on spontaneity, Luxemburg failed to follow through and develop her insights. Thus, by 1910, when she was mercilessly exposing the opportunism of the SPD leadership and they responded with vicious, personal, sexist attacks (in private, but doubtless known to her), Luxemburg studiously maintained what Dunayevskaya calls a "tone deafness" to male chauvinism. Moreover, she remained a member of the party she saw degenerating: "The worst working class party is better than none...."

TODAY'S WOMEN'S MOVEMENT

One of the greatest achievements of the contemporary Women's Liberation Movement, Dunayevskaya argues, is the break with the 1960s Left which told women to wait until "after the revolution" to raise feminist demands. But has the revolutionary potential inherent in that break been followed through? Dunayevskaya considers this problematic in "The Task that Remains to be Done: The Unique but Unfinished Contributions of Today's Women's Liberation Movement," by taking the reader on an exciting historic journey....

These pages are alive with individual women, from Maria Stewart, Margaret Fuller and Sojourner Truth in the 19th century, to Ding Ling, Fannie Lou Hamer, and

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Mukta's 'wedding'

Editor's Note—In the last issue of *News & Letters* a feminist correspondent from Bihar, India had written us about forms of marriage in that country and the story of a friend, Mukta. The following are excerpts from a letter about Mukta's wedding.

How shall I start today? My heart is still heavy after Mukta's 'wedding.' About a month ago, Mukta along with her female cousin Laxmi went for a feast to another village. In the house where they were staying, the family put "sasan"—turmeric powder—on her as a sign of marriage. Just like that, nobody asked her whether she wanted to get married to the boy in the family or not. But she did not want, and in the night she called Laxmi and decided to run away. It was a village right in the jungle and going away in the night was dangerous.

They reached home and after a few days overheard that the family of the boy was coming to 'take' her back. She ran away to some other village and stayed there for a few days until the storm was over and the family of the boy had gone back. At that time, both families discussed it and agreed to the wedding. Mukta's mother told them, "We like it—you can take her anywhere you find her."

When she came back I asked her do you want to get married? She said "No." Do you like this boy? "No." Why? "Because he is illiterate and I would like somebody who could teach me a little every day. I want to learn." Mukta has never been to school but through informal education she has managed to learn reading, writing, stitching and some nursing.

Everytime we met at that stage I tried to communicate to her that she was responsible for her own life, that her future was in her hands and no one could force her to do anything she did not want. She kept repeating, "I cannot bear everybody getting angry at me and later on if I am in difficulty they will leave me alone, they will not help me, saying that I did not listen to them. I will have to go."

The day of the wedding came. When I went to her house, she was crying loudly and bitterly as women usually do at the burial time. She was just being pushed away by a group of people of the village. She was stopping again and again after every step.

Everybody from the village gathered near her home. She bid farewell to every child, every woman, everyone. Some young girls went to accompany her and leave her in the new husband's house. I still can see her in my mind going away, crying and crying; this was her 'wedding' day! I heard some men telling her, "This is our custom, women have to leave the natal village. This is the way it has always been done in our society." This is the patrilineal, patri-local, patriarchal society so cruel to women. I have never seen such a painful wedding day. I know that some men in the village blame us because we are 'teaching' the women some things that 'take them out of their culture.' I feel really rebellious and angry today! and helpless!

—P.

Dunayevskaya discussed in feminist press

Maria Barreno in the 20th. And in the category "Individualism and Masses in Motion,"...she shows us...the March 1917 Russian Revolution initiated by women textile workers on International Women's Day...the 1929 "Women's War" in what is now Nigeria...Black women in the South of the 1960s and women in Iran, 1979.

'MALE' VERSION OF MARX

...Dunayevskaya critiques Women's Liberationists for too easily accepting the "male" version of a truncated Marxism that obscures not alone Marx's writings on Women's Liberation but the totality of his philosophic methodology....

This book...lays challenging ground for addressing the questions we confront in our activity, whether on form of organization, the relationship between Women's Liberation and other forces of revolution, or the relationship between social revolution in America and "solidarity work" with the Third World....

—Michelle Landau

Dear Carol Anne Douglas,

...I too had many disagreements with Allison Jaggar's book, *Feminist Politics and Human Nature*, most of all her insistence on truncating Marx....You write in your review of Jaggar's book that "a number of East European Marxists have written since the '60s that alienation is possible under socialism (or some state controlled forms of it — the existing ones)." You further state that "socialist feminists do not advocate that kind of socialism. But their theory does not account for its existence...."

I wish you would have mentioned the one woman revolutionary philosopher whose theory not only takes into account the "experiences of hundreds of millions of people" in Eastern Europe, but whose theory does account for the existence of oppression in so-called socialist countries. In the 1940s Raya Dunayevskaya worked out the theory of state-capitalism from a revolutionary

Victory in Tokyo

Tokyo, Japan—Four feminists, who were outraged at a sexist advertisement placed on railway trains by Kodansha Ltd., one of the major publishing houses in Japan, won a major victory here. The ad "was graphic; a male hand holding chopsticks as they picked at a female breast, very much the way a Japanese businessman would poke at a piece of raw fish." While the slogan of the ad was allegedly "Father also enjoys reading," Japanese characters with double meanings were used so that the true meaning was "Men enjoy women's bodies from end to end."

The four women, all school teachers and members of the International Women's Year Action Group, sent a protest letter to Kodansha on May 21 and met with a manager and other employees on May 25. They demanded immediate removal of the posters and a pledge against future ads which dehumanize women. Within days of the protest, all posters were removed and an apology was issued. One of the activists, Mariko Mitsui, summed up the situation: "Japanese public transportation is clean and free from graffiti, but you see, full of sexist messages." The women feel that this victory is one which can be duplicated in future protests.

Information for this article was received from the publishers of *Feminist Forum*, who requested that it be reprinted. Contact them at Tokiwa-so; 28-19 Kamochiai 2-Chome; Shinjuku-ku, Tokyo 16; Japan.

Berkeley cleaners' strike

Berkeley, Cal.—We, the women of the Laundry & Dry Cleaning Local 3, have been on strike against David Mathis, the owner of Virginia Cleaners, for five weeks now. He refuses to renew our union contract. We're only asking 17 cents an hour increase in wages and 23 cents for health and benefits. He wants to freeze our wages for three years and take away two paid holidays.

I have never walked a picket line before and now I see what tremendous support we're getting from the clerical workers at the university, for example. A lot of people are turning away. Some people ask if it's OK to go in just to pick up their clothes. We understand that workers cannot buy new clothes because of our strike. What we are asking people is not to carry their dirty clothes in until we get it settled.

Those inside really hate it when people drive by and honk for support and we yell back. They can't stand the ruckus. Mathis is hurting. We used to work five days a week, 8+ hours a day. The scabs, some of them our union members, unfortunately, have been going home early. No work. The strike against the store in Oakland lasted two or three days and the owner signed the contract. Everybody there walked out. The managers tried to run the business themselves, but they just can't do it.

What it will take here is a lot more long hours on the picket line, a lot more hurting. They are trying to bust the unions all across the country, even in other countries. Other strikes have been dirty and violent. It all goes back to Reagan. Cops have been called on us numerous times. In the first week the cops were here every couple hours all day long, the whole week. On Saturday they even had a paddy wagon.

We women need to unite to get some respect. We don't know how long the strike will last, but we're prepared to stay out as long as it takes.

—Laundry worker

perspective using the categories in Marx's *Capital* and Russia's own statistics. Why are we pretending in 1984 that that hasn't happened?

NEWEST ARTICLE

To begin to try and correct that, I would like to look closely at the latest article by Raya Dunayevskaya: "Marx's 'New Humanism' and the Dialectics of Women's Liberation in Primitive and Modern Societies" published by *Praxis International*, Vol. 3, No. 4, January 1984...a Yugoslavian dissident journal that asked Ms. Dunayevskaya for this article....

What is key about the form of this article is that Dunayevskaya wants to look at "Marx's Marxism as a To-

(continued on page 4)



**women-
worldwide**



Half a world away from Argentina's Mothers of the Plaza de Mayo, Lebanese women and their families shut down Beirut, July 9, demanding government action to find and release thousands who have disappeared in this war-torn land. With pictures of their missing relatives pinned to them, women in both Moslem west and Christian east Beirut blocked roads with burning tires, trees, iron bars and bricks.

The victim of last year's gang rape in New Bedford, Mass. has been forced to move, due to harassment of her and her whole family. Her lawyer said her "life in exile" was "a fifth sentence in the case." The Rape Crisis Center has set up a Jane Doe fund to help pay her expenses. Contact: the New Bedford Women's Center, 252 Country Street, New Bedford, MA 02740. Meanwhile, the four convicted rapists are appealing for a new trial.

The largest nurses' strike in history ended July 9 in Minneapolis-St. Paul, Minn., after 39 days, with an agreement on the key issue of hospital-wide seniority rights, but the 6,300 strikers from 16 hospitals still face an uncertain job future. Many hospitals said they might call back only 10-20% of the nurses, and a representative of the Minnesota Nurses Association cited "considerable difficulty" getting hospitals to bring back nurses according to the new agreement.

More than 15,000 women—mostly miners' wives—rallied in London, Aug. 11, in support of the five-month-old British miners' strike, pausing in front of Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher's office in "silent protest." Earlier, a petition signed by 20,000 women from mining communities demanding that Queen Elizabeth support the coal miners was presented at Buckingham Palace.

Women's jobs drydocked in naval shipyard

Bremerton, Wash.—With all Reagan's military buildup, the Puget Sound Naval Shipyard (P.S.N.S.), one of the major shipyards in the country, employing around 10,000 people, is not expanding job-wise at all. The job situation hasn't been so bad since the problems at Boeing more than ten years ago. Production depends on the overhaul of giant aircraft carriers. The Ranger, docked here now, is supposed to be around for about a year, and then no major jobs we know of are scheduled. We've heard talk of Reduction in Force and forced leave.

I have about eight years seniority. I'm worried about keeping my job, and yet they will hire lowest salary-grade clerks to run a new computer system they are planning for my department.

Women have great difficulty getting into the higher paid blue-collar jobs today. One woman managed to get in ten years ago by putting only her initials on the job application. She was hired with a large group of beginners, or helpers. When she showed up to work they said, "But you're a woman!" They kept her, but put her on garbage detail, making \$3.40 per hour. I was hired into a GS category the same year at \$3.08 per hour. Great changes have occurred in those years as the spread in pay between white-and blue-collar has increased drastically. And today many women are stuck in the white-collar, even though they are sole support of the family.

It is not that there aren't many women who would just as soon stay in white-collar as change to blue-collar. But they make it impossible to make a living wage, and you're stuck.

P.S.N.S. worker

Time-off key in NYC hospital strike

New York City, N.Y. — On July 13, 52,000 hospital workers struck 30 hospitals and nursing homes here, when the League of Voluntary Hospitals refused to meet the demands of Hospital & Health Care Employees District 1199. The union initially demanded a 10% wage boost for each year of the two year contract and, for workers whose jobs demand seven day coverage, an assurance of every other weekend off (EOWO).

The League, which includes the largest non-profit teaching hospitals in the area like Columbia Presbyterian, St. Luke's-Roosevelt and Montefiore, feigned shock at union demands and offered instead 4%. Doris Turner, President of 1199, called that phoney and "insulting" because the increase was to take effect three months into the contract, so in actuality it would be less than 3%.

The League tacitly admitted this by subsequently offering a "real" 4%, but refused to consider honoring the EOWO, which is pertinent to about 20% of the striking workers. Fifteen days into the strike the union submitted the League proposal to its membership who turned it down 20 to one.

In the sixth week 15,000 workers overwhelmingly rejected another League offer which still did not guarantee EOWO. The League then threatened to hire replacements for all the strikers.

In most of the hospitals being struck the RNs are not 1199 members, but have their own association, which has voiced support for 1199's struggle.

In the past when the League hospitals were threatened with a strike they made arrangements to move patients to non-struck hospitals and cut back services, admissions and elective surgery. This time they have sought to maintain business as usual by overworking their non-union staff, hiring per diem and temporary workers, beefing up hospital security with private rent-a-cops and calling in all their regular altruistic volunteers who are a part of every hospital population.

'Worse Than A Sweatshop'

The reason the strike has lasted so long is that the average person out here is much more intelligent than they think. We know the hospitals are aiming to get rid of the old workers and bring in new ones at less money. They've been hiring "volunteers" at \$10 per hour. The State Manpower has also sent them "temps."

The working conditions are not good in there. There is too much "bossism." You know what a sweatshop is like? This is worse. It's a shame. St. Luke's is one of the "big five" volunteer hospitals, one of the richest in the country, affiliated with Columbia University. Yet, nurses' aides wear disgraceful clothes, what I call "cin-

Paper products hell

Chicago, Ill.—The company installed a new press for a paper products line which combines several operations, and hired additional workers to run it. The machine was started up at full speed on the fourth day of operation.

The engineer made it clear that "this line should never stop except in case of emergencies." But the workers couldn't keep up. The woman at the head of the line didn't have time to throw off the bad sheets as she caught them, and the next woman couldn't straighten the torn and crumpled stacks. Some of the strippers were arguing with the supervisor that they wanted to strip more sheets at a time, but he yelled back that smaller amounts would be faster. The conveyor continued to run although the stripped forms were falling off the end of the line.

After one woman had been struggling for at least an hour, the engineer came up close and said, "Your job is to make these stacks as straight as possible, so things will go easier down the line." But one of the strippers yelled, "Take it easy. You can only do what you can do."

This type of production and the accompanying speed-up is nothing new in the world, but it seems to be new to this plant. The essence to me is that the rate of work is set by the speed of the machine, which is in turn controlled by supervisors and engineers. Workers are forced to do what they can't do now, but will learn to do. That becomes the expected rate and mode of work, not only for those workers, but for all who come after. Individual styles of work are eliminated. Quantity becomes the sole concern.

Marx was certainly correct when he wrote, "At the same time that factory work exhausts the nervous system to the uttermost, it does away with the many-sided play of the muscles and confiscates every atom of freedom, both in bodily and intellectual activity. The lightening of the labor, even, becomes a sort of torture, since the machine does not free the laborer from work, but deprives the work of all interest."

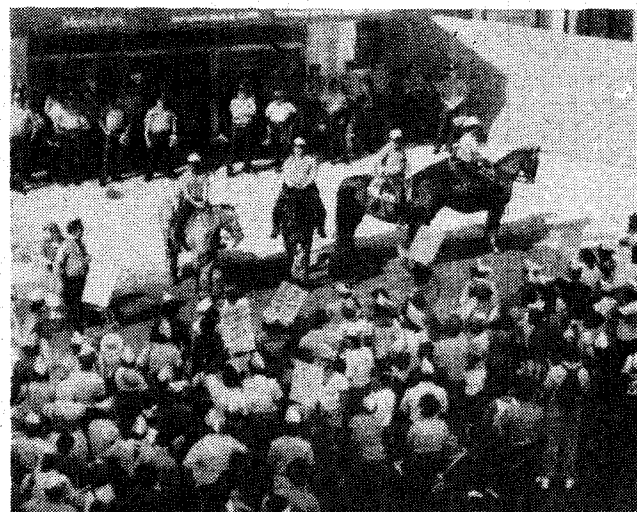
—Woman worker

der dresses," like Cinderella. Old, faded yellow dresses, meant to demean people. Why not white? That's the color for nursing.

They have cut the staff here until it seems I'm often doing the work of three people. Yet they have a campaign to make sure every bed is filled. An aide is responsible for eight patients, plus has to run all the errands. We want every other weekend off, because the job is too taxing.

The mood today is "fire the workers." The country is hitting rock bottom. I've seen how the mood in the hospital changes with the political reign.

—St. Luke's nurses' aide



Striking hospital workers confronted by mounted police

'Be Fair To Those Who Care'

Five thousand hospital workers rallied in midtown as their strike entered the third week. The crowd overwhelmingly Black and Latino, was well fired up even before the speeches started. Many had come directly from the scores of picket lines around the city where they have been confronting attempts by the hospitals to expand operations.

Picketers have faced urine and filthy water thrown from hospital windows and on several occasions picketers have stormed entrances to be fought back by the police. The rally had many solidarity delegations from other unions, and 1199 was selling buttons that said, "Reagan is hazardous to your health."

One woman who works as a nurses' aide in the Bronx said, "The hospitals are trying to pit us against the patients and create a backlash. But I think the patients understand that this strike is for their dignity as well as ours. Fair treatment for those who do the work must be the basis of patient care. That's why we are saying, 'Be fair to those who care.'"

At the end of the rally the strikers decided to march to the Roosevelt Hotel where negotiations are being held. Saying that they didn't have a parade permit, the police tried to make a roundabout route there. Instead the crowd surged directly up Fifth Avenue, blocking all traffic for nearly an hour.

—Strike supporter

Stop St. Mary's lay-offs

San Francisco, Cal.—Service Employees' International Union, Local 250, the Hospital Workers Union, is conducting an informational picket line at St. Mary's Hospital to publicize the massive lay-offs of the members of our union and to gain support. They will be laying off another 33 nursing assistants in September.

The lay-offs started two years ago when over 80 nursing assistants, food service workers and housekeepers were let go with only a week's notice and a letter on how to file for unemployment. By now they are laying off people with over 20 years service, mostly women and minorities, generally the lowest paid hospital staff. One man has just been told he is no longer qualified to do the work he has been doing for the past 17 years. Of our 400 members they laid off 150.

It is clearly a union busting tactic. They are replacing the nursing assistants with registered nurses. They claim economic reasons are behind these lay-offs, but they are expanding into new buildings, hiring more assistant administrators and paying the administrators \$142,000 a year, while nursing assistants get \$20,000 a year or less.

Six months ago an administrator actually said that lay-offs are good for people: "It allows them to get in touch with themselves and to find new careers." The management simply does not care about the workers, in fact it's past not caring: they are callous, cruel and vicious.

The union has not been successful in stopping the lay-offs. In a lot of instances there was acceptance of management's position or reliance on legal process. The membership, around 150 of us, went down to the union hall to demand that something be done. So now we are picketing.

What we have is corporate health care in this country. It's health care for the pocketbook, not for the people who need it. People need to be united, to find a way to help each other, a way to create some kind of action in the country. People need to put aside the minor differences they have and bring democracy to this supposedly democratic country in whatever form that takes: civil rights, anti-war or labor movement.

—Hospital worker

Store clerks say no to part-time starvation

by Felix Martin, Labor Editor

In early August retail supermarket clerks in the United Food and Commercial Workers here in Los Angeles jeered and booed their union leadership at a mass membership meeting for trying to sell them another concession contract. The workers ended up voting down the contract by 51%, but the union is now saying a new vote has to be taken through the mail because a lot of workers supposedly didn't vote.

The truth is that the union leadership was surprised at how angry workers were at the contract, which would allow a two-tier wage system to come into supermarkets for some new-hires and freeze the guaranteed work week at 16 hours—instead of the 30 hours many workers demand. The workers are saying that a month earlier they voted 95% to go on strike if they didn't get a decent contract, so why do they have to vote a third time on the same issue?

NO BENEFITS

What concerns these supermarket clerks most is the question of a guaranteed work week and seniority. Many work less than ten hours a week—so they get no pension or medical benefits. One woman told me, "I used to work a 40-hour week and then they cut me down to 30 hours. I look around at all these new-hires who are working 15. Soon they might cut me down too. Why can't we get a guaranteed 30-hour week, with no cut in pay?"

A Latino worker told me the other major issue is seniority rights: right now management can transfer a worker from one store to another, without keeping seniority status. That way, a worker working a 40-hour week can get transferred and end up working 16 hours.

It was because the union leadership was ready to "compromise" with management for a guaranteed 16 hour week and a two-tier system paying 5% of the clerks \$4 an hour less than scale, that they were booed at the mass meeting in Long Beach. One worker told me, "The union leadership pulled the same thing on the workers at McDonnell Douglas this year. Why do we have a union leadership that allows workers to get divided into two tiers? Who are they working for anyway?"

WHY VOTE AGAIN?

What workers were angriest about was having another vote on the same agreement, just because the union leadership lost the vote. A lot of workers told me they didn't trust the mail vote, because that way the union leadership has all the ballots in their hands and can make the vote come out the way they want. This is just what happened to the Greyhound strikers, when they had to mail their ballots to Arizona.

In my last column I wrote that workers need a shorter work week in order to live—especially when they are being worked overtime while their brothers and sisters are unemployed. But now I also see that workers cannot live on the shorter work week management is trying to bring in as part of the concessions.

Management hopes cutting workers' hours will save them a fortune in paying out benefits. That the union leaders have yet to take a strong stand on this issue shows how little they understand how permanent the drive for concessions has become.

Many workers, however, do understand that. "It is about time we stopped talking to ourselves, and get together with other workers facing this pressure for shorter hours," one worker told me. As more and more contracts come due in more industries, that becomes more important than ever.

Safety's price at Union Oil

Rodeo, Cal.—The explosion that killed 11 workers at Union Oil near Chicago really woke us up here in Rodeo. When you go into work you don't know if you're going to come out alive. Our plant has a real good safety record so far and everyone seems to go all out and cooperate when it comes to safety.

A loose bolt or gasket might not show up right away but with several thousand pounds of pressure and over 1000 degrees heat you're going to have a mechanical breakdown occasionally. Our job is to walk around and look for that. But there's no way to know when a pump is going to break down. It's like knowing when you are going to get a flat tire.

You have to hope you'll catch it so the fire won't get away from you. Sometimes you might hear a leak, but a lot of times it just goes without warning. They've been taking x-rays of towers here to find thin spots, because what leaked in Chicago was a tower weld releasing butane. They couldn't contain it, and when that happens it's like a bomb.

Our plant is pretty new so they go all out for safety. They'd rather spend \$10,000 now on maintenance than \$10 million to replace the whole thing. The Tosco refinery in Martinez here is real old and they keep burning it down. They killed two or three workers about a year ago. They're heavily in debt with a lot of pressure from the bankers and rather than lose production they'll keep patching old lines.

Even though they are a lot more safety-minded here we feel like they care more about their capital than us, because we can be replaced a lot cheaper.

—Union Oil worker

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Raya Dunayevskaya, Chairwoman,
National Editorial Board

Charles Denby Editor (1955-1983)
Felix Martin Labor Editor
Eugene Walker Managing Editor

Mexican workers in U.S. tell of conditions

Chicago, Ill.—I'm a young woman from Mexico visiting members of my family who have come to the United States to live a better life. Today they live in a community where the poor hang around together, living in trailers, paying rent for the land the trailers are on.

They live fairly modestly, having a bed to sleep in, a stove to cook on, a refrigerator to store the little amount of food they have to make it through the week and a TV to entertain so their minds don't have to think about the disgusting jobs at the plants.

Almost everyone in this community southwest of Chicago came from the rural section of El Fuerte, Michoacan and worked in the harvest. Now they work in plants getting no more than five dollars an hour. This is not enough. Women in the community stress the difficulty of living, especially after they realize the promises of the landowners are vague.

One woman who lives in the trailer park said, "The owner promised there wasn't going to be an increase in rent to those of us living in trailers we own. Before we bought them we thought that they would make our survival less expensive, but it is a lie. Some of us started paying less than \$100. Now rent is over \$100 per month. Life is as difficult as ever even though at first it seemed easier."

"The utilities are over \$50, which is too much. Most of us don't have air conditioners, nor appliances that would use up energy. In fact our homes are very hot at this time of the year."

Another woman spoke to me of her work experience: "I have been working in the potato plant for almost 10 years. I started at minimum wage and now I get \$4.50 an hour. I have been waiting for all these years for better working conditions. When I began at the plant I had an incident with the supervisor. I didn't know what I was supposed to be doing at first, so I did the same thing as other workers did, which was to peel potatoes. I saw the workers sweeping up before leaving so I began to do so. The supervisor came behind me very mad, grabbed the broom from me so roughly that 'a piece of meat' was torn out of my arm. Then she threatened to fire me if I spoke up."

"With a cut arm I couldn't work comfortably. The liquid from the potatoes irritated my cut. But if we have any problems, injuries, they kick our rear end and send us home. They never want to hear about a problem, which is always our problem. They tell us to come back when we feel better."

"Recently I asked for my vacation, but the boss refused because I refused to work the night shift for a month. I had no means of transportation and the 30 minute walk is too far and too dangerous. After fighting for my money, I got tired and told the boss to keep it and use it to buy candles when you die."

Many workers have faced the same problem. The owners always have excuses when it comes to paying debts. When vacation time comes they lay off some of

the workers. "We know it is just an excuse not to pay us. It happens to too many of us to be a coincidence. Also we have complained about the union which we think has been bought off by the company and doesn't do anything for us. Before they laid us off, some of us had wanted a union that would help us get pay for gloves, goggles and aprons. We buy all these things every week for this kind of work. We also wanted the company to wash our dirty work clothes and to fix up the whole place where we work. We wanted to chose our own union, but before anything happened we got laid off."

What I see happening to Mexican people here I used to see happen back in El Fuerte, Michoacan. Men, women and youth work in the plants or in the fields picking fruits and vegetables. Many youth drop out of school to work.

Olympic jingoism opposed

Los Angeles, Cal.—As the Olympic torch spread a trail of distracting jingoism across the country, in Los Angeles, site of the Olympics, activists helped keep alive the flame of human freedom in holding numerous protest activities against chauvinism, racism and Reaganism.

The day before the pompous Olympic opening ceremony, a multi-racial group led by Black South African poet Dennis Brutus attempted to walk into the final meeting of the International Olympic Committee to demand they take a stand against the participation of two South African athletes in the Olympic games.

Then on the following Sunday, Brutus as well as other Africans and Black activists from Los Angeles held a street-side meeting to expose the hypocritical tokenism of having Blacks participate in the Olympics, while in the very shadow of the Coliseum Blacks are hungry, unemployed, and angry. The engorged power of the police force using even more means of harassment against Black masses during the Olympics was also attacked.

As the Games continued for the next two weeks, many were reminded of the realities of U.S. imperialism's aggression against the Nicaraguan and Salvadoran masses by numerous picket lines and guerrilla theatre events, culminating in a march against Taca Airlines, which participates with the INS (Immigration and Naturalization Service) in the "death flights" deporting Salvadoran refugees.

The highlight of the Olympic protests came on Sunday, Aug. 5, when 5000 marched and rallied in a "Survival Day" for "jobs, peace and justice". Unlike some of the earlier protest actions surrounding the Olympics, this one was firmly controlled from on top by a coalition of anti-nuclear and Left organizations, who made sure little discussion of revolutionary struggle, either in the U.S. or in Central America, took place.

Taken as a whole, the many activities and deep questioning of this system that surfaced in the midst of these Olympics shows that there are two worlds in each country, even one for which the flag, patriotism, and "winning" has taken on a new voice.

—Olympics protestor

One young woman, my cousin, works alone with her brothers and sisters from 7 A.M. to 9 P.M. Sometimes she works in the fields, other times in a packing plant. When she works in the fields, her sister replaces her in the packing plant. It is mostly white owners hiring immigrants. Many realize that the American dream is a lie, but they don't go back to Mexico because it is just as bad.

—Maria

Militarization of Peru

Since a state of emergency was declared in Ayacucho Province in Peru in December, 1982, and the area was placed under military control, over 2,000 people have been killed. Quechua-speaking Indians in highland communities have been subjected to particular attack. There are reports of entire peasant villages being reduced to ghost towns. The former district attorney of Ayacucho Province has a list of 1500 missing persons.



The state of emergency has been extended to other provinces, Huancavelica and Apurima, and in early June the entire country was put under a state of emergency with constitutional rights suspended for 30 days.

The government has used the existence of a guerrilla group, Sendero Luminoso (Shining Path) as its excuse for a state of siege. The ruling Accion Popular party has been pushing a law through parliament which would limit workers' right to strike. A special police force specifically trained for mountain terrain and permanently based in the Andes may be created. A leading opposition television program of political analysis and commentary was shut down. "Terrorism" has become a key word to create an atmosphere which makes any opposition difficult to sustain.

But the movement in Peru in opposition to the ruling powers is far deeper than this terrorist group which not only attacks government forces, but terrorizes and kills Quechua-speaking peasants who will not cooperate with its plans. A popular movement has arisen which is against both the government's militarized repression and the terrorism of Sendero Luminoso.

One sees this popular movement among a United Left coalition which has a member in parliament and which has won control of a number of municipal governments in Peru including in Lima and Cuzco. The last several years has witnessed several nationwide work stoppages protesting government policies. And in occupied Ayacucho itself, an Ayacucho Association of Relatives of Detained and Missing Persons has been formed as one step to halt the government's state of siege.

Latin American Studies student

WOMAN AS REASON

(continued from page 2)

talities."...The main concentration in this article...is on Marx's recently published (1972) *Ethnological Notebooks*. Here the concern seems at least twofold. One is Dunayevskaya's emphatic assertion that Friedrich Engels is no Marx and that his unilinear work, *Origins of the Family, Private Property and the State* (supposedly based on Marx's *Ethnological Notebooks*) was "damaging...to future generations of Marxists..." But it is not only "Marxists" she is concerned with...Dunayevskaya aims "to disentangle Marx's views on women and dialectics from those of Engels..."

DIALECTIC AT WORK

Engels saw only the greatness of women's freedom in primitive societies and after the onset of private property he saw only women's oppression. Engels described the effect of private property on women as "the world-historic defeat of the female sex." Marx, on the other hand, saw both women's relatively greater freedom as well as the origins of women's oppression right within the primitive commune. After class society, where Engels saw only "defeat", Marx saw unceasing revolt. What Dunayevskaya is showing us is the dialectic at work where, even in the study of anthropology, Marx is able to see the duality in each situation...the possibility of new paths to freedom.

...To see the relationship of Marx to the dialectics of women's liberation, one would have to study Raya Dunayevskaya and read Marx for oneself. Certainly this article is a good beginning—short, concise, difficult enough to make one ask questions, and so very clearly revealing a genuine passion for transforming society that it will make you want to take the plunge and do the "hard intellectual labor" needed to hear both Marx and Dunayevskaya thinking.

—Terry Moon

Marx's "New Humanism" and the Dialectics of Women's Liberation in Primitive and Modern Societies

by Raya Dunayevskaya

50¢

Order from News & Letters, 59 East Van Buren,
Room 707, Chicago, Ill. 60605

Who We Are and What We Stand For

News and Letters Committees, an organization of Marxist-Humanists, stands for the abolition of capitalism, whether in its private property form as in the U.S., or its state property form as in Russia or China. We stand for the development of a new human society based on the principles of Marx's Humanism as recreated for our day.

News & Letters was created so that the voices of revolt from below could be heard not separated from the articulation of a philosophy of liberation. A Black production worker, Charles Denby, author of *Indignant Heart: A Black Worker's Journal*, became editor of the paper. Raya Dunayevskaya, the Chairwoman of the National Editorial Board and National Chairwoman of the Committees, is the author of *Marxism and Freedom, Philosophy and Revolution* and *Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution*, which spell out the philosophic ground of Marx's Humanism internationally as *American Civilization on Trial* concretizes it on the American scene and shows the two-way road between the U.S. and Africa.

Where *Marxism and Freedom*, whose structure was grounded in the movement from practice throughout the 200 years from 1776 to Today, discloses Marx's "new Humanism," both internationally and in its American roots, *Philosophy and Revolution*, in recreating Marx's philosophic roots both in the Hegelian dialectic and in the actual revolutionary movements of his day, articulated these forces of revolution as Reason — Labor, Black, Youth, Women — of our day. By tracing and paralleling this age's 30-year movement from practice to theory with our own theoretical development for the same three decades, Marxist-Humanism in the U.S. has met the challenge of the "new moments" in the last decade of Marx's life by disclosing in them a trail to the 1980s. It is this trail, these paths of revolution — be it in the birth of a whole new generation of revolutionaries, including the transformation of Women's Liberation as an idea whose time has come into a Movement or the emergence of a whole new Third World — that form the content of *Rosa Luxemburg, Women's*

Liberation and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution. This work challenges post-Marx Marxists to return to Marx's Marxism. At a time when the nuclear world is threatened with the extinction of civilization itself it becomes imperative not only to reject what is, but to reveal the revolutionary Humanist future inherent in the present.

News & Letters was founded in 1955, the year of the Detroit wildcats against Automation and the Montgomery Bus Boycott against segregation — activities which signalled a new movement from practice which was itself a form of theory. Vol. 1, No. 1, came off the press on the second anniversary of the June 17, 1953 East German revolt against Russian state-capitalism masquerading as Communism, in order to express our solidarity with freedom fighters abroad as well as at home. Because 1953 was also the year when we worked out the revolutionary dialectics of Marxism in its original form of "a new Humanism," as well as individuality "purified of all that interferes with its universalism, i.e., with freedom itself," we organized ourselves in Committees rather than any elitist party "to lead". The development of Marxist-Humanism in the U.S., 1941 to Today is recorded in the documents and on microfilm available to all under the title, *The Raya Dunayevskaya Collection*, on deposit at the Labor History Archives of Wayne State University.

In opposing the capitalistic, racist, sexist, exploitative society, we participate in all class and freedom struggles, nationally and internationally. As our *Constitution* states: "It is our aim . . . to promote the firmest unity among workers, Blacks and other minorities, women, youth and those intellectuals who have broken with the ruling bureaucracy of both capital and labor." We do not separate the mass activities from the activity of thinking. Anyone who is a participant in these freedom struggles for totally new relations and a fundamentally new way of life, and who believes in these principles, is invited to join us. Send for a copy of the *Constitution* of News and Letters Committees.

U.S. Auto Radiator imperils workers' lives

Detroit, Mich.—U. S. Auto Radiator workers informed *News & Letters* about two serious accidents that occurred there in July. On July 19, a press repeated on a worker in Plant 2 and it cut off four of her fingers. A week later, a maintenance man in Plant 1 was going to put in a new light when he was electrocuted. N&L distributed a leaflet with the workers' stories, and below we print one worker's response about working conditions at U.S. Auto Radiator.

There were a bunch of people, including the insurance man and the union man, in here looking at the press that cut off the woman's fingers. The supervisor had had new lines painted on the floor and the machines scrubbed so they were looking spic and span. He wanted it to be presentable for the insurance man. But the visitors were only looking at the one press which cut off her fingers.

The company really pushes safety all the time, but they don't practice what they preach. Another machine, the same kind of press that got her, has also been going haywire and repeating. Last week the girl who works it put her hands down, and the machine kept going up and down without her even touching the pedal. If she had had her hands in it, it would have gotten them, and the company would have said it was her fault.

There's one soldering machine that leaks water. They keep three buckets by it, but if they fill up, you can slip. There's water all over. The water is to cool the tanks down so they don't crack, and it goes continuously. The workers are drenched by the time they leave,



On the picket line at U.S. Auto Radiator during the strike of 1982

but what worries me is that with all the oil and water on the floor, people slip.

There are also a lot of fumes from the soldering machines. Most of the people on the soldering machines have never even been asked if they want a mask. When they change the solder, the fumes are just gagging. They are supposed to be sucked up by a fan, but they aren't. Everyone in the plant will tell you the fumes are all over. If we all get lead poisoning, it's because they are not taking precautions and making sure the fumes are sucked up.

Everyone wants the whole plant to be shut down, because there are so many things wrong with it. The company never considers the employees. They always tell us to hurry, and that is how people get hurt.

—U.S. Auto Radiator worker

UAW holds AP strike back

Editor's Note—Workers at AP Parts Company in Toledo, Ohio, members of United Auto Workers Local 14, have been on strike since May 2, 1984. On May 21, 4,000 workers from other shops in Toledo joined the picket line to blockade the plant (See N&L, June, 1984).

Toledo, Ohio—The UAW vice-presidents came down here last Wednesday (Aug. 8) to give us a little pep rally. About 300 people from AP Parts came. AP broke off negotiations again, and the UAW came to put some pressure on the company. But it was UAW president Beiber's idea to call off the mass rally planned in June. That would have caused AP to bargain.

Recently we all got form letters from Paul Putnam, president of the company, telling us that workers in the plant now are "temporary insurance" that we'll have work when we come back! It's their way of keeping us on edge. A lot of us are broke. As long as we're on strike, they won't give us jobs in Toledo. The only way is if we settle or AP moves out of town.

AP has become about the worst place to work in the whole country. It's like before there were unions. Now with scabs in there, people are getting hurt, even though AP is trying to cover it up. Recently a woman lost three fingers on the same machine where, before the strike, a buddy of mine lost nearly his whole hand—four fingers. On this stamping press your hands are chained to the machine, and the safety pulls your hands out of the way. When it didn't work, the machine came down on his fingers.

Things have changed for labor. The unions were strong until the last five years, but now the tide has turned. Everyone was working in '67 when I hired in. I had my pick — Chevy, Jeep, Sun Oil. It's a different time; unemployment has changed the picture.

This strike has gotten way out of control. The only thing we can do is shut the place down. Every time I see people from other plants they say, "When are we going back over there?" like in May. —AP Parts striker

Hospital workers protest

Detroit, Mich.—In the past few months working conditions for nurses at Northwest Detroit General Hospital have gotten even worse than they were before (See "Detroit: Hospital assembly line," N&L June, 1984.) In May they laid off all the nurses' aides. The patient load has gotten heavier, and there's not time to do the work. Each of us is supposed to get 4-5 patients, but we actually are getting 7-8 now to care for by ourselves. A lot of us are working our days off.

We get a lot of alcoholics and drug abusers, many of whom are brought in by the police or Emergency Medical Service. Usually they are going through the DTs. You can't strap down a 180-pound man by yourself, but you can't ask anyone else for help because they're so busy too. It's dangerous. I come home so tired I can't do anything.

One woman, a 30-year-old alcoholic, stopped breathing one night, and nobody knew for how long. They brought her back, but now she is permanently brain damaged. She had to have been under a long time for brain damage like that. I can't really say, but if we had had enough staff, we might have been able to help her.

They said if they call any nurses' aides back they will begin to lay off Licensed Practical Nurses (LPNs). This is not just happening here, but all over. Almost all the hospitals have laid off their nurses' aides, and they eventually want to require all LPNs to have a four-year degree to keep their jobs. That will put even more people out of work.

Health care has changed. That is why the strikes in Minneapolis and New York are so militant. Most of the nurses I work with don't like the workload, and we have asked to speak to the Director of Nurses. The union, Local 1199, isn't doing anything to help. We are not robots to be turned on and off. I feel it's time for us to stop talking and do something about this problem.

—Black woman hospital worker

Macy's tries union-busting

San Francisco, Cal.—Hundreds of pickets have jammed the sidewalks in front of Macy's and Emporium-Capwells in a series of weekend rallies to support the members of Department Store Employees Union 1100 on strike at Macy's and those union members who were locked out at The Emporium.

Local 1100 struck Macy's department store on July 7 when Macy's final contract offer was nothing more than cuts and give-backs. Macy's proposed a two-tier system that eliminates double time for Sundays and holidays and premium pay for new-hires working nights. They "offered" 20¢ an hour increase this year and 15¢ an hour for each of the next two years, while at the same time reducing health benefits and increasing the employee contribution by over \$300 per year.

One woman employed at Macy's for nine years had this to say: "I've never been on strike before and have never been on a picket line, but this two-tier proposal would undermine my job forever. If they can start new-hires at less pay with fewer benefits, then Macy's is sure to find a way to try and get rid of me. It would make any future contract bargaining impossible because the workers would be split against each other. They really just want to bust our union."

While Macy's claims it needs the concessions to remain "competitive", clearly the name of the game is "union-busting". Macy's has racked up record profits nationwide, and this Union Square store is one of their best money-makers. Additionally, Emporium-Capwells, Macy's so-called "rival" locked out its employees simultaneously with the strike at Macy's even though the two stores are covered by different contracts. Both stores were able to get court injunctions that severely limited picketing outside the stores. Thus far the union has relied on strike supporters as a way to get around the injunction on weekends.

—Strike supporter

British miners must win

Oxford, England—Many workers at British Leyland (B.L.) are determined that the coal miners must win their struggle for the survival and security of their jobs. We are aware that the outcome of this strike will affect not only the miners but all workers. Early in the strike, about 4 weeks after it started, about 12 miners from South Wales visited the Cowley, Oxford plant. It had to be kept secret from the company so we brought them in through different gates in ones and twos to get by the security men.

They met shop stewards and some rank-and-file workers in the canteen to ask for our support in what they knew would be a prolonged struggle. We promised to collect money in the plant and also to organize food parcels to be sent to strikers' families. We've collected over 3,000 pounds since the strike began, and a load of canned food is sent to Wales by van every week.

More recently I was invited to meet some miners who were staying at Ruskin College, a trade union college in Oxford, to raise support for the strike. I met about 20 miners from several areas: Wales, Yorkshire, Kent, Derbyshire and Nottinghamshire. Some had just arrived, others were about to return home. They told me they were very concerned for the younger generation in their communities, who would never find jobs if the Coal Board's program of pit closures went ahead. They told how hardship is biting their families. As well as the loss of wages, many have fines to pay after being arrested on the picket lines.

The Welsh miners explained that it was now necessary to send cash or food, not cheques, because the bank account of their region of the union had just been frozen by the courts. This was because the union was refusing to pay a 50,000 pound fine imposed for "unlawful picketing". The frozen account includes a lot of the money collected by supporters all over the country. In spite of this, workers at B.L. are still giving money to support striking miners and their families.

The miners I spoke to explained that as the strike developed they had come to see it as a political struggle as well as an industrial one. They knew about police dressed as miners infiltrating the picket lines. They were aware how the government is directing the actions of the Coal Board, while claiming not to be involved.

Before leaving, I presented them with the *News and Letters* pamphlet, *The Coal Miners' General Strike of 1949-50*. The miners need the widest possible support to make sure that they win.

—Shop steward at British Leyland, Cowley

Unions need national unity

Chicago, Ill.—The unions are getting weaker from what Reagan did to PATCO. It's getting so you almost can't strike anymore. You have no rights to do any fighting now to get what you need.

The Chicago Transit Authority (CTA) is fighting the workers by trying to hire a majority of part-time people. People from the outside should respect us as workers and not take our jobs and lower our wages.

The companies should be trying to control other costs besides your wages. They keep trying to get production out for no cost. They are trying to put us back twenty years. The utilities today are killing us. They are higher than the house note, than the food bill.

Meanwhile the unions are losing their ability to fight. The union is really the workers, 100%. It is true we have to stand behind the leaders, but the leaders have to back us up. There has to be unity on a national level of the unions. That is the only way to go about winning. But the leaders of many of the unions are not about trying to do this.

—CTA worker

WORKSHOP TALKS

(continued from page 1)

work. Her husband works in a textile shop and even with food stamps they cannot survive on his wages alone. She worries to leave the children, it was a hard decision but she has no family here and cannot pay childcare out of the \$95 she clears after taxes and transportation. Reagan wraps himself in religion and the family but he must be talking about rich families because he sure has it in for poor families.

Reagan talks about a powerful America. At work in his America we don't even have the power to get the union to back us up on getting the windows to open. There is a whole wall of windows in the plating room but since they covered them up with "energy-saving" windows only a few will open. Workers are breathing in acid fumes and bathed in steam and sweat. The boss said it's "technically impossible" to do anything about the heat and ventilation, then he turned around and spent \$4,000 on a new air conditioning system for four skilled tool room employees.

Now Reagan's hired gun, Postmaster General William Bolger, wants to unilaterally cut wages 20 percent for new hires, despite a record Postal Service profit of \$1.6 billion over the past two and a half years. He is trying to provoke the workers so he can fire "wildcatters and those who oppose our government," as he said. Nine hundred Merck pharmaceutical workers are locked out in Rahway, NJ over a similar management demand for cutting new hires by \$3.18 an hour. The heart of Reaganism is to lower all workers to the wages we get in sweatshops.

Reaganism wants to rule by fear and firing, just like our bosses always have. The owners in my shop boast, "I don't give a damn what the union says, I'm the boss." If they tell you to punch your card and leave, that's it. The union never gets anyone their job back, they were bought off years ago. Things are so feudal here, that where the contract calls for work shirts, the bosses got some of their discarded shirts and gave them out, saying here are your work shirts. Workers refused to wear them. They said, "He's not my father that I should wear his cast-offs." They never did get work shirts.

There may be no money for a pair of socks or a shirt for the workers, but there's always been plenty of money here for new machinery to get the production out faster and cheaper. Our lunchroom was taken over and filled up with machinery. Now we eat at our machines in the grease and dirt. That's what's at the heart of Reaganism: more and more production, absolute rule over the workers, and abysmal conditions of life and labor for the workers. That is the secret behind Reagan's "economic recovery." Where I work that has always been called the sweatshop.

The first Automation strike in American history

"...miners voted to establish a committee of miners to go to the rank-and-file of other unions to ask for help... The point was how to do away not only with mere 'charity' donations but with dependence on union leaders. Approving this motion signified establishing labor solidarity from below."

A 1980's View

**The Coal Miners' General Strike
of 1949-50 and the Birth
of Marxist-Humanism in the U.S.**

\$2.00

Order from: *News & Letters*, 59 East Van Buren, Room 707
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CONDITION OF WORKING CLASS IN U.S., 1984

I am sorry to be writing to you with such bad news. I would like to say something good, but U.S. Auto Radiator is getting so bad that it isn't possible. A maintenance man was working on a light at the time he was electrocuted. Workers stopped working to wait for the ambulance. The bosses said, "Go back to work." They just did not care. Just one week before, a woman lost three of her fingers. A friend of mine went to see her in the hospital. She said that the woman is now learning to eat with one hand. It is hard but this is the only way she can eat without help.

Two other workers in my department went to see the maintenance man. He is in a coma now. He was a very good person who liked everyone for who they were, whether they were Black or white.

After I've told you these horrors, I feel compelled to quote you a song, sung by 1,500 striking women workers in Lowell, Mass. in 1836. They walked out after a wage cut, singing: "Oh, isn't it a pity that a pretty girl as I should be sent into a factory to pine away and die/Oh, I cannot be a slave, I will not be a slave/ For I'm so fond of liberty that I cannot be a slave."

To me, 1836 is the same as 1984 for the factory woman.

**U.S. Auto Radiator worker
Detroit**

The state of today's unions: Bruce Foster, Black international VP of the Amalgamated Transit Workers Union (remember the Greyhound strike, Reaganism and union-busting?) declared his support for Reagan, saying the worker has "a friend in the White House." Sick!

**Factory worker
New York**

Instead of a UAW Local 600 General Council meeting, the local recently had a consulting firm out of New York called Corporate Campaign, Inc. make a presentation to the members. Their idea was, rather than go after the scabs on the picket line, to picket the banks and other institutions that finance the company you're fighting, because of union pension funds tied up in Metropolitan Life for example.

The way I look at it, the union brought in a consulting firm before they hitched the mules up to their own wagon. They don't even invite the membership to General Council meetings, and they haven't yet informed us about contract negotiations, but they do invite us to a meeting like this.

Bieber just announced a poll that showed 82% of the people support the UAW stance in bargaining with GM and Ford. How can he brag about that, when not even the membership knows what their negotiating stance is?

**Ford Rouge steel worker
Detroit**

Diane Lee's article on "Inner City Health Care" (June N&L) deals with part of my past as a worker at a nursery school, where we got nothing but the minimum wage and no benefits at all. I remember getting letters from Henry Ford Hospital then for payment because I had gone to emergency because I couldn't get any doctor to see me. No doctor wants to see you when you haven't got any money. Whatever happened to the Hippocratic Oath? They should change it to "I will do my best to care for one kind of person, the rich. I don't care about the poor because they don't have any money."

**Factory worker
Detroit**

BATTLE GOES ON AT AP

There was a rally Aug. 18 at Ford Rouge UAW Local 600 to support AP Parts workers who've been on strike in Toledo since May. About 300 people turned out. During the rally a Black AP Parts worker told me that when AP announces they have jobs available, Ohio Social Services sends people on welfare who are told they will lose their benefits if they don't cross the picket line. Before the strike the workforce at AP was maybe 40% minority. Now with the strike it is almost all Black and Latino. There is no doubt that not only AP Parts, but also the state of Ohio are trying to use the historic weapon of racism to exact the concessions, if not break the strike.

**UAW member
Detroit**

I have 25 years seniority at AP parts. My daughter works at a fast food res-

taurant, and when the strike first started people she worked with wanted to know why her father didn't go back to work. They said things couldn't be that bad at AP. She told them it affects them too. If AP workers get cut back to \$5 or \$6 an hour, and they have a union, what are the fast food workers going to be working for? That's why people in Toledo are supporting us.

Since the real truth about what's happening at AP has come out, Toledo public opinion has changed. Before they said, "why don't you go back to work?" Now they're saying, "why don't you tear the building down?"

**Striking AP worker
Toledo, Ohio**

SUMMER GAMES...

Like virtually all the Black people I have spoken with in the last month, I was shocked and furious at how the press and establishment used the Olympics for venting patriotism and racism. They are using the fact that many of the U.S. athletes are Black to pretend to the rest of the world that we have somehow become "equal." But the TV cameras didn't show the neighborhoods surrounding the events, where Black people are living in squalor. I am sure that the patriotism whipped up by these Olympics will be used against Black people very soon. I used to love to watch these sports events, but everything in this country now is being used to fan Reaganism.

**Black student
Los Angeles**

Over 100 million dollars was spent on security for the Olympic games, to further harass the poor people of Los Angeles. Right in the heart of downtown LA, only a few yards from the Police Department headquarters, hundreds of poor people and derelicts sleep on the street each night. For the Olympics, the police rounded up many of these people, took away all their belongings and threw them in the trash. And all of this, right under the eyes of the TV cameras.

I have been in prison so I know how this system works. But it is not every day that you see them file people up like this. What concerns me, is what will the police do with all their new, expensive equipment once the games leave town?

**Black worker
Los Angeles**

...AND OTHER CALIF. EVENTS

Hundreds of thousands of people took advantage of the week-long Democratic Convention to air their protests against the Reagan administration in daily rallies and demonstrations. The largest demonstrations were the Labor and Gay/Lesbian Marches on July 15 which drew over 150,000 demonstrators each. The Labor March had teachers, waiters, printers and airline stewards. The farmworkers were there with their new grape boycott, and FLOC was boycotting Campbells. The PATCO banner drew constant cheers of support, as did signs supporting the Arizona copper mines strike. "No U.S. Intervention in Central America" placards were in evidence throughout the entire march.

San Francisco was like an armed camp with thousands of police everywhere. Police brutally beat demonstrators and by-standers at an anti-Moral Majority rally, and arrested members of the Livermore Action Group who had organized a "die-in" in the financial district.

**Participant
San Francisco**

When I first heard about the selection of Geraldine Ferraro as the Vice-Presidential nominee, I was thrilled, because I considered it a real victory for the Women's Liberation Movement. I still do. But Ferraro as the candidate, on tour, in press conferences, has infuriated me. Why does she feel she has to mimic Reagan's warped view of family, church and home every time she speaks? Why does she constantly have to assure every man in America that she's the kind of woman who's "no threat?" And then top it all off with stories about murder cases she prosecuted which "deserved the death penalty?"

Ferraro owes her nomination to us; we owe nothing to her!

**Disgusted
Chicago**

Readers' View

YOUTH RIGHTS, BLIND RIGHTS

In the April issue of N&L you referred to a police raid on a junior high school to seize student records. Now the Reagan administration has asked the New Jersey supreme court to nullify the Fourth Amendment rights of students against "unreasonable search and seizure" by teachers "because teachers just like parents" are not covered by such a law. As if our parents have the right to deny us our freedom in the first place. This is a most dangerous attack against youth in this country.

**Youth
Chicago**

I went to the Convention for the National Federation of the Blind in July. It appears as if we're giving in to the Reagan way of dealing with us—"Don't expect anything from the government because you won't get it." We decided to give out more scholarships and small business loans and are planning to establish a model rehabilitation center. It's all beneficial, but it's limited, helpful to only a few. It deflects from the reality of what this system is doing to us.

But many of the members have decided that since the FAA won't help us in our struggle with the airlines to keep our canes on flights and have the same travelling rights as everyone, we're going to picket one of the major airlines enough to shut their services down. This reflects more of the spirit of the body of the NFB.

**Blind activist
Detroit**

STOP THE IRAQ-IRAN WAR



I found the editorial on the Iraq/Iran War (June N&L) a magnificent piece of political analysis. It not only captured the dynamics of a very complex situation, but also anticipated the events that have most recently occurred in the Middle East. Did you see the State Department spokesman get up in Congress and declare that "Syria is a force promoting peace in the Middle East and Lebanon," even though just months earlier he was calling the Syrians "terrorists"?

A lot of people must be confused by this change of view, but your editorial showed it is no change at all. After all, if you recall that the U.S. and Israel both agreed to Syria's invasion of Lebanon back in 1976 when it took that to put down a social revolution, why should they be shy about supporting Syria now when it tries to do the same? A deal between Syria and the U.S. over the Iraq/Iran War can't be discounted. Bringing everything back to what the Left learned, or better yet, didn't learn, from that 1975-76 Lebanese Civil War, is what is needed to grasp the complexities of the entire Middle Eastern situation today.

**Long-time reader
Los Angeles**

There are new facts about the situation in the Gulf War. Rafsanjani has asked the U.S. to re-look at the Iranian situation. He is one of the big landlords in Kerman province where there has been revolt by the peasants. The way I see it, none of the state-powers are what they seem to be. Syria joined in the Tel Al Zatar massacre, and Iraq bombed the Kurds. Today we have war between Baath Iraq and "anti-imperialist" Iran.

At the same time, the Iranian army is confronted with "morale problems." Pleas from the army couldn't stop the strike by cigarette workers. What all this proves to me is that the masses are the determinant in the Middle East today.

**Iranian exile
in the USA**

MARX'S WORK ON RUSSIA

I very much appreciated the "Theory/Practice" column by Michael Connolly—"Marx's last writings on Russia"

new paths to revolution and philosophic continuity" (June N&L). Even though I had not read the book Teodor Shanin edited, I felt that there was a full presentation of all the topics and all the tendencies of thought. This thorough examination is what is essential to make the reader of the article feel a participant in the subsequent critique.

When Connolly comes to the critique, "Marx's view of women; authors' disregard of philosophy," it is very quietly stated and very profound. In my opinion it is important to remember that while the authors of this book ignore Marx's view of women in the period of the Paris Commune and after, Raya Dunayevskaya's work singles it out. The difference between her view of Marx's last writings and these authors' is clear. But because their work is an important contribution, you have presented the contrasting views in a way which allows discussion and debate to continue...

**Susan Van Gelder
Detroit**



WHO ARE THE REAL MAKERS OF BLACK HISTORY?

In high school, we learned about the 1954 Brown vs. Board of Ed. decision. But it was presented like the Supreme Court guaranteed democracy in America. John Alan's column last month was the first time I had ever read how that decision happened. The Supreme Court was forced into it by decades of Black struggle. There is a message in that conclusion for us. Don't sit back and expect the "law" to protect your rights. You have to fight for them yourself.

**Black worker
Chicago**

I have just finished reading Frantz Fanon, Soweto and American Black Thought and what hit me in reading it was how revolutionary the high school youth in Soweto and the rest of Black South Africa have become. When I was in high school we read George Jackson's Letters from Prison as if it opened up a new world; but since then the Black movement does not seem to have produced that many new thinkers. What they found in Fanon a lot of us just passed over when we read him a few years back. Whatever happens tomorrow in Black liberation, I am sure it is going to come from the youth.

**Black worker
Los Angeles**

APPEAL FROM BISHOP FOUNDATION IN GRENADA

Readers of N&L should know about the formation of "The Maurice Bishop and Oct. 19, 1983 Martyrs Foundation" in Grenada. This foundation has been established to honour and preserve the memory of the late Prime Minister of the People's Revolutionary Government, Maurice Bishop. It will also honour the memory of the Ministers of Government, trade union leaders, workers and students murdered on Oct. 19, 1983 at Fort Rupert.

These martyrs and heroes of the working people fell victim to the coup d'etat led by Bernard Coard against the People's Revolutionary Government. When 25,000 assembled and freed Maurice Bishop from house arrest, the Coard clique moved to silence the people and ordered the army to open fire on the masses...

The Foundation's objectives include collecting funds for building a physical monument in honour of the martyrs; building and operating a centre for literature about the life and work of the martyrs and about Grenadian people's history; setting up a fund to help persons in need as a result of Oct. 19.

To get in touch with the Foundation and offer help, write:

PO Box 167, Grenville Street
St. George's
Grenada

TODAY'S MINERS' STRIKES AND 1949-50 GENERAL STRIKE PAMPHLET

The new pamphlet on the 1949-50 Miners General Strike is beautiful-looking. Andy Phillips' description of the mines and miners struck me. How real and hard-hitting his story is! It burns with the power and thought that's lodged in every worker and kept suppressed by capital. I hadn't felt so moved by a report of activity since I read Denby's *Indignant Heart*. Then Raya's article in the pamphlet opened up for me in a new way the birth of Marxist-Humanism. It is not just a path either from practice to theory or from theory to practice, but is both at the same time—a philosophy born of struggle. This is where all theories are born, tested and re-born, or they end up as sterile "think tanks"...

Carpenter
Cincinnati, Ohio

When I visited the Phelps Dodge miners' strike this summer, the first thing I noticed was how workers in the strike. Since many of the miners had to go out and look for temporary work, the women and children are running the picket lines. In school one of these children refused to pledge allegiance to the flag, saying that it was a lie that that flag stood for "freedom." The school called the parents in, and the miners told the teacher that the child was right.

The second thing I noticed was that the local union leadership is not opposing the miners' actions, as so many bureaucrats do when workers start to struggle. Workers also told me that Phelps-Dodge is losing money on the mine, but they don't want to demand wage concessions from the scabs, because they are afraid they might join with the strikers.

I came into town just as workers were organizing for a demonstration in front of the people's clinic. The police attacked their demonstration and jailed several of the strikers. But they are still continuing their efforts to keep the scabs out.

Former GM worker
Visiting in Arizona

Reading the pamphlet on the Miners' General Strike called to mind the wave of strikes in Jamaica in the mid-1970s. They were not always for money. More than ¾ of the strikes involved relationships at work, and defining a new sense of self at the workplace. For ex-

ample, workers would be out for weeks to demand a certain supervisor apologize to a worker. And this without strike money like here.

The question of Automation raised in the pamphlet also touches on the Third World. We have had technology in the Third World but it has been destructive in terms of displacement of population. It has created a focus on urbanization as opposed to per rural development and served to perpetuate class divisions, displacing so many and including only a few. In those Jamaican strikes people would at times burn the machines and the factories, for example shoe machines that had replaced a lot of workers. You cannot look at automation as an abstraction.

Jumoke
Jamaican in New York

The Thatcher gang are becoming more vicious with the miners who have been on strike for 19 weeks. She has got clear of the dockers (the strike was never complete), but the support by many workers has been amazing. The railway workers have given good support. Thatcher is now talking about calling for emergency powers. She is describing the miners as "the enemy within." She describes the fight of the miners as an attack on democracy and is trying to starve them out. She will not succeed.

Harry McShane
Glasgow, Scotland

The discussion on our new pamphlet made me recall coal strikes I heard about in my youth, in the World War II period. The miners were demanding "portal to portal pay." Until then they had only been paid from the time they reached the coal face. They confronted the government and said: "Let the senators dig coal."

What the pamphlet expresses is that strikes aren't what they appear to be, that the quest for freedom is at the heart of each. In this pamphlet you can go further—you see how the strike played an important part in the birth of Marxist-Humanism. The miners knew that automation wasn't just a labor-saving device, but a "man-killer." For Marxist-Humanism, it meant a new way of thinking about history and theory was emerging.

Yes, automation transformed major industries and impoverished Appalachia. Yet that stage had to be grasped as

cognition as well, a process that is still going on...

Robert Ellery
New York

UPDATE ON MANITOBA

Here's an update on the story I wrote last month about the Manitoba Indian boy jailed in the US, after he killed his "adoptive" white father in self-defense against child abuse. Manitoba Indians have succeeded in getting him moved to a prison in Canada, where they can look after him better. Now they are trying to get the case re-opened and the verdict reversed.

Shainape Sheapwe
Michigan

SOLIDARIDAD



I'm speechless about the Simpson-Mazzoli Bill. This is the furthest racism has exposed itself in the U.S. But I'm not giving up. I can't see my friends being forced to return to Mexico. I have to show my documents everytime I go out on the streets and immigration stops me. At home it is no better. The situation with my parents does not change and I'm not conforming to it. I'm just waiting for the right moment to "declare my independence" and the same thing goes for my brothers and sisters.

Latina youth
Los Angeles

On my recent trip to Chile I found a lot of fever—demonstrations against the government every day in Santiago, and people eager to talk in the streets everywhere. I would stop to talk to strangers at a soup kitchen in the street and find myself in the middle of a meeting. It seemed dangerous to me, how open the opposition is.

The main organized force now is the students, who are fighting the police every day in Santiago's streets. In Concepcion, persons unknown burned down the secret police building. But Pinochet has a lot of support in the country outside Santiago. The dictator's continuous propaganda on TV and gimmicks such as giving away a few houses to the poor every day, have an effect.

Pinochet's announcement that he will not give an inch in response to the mass movement for democratization, means the lines are more clearly drawn now. He has rejected even the calls from within the dictatorship for elections and a congress. After over a year of daily demonstrations, people are losing their fear. Chilean political exile
In the USA

PHILOSOPHY & REVOLUTION

Having been in political groups throughout the spectrum I have had to confront mechanistic "Marxist-Leninist" attitudes on many occasions. So I am glad to see the creative dynamic of Marx's dialectic alive and well in N&L. The way Marx's views are highlighted and elaborated for today is important as we move to our philosophy for change. I have been thinking of ongoing events in the Caribbean and in the Third World as a whole—the economic crisis in Jamaica and the growing religiosity of the youth, which I consider a retreat.

I appreciate the way Marxist-Humanism has made theory concrete, especially in the centrality of women and youth to its perspective. Many groups see them as part of the periphery. You also have a greater recognition of the race issue, as in your treatment of Garvey and Fanon.

Caribbean friend
New York City

When I read *Philosophy and Revolution* I got an understanding of the dialectics of liberation. I wanted to read Hegel, but there still remained in my mind a fear that he was beyond my understanding. But finally I began to read *Phenomenology of Mind* at night at the public library. I'm still in the preface, but two quotes from Hegel have opened my mind in new ways. One reads: "For the real subject-matter is not exhausted in its purpose, but in working the matter out; nor is the mere result attained in the concrete whole itself, but the result along with the process of arriving at it." And here is the other: "In my view... everything depends on grasping and expressing the ultimate truth not as Substance but as Subject as well."

They say to me that the goal is not all there is; there is also the process. Freedom is the goal we live for, but to gain it we have to realize that freedom is also and always the method. Very helpful...

Young thinker
Cincinnati, Ohio

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- ☐ American Civilization on Trial, Black Masses as Vanguard
Statement of the National Editorial Board.
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BLACK-RED VIEW

by John Alan

Jesse Jackson's dramatic "unity speech" before the Democratic National Convention last July may have brought "tears of emotion to the eyes of friend and foe alike"; it failed utterly to move Walter Mondale and the forces that controlled the convention to take one meaningful step for to make one positive statement in the interest of Black American equality. This was a major set-back for the Rainbow Coalition that had vowed, in Jackson's words to be "...challenging for changes...to shake the foundation of American politics." Instead, every issue that Jackson and the Coalition held to be vital for change went down to defeat in committee; whether it was for a strong statement in the party's program for affirmative action, the ending of runoff primaries in the South, quotas for Blacks and other racial minorities and youth in the convention or the cutting of the military budget by 20-25% and the use of those funds to rehabilitate the cities, etc.

This defeat may have been a serious set-back for the Rainbow Coalition that will cause a great deal of self evaluation. But in no way has it been a set-back to the Black movement for freedom or for the American Black masses who gave to the Rainbow Coalition its main, crucial impetus and power. To them the defeat has objectively shown, once again, the limitations that capitalist liberal politics imposes upon the idea and the practice of freedom.

Even before the convening of the convention many Blacks were aware of what to expect. This columnist was struck by the considerable amount of doubt that the Black Jackson delegates and supporters expressed about really accomplishing anything at the convention. At the symposiums and rallies for Jackson that I attended, the main concern was not with the convention, but what they would do after the convention. No one was naive enough to believe that there was going to be a floor fight over any of the issues. It was known that all procedures would show a maximum of party unity. As one Jackson delegate put it: "I came to support Jackson and was given a Mondale unity leaflet to pass out".

As a Jackson supporter pointed out, the issues his campaign raised would certainly divide the general convention and provide for disunity and chaos, thereby conjuring up memories of the Chicago convention in 1968.

Azania schools revolt



Student protests such as this one at the University of Western Cape to oppose the election of a new parliament for mixed race and Indians, have been spreading across Azania (South Africa). Thousands of high school and college students have boycotted classes in protests over the new constitution's attempt to divide Indians and "coloreds" from other Blacks. At the University of Transkei students boycotted classes after six students were detained for distributing pamphlets charging the school with corruption. In the Black township of Daveyton, several hundred high school youth marched in protest of racist school admissions policies.

Protest police killing

Albany, NY—It has been one month now since four white Albany, NY policemen shot and killed Jesse Davis, an unarmed 35-year-old Black man, who was considered to be emotionally disturbed. Four bullets struck him down. Earlier this year, in neighboring Rensselaer, a white man took a gun from a policeman, and he was disarmed without deadly force.

Following the Clinton Ave. shooting there were a series of spontaneous demonstrations and meetings in the Black community, with many whites participating. The police and government have tried to bury the incident, but now the protest continues to widen. When a group of clergy met yesterday to call for answers, a "candid public disclosure" of the facts, one pastor stated, "We are called to intervene in domestic quarrels all the time and we don't carry guns."

With the rising protest, many questions are being asked in the many discussions and meetings. People are firstly talking about the racism in the Albany area which this shooting reflected. But they are also talking about the role of the police, about proportionate representation for Blacks and other minorities in the government and the police, especially in the Black community, about attitudes toward emotionally disturbed people, about how to break down the lack of communication among different groups in the community, and other questions. One high-school woman expressed what so many others feel: "We can't let this every happen again, not ever!"

—M. H. Albany, NY

Black experience at Dems convention

The above statement puts the finger on the dialectical differences that exist between the aims of a party that wants to get elected and an oppressed people that want to concretize the idea of freedom. There too, we have the ground for the duality that exists in many Black politicians who often confuse party interest with those of Black masses.

One of the things that came in the wake of the Democratic National Convention was the alarming amount of rhetoric that was generated against "liberal white women feminists" as the cause for the set-back of the Rainbow Coalition. This rhetoric was very prevalent at the symposium that was held on the Berkeley campus of the University of California. There was the feeling that the selection of Geraldine Ferraro to be the vice presidential candidate was another example of how white women have reaped the benefits of affirmative action.

The trouble with this argument is that it ignores the fact that women's liberation is an historical movement whose time has come, and its universality can't be particularized to a group of articulate white women who have narrowed women's liberation to the lifelines of careerism.

erism.

Of course Mondale found it to be far easier to "whiten" the power of women's liberation in his selection of Ferraro and in his calculated failure to interview Black women for the office of vice president. But the road block in the road of Black liberation is not women's liberation; it is the system of capitalism, as in the case of affirmative action, that reduces all human freedom to competition, i.e., Blacks vs white women. This is the limits of capitalist freedom, wherein people do not see their freedom in other people but as a limitation of their own freedom.

Once the sound and fury of capitalist politics are ignored there still remains the unambiguous reality that Black masses supported Jesse Jackson overwhelmingly because they wanted a new beginning in the fight against racism, poverty, sexism and war. They supported Jackson not because they believed that he had a good chance to become president but as an expression of how deep their opposition is both to Reaganism and the liberalism of the Democratic Party. They were saying that they want neither of the two capitalist parties but a transformation of the American society.



Demonstrations continued in Waynesboro, Ga. after several days of Black rebellion erupted following the death of 32-year-old Larry Gardner while being held in police custody. One local Black leader sent in to calm the situation was confronted by angry Black demonstrators demanding explanations for Gardner's death.

Cincinnati's revolutionary Black history

The Black Brigade of Cincinnati by Peter Humphries Clark, Arno Press and The New York Times.

This pamphlet, originally published in 1864 while the Civil War raged, is once more proof of the Black dimension which has been at the lead of every step forward in U.S. history. Not unusually, the events reported in this short account are covered up and hidden from view; nowhere is this more true than in the very home of the Black Brigade, Cincinnati.

Peter Clark wrote the report and gathered together the documents included in the pamphlet at the urging of many of the Brigade's members. Clark was an important figure in the movements for Black public education and socialism. In 1877 when he joined the Workingman's Party he became the first Black socialist in the U.S.*

The events covered in the pamphlet happened in 1862 when the outlook for the Cincinnati area was dire indeed in the face of the Confederate army advancing through Kentucky. Cincinnati was a pro-slavery and a commercial city. Clark begins his account of these events by describing the history of the question of slavery in Cincinnati and past attempts at organizing a company of Black "Home Guards." He describes the situation thusly: "Abolition buyers from the North and slaveholding buyers from the South jostle each other in her streets; hence the influential classes maintained free speech to conciliate Abolition customers, while the rabble were permitted to mob colored people to placate slaveholders. Even this balance was broken when the traitor Yancey spoke for disunion in a thronged house, and without interruption, while Wendell Phillips, speaking for the Union, was driven from the same platform by mob violence, and halls were closed, lest a lecture by Henry Ward Beecher should provoke a riot." (pg. 4)

When Sumter fell and the whole North rushed to arms the Black citizens of Cincinnati were no exception. They held a meeting to organize "Home Guards" to protect their city should it become necessary. They were stopped from holding their second meeting and their recruiting station was forced to remove an American flag raised above the door. They told them "We want you damned N---ers to keep out of this; this is a white man's war."

With an invasion pending on September 2, 1862, Mayor George Hatch, who had disbanded the earlier "Home Guards," called on all men, "citizen or alien," to report to their normal place of voting to participate in the organization of the city's defense. This proclamation to volunteer was not extended to the Black population. While their aid was required, it was not voluntary. A guard was established not to ask Blacks to volunteer, which they would have done willingly, but to collect all for duty.

They were brought together roughly and forced into pens. They were brought across the river to fortify the city. Clark points out that had the Confederate army seized the city, the Black population would not have been treated any worse.

This situation lasted through the 4th when Judge

*See *Then and Now: On the 100th Anniversary of the First General Strike in the U.S.*, a News & Letters publication 1977, especially pp. 40-41.

William Dickson took command of the Black forces. He immediately let them go home to their families and prepare for camp life. When they returned later that day, not only those originally forced to come but also many more who had hidden so as not to be dragged off came. **Four hundred men left — seven hundred returned.**

This same day the Black Brigade of Cincinnati was declared with the presentation of an American flag so inscribed. With this the account describes the duties and services in defending against the siege of Cincinnati. They were carried out brilliantly and bravely. The Brigade was disbanded on September 20, 1862 having carried out its purpose to defend the city.

While the content of the actions struck this reader, what really struck me about these events was not in the pamphlet. It is the total disregard by most radical groups of American history. Cincinnati is an area rich in Black and working class struggles. Here there were large locals of the Workingman's Party and, later, the Socialist Party. The IWW national office was downtown for a short time. August Willich published the *Zinzinnati Republikaner* here. The Left for the most part, has forgotten these and others. It is a shame, it shows their utter disregard of the revolutionary nature of American working-class history.

—Gary Clark

Soweto Day talk

Washington, D.C.—Over 100 people commemorated the 1976 Soweto uprising at Howard University at a meeting organized by the "Committee for a June 16 Commemoration". The main sponsoring group was the Support Black Consciousness Movement of Azania (BCMA, Box 13038, Washington, D.C. 20009).

The main speaker was Imram Moosa, a BCMA leader from within Azania, active in the Azanian Peoples' Organization (AZAPO). Moosa made a very sharp critique of the ANC (African National Congress) and of white Left groups such as the South African CP.

He considered the Black working class the "vanguard" of the coming revolution. He traced the origin of the BCMA to the formation of the South African Students' Organization (SASO) in the late 1960s. SASO and especially its leader Steve Biko represented a break with the "textbook" Marxism of the ANC and the Left.

The Marxist-Humanist speaker, Raymond McKay of the New York News & Letters Committees, spoke on "Parallels of the Struggle in Azania and the U.S." He stated: "The June 16, 1976 Soweto revolt reverberated throughout the world. Just as some American struggles sparked revolts in Azania and other parts of Africa, so too the African revolutions and the Azanian revolts had an impact here."

He also pointed to "a crisis in Black Liberation" where "the 1980s have shown that obstacles to freedom come not only from state powers, such as Reagan and Botha, but also from retrogression within the revolutionary movement itself. We have only to look at Grenada to see this." The meeting not only contributed to breaking the conspiracy of silence around the Black Consciousness Movement in the Left and Black press, but also offered a type of serious debate around fundamental questions found all too rarely in solidarity movements.

—Kevin A Barry

Reagan's wars vs. revolutions in theory and practice

(continued from page 1)

and exiled in 1972. It is not true that he represents the people of El Salvador. Upon his return, he became part of the five-man "Revolutionary Government Junta." It was the period when the Archbishop of San Salvador was murdered and his funeral became the occasion for D'Aubisson and his death squad to enact another mass killing. Duarte continued to talk nonsense—and he knew it—about "controlling the Army." It was the period of the murderous weeks at the end of 1980 when the four nuns were raped and murdered and two American agrarian reform experts working for the AFL-CIO and U.S. Embassy were shot to death. This still failed to satisfy those death squads and the Army that aided in the cover-up. On the contrary. The murders—indeed, the massacres—continued by the hundreds.

THE PEASANTS WHO were slaughtered were those who were supposed to get the land due them through the Land Reform Act. Indeed, there is an ongoing civil war still. While it's true that Duarte, by comparison with D'Aubisson, can be considered very nearly a moderate, the more important fact is that he is actually only reorganizing the National Guard that he is supposedly disbanding. Thus far only the five who were directly responsible for the murder of the nuns have come to trial and been sentenced. But the Army that participated in the cover-up is doing so to this day on all other assassinations and massacres. Surely we cannot forget that the very person who was the head of the Army that had jurisdiction over these death squads—Carlos Eugenio Vides Casanova—is right now Duarte's Minister General of Defense.

Duarte himself was the ranking civilian member of the same government as Vides Casanova when the land reform was supposed to have been instituted back in 1980 and the only thing coming out in 1981 was the account of the massacre around the village of Mozote, where hundreds of peasants were murdered.*

Duarte is keeping away from getting directly involved in the question of Nicaragua. Honduras, too, had removed the direct stooge for U.S. imperialism, and right now is trying to draw a line between U.S. imperialist designs on Nicaragua and itself, though this may be merely a ploy to exact something more from the U.S. than the previous head of government, who danced all too joyfully to Reagan's every tune.

While Reagan is trying to make us think a new day has dawned since his rhetoric openly declared Russia the "evil empire," and named Nicaragua "its" surrogate, the truth is that though—and that even before the Allies pressured him to change his tone on the question of Russia—he had sent Shultz to visit Nicaragua, he did not stop for a moment in his arming and financing of the counter-revolutionary army of mercenaries in Honduras, directly on Nicaragua's border, with the aim of overthrowing the sovereign state of Nicaragua.

Towards that end, Reagan had assigned Henry Kissinger to head a special, so-called "bipartisan commission" to report on all of Central America. Kissinger was glad to comply. His commission has prepared its report which will further continue the old policy of treating not only Central America but also the Caribbean as if it were an American Lake. Kissinger may be under the illusion that he can do to Nicaragua what he did to Allende in Chile when he helped engineer the installation of a most reactionary, brutal, militaristic, neo-fascist regime of Pinochet. But this is 1984 and such ideological fetishisms aren't fooling even the Allies, much less the actual people in the respective countries, whether it be in the Philippines or Chile, where tremendous mass movements have burst out and are continuing despite the reactionary, brutal repressions.

Reagan has no intention of making peace with Nicaragua that, by revolution, rid itself of the brutal, savage, corrupt U.S. stooge, Somoza, to establish a government free of U.S. imperialist tentacles. What he is doing is looking for ways to avoid such a fiasco as he had in Lebanon, to see whether he can find some less corrupt stooges, either through the Church or through newspapers like *La Prensa*, who have decided to stop publica-

tion altogether rather than undergo such drastic censorship. Reagan is so involved in so many covert operations which are known to all, that he seems to have lost any ability to invent a new fetish that could be acceptable for open action....

OR LOOK AT ANOTHER FLASHPOINT. What has happened to Grenada after the U.S. imperialist invasion of it? Kissinger may be ready to use the invasion of Grenada as "proof" that Western powers have no right to criticize the U.S.; Great Britain has certainly muted its criticism now that it has been handed back that "commonwealth" country with only a few strings attached, like knowing who really is boss: the U.S. That is the exact opposite, however, of what the Grenadians think of it all; they have no intention whatever of becoming a colony all over again, be it British or American. And what the new boss has revealed is that it considers not only Grenada but both Central America and the whole Caribbean its Lake.

We are back to where we started: Central America and the Caribbean as if that were an American Lake and the center of the world's crises which suddenly makes it integral to the U.S.'s "national interests."...

Not by Practice Alone:

The Movement from Theory

The Absolute Method—The Unchained Dialectic

"...our epoch is a birthtime, and a period of transition..."

Hegel, *Phenomenology of Mind*, p. 75

The body of ideas comprising Marxist-Humanism is rooted in the new post-war movements both from practice and from theory. **Marxism and Freedom**, structured on the movement from practice, and **Philosophy and Revolution**, tracing the movement from theory, were not only worked out while deeply participating in all movements of the new age of revolutions, be it the 1950s or 1960s and 1970s, but were equally rooted in the past, i.e. history. In a word, the period was the whole expanse of the modern world that began with the industrial revolution—indeed, we called the very first part of **Marxism and Freedom** the Age of Revolutions—industrial, political, economic, intellectual.

With **Philosophy and Revolution**, we had a new situation. It is not alone all the new passions and forces of the 1960s with which the book ends, but the fact that the philosophic predominates over the historic, the theory over the practice; indeed, the very fact that the structure is the exact opposite of what **Marxism and Freedom** was—that is, not the movement from practice, but the movement from theory—gave the whole question of Hegelian dialectics "in and for itself" a totally new meaning, in the sense that it demanded detailing not only the movement from practice but that from theory. That movement from theory becomes the uniqueness of Marxist-Humanist philosophy and our original contribution to Marx's Marxism. That happens to be exactly where Marx left off in his critique of Hegel's *Philosophy of Mind*, once he discovered his new continent of thought and of revolution. The totality of the crises of our age compelled us to rediscover the rest of the *Philosophy of Mind*, especially the final three paragraphs, where, suddenly, as Hegel reached what was supposed to be the final syllogism, the sequence is broken. What would have been Nature-Logic-Mind, which would have meant Logic in the mediation, is Logic replaced with the Self-Thinking Idea. But even when the absolutely Universal becomes mediation, it is no beyond, no abstraction, but it is concrete and everywhere, and Absolute Method which is simultaneously objective and subjective. Such a vision, precisely, is what has made Hegel a contemporary of the 1960s and 1970s. And it is such a method that Marx worked at in his final decade, as he worked out a new relationship of the pre-capitalist societies to his age. "Why Hegel? Why Now?" is exactly what gave **Philosophy and Revolution**: from Hegel to Sartre, and from Marx to Mao, its structure.

Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution did more than merely permit us to refer to our major theoretical works as the "trilogy of revolution." With the availability of Marx's *Ethnological Notebooks* and, in general, "new moments" Marx discovered in his last decade, making it possible finally to view Marx's Marxism as a totality, it was clear also that our own contributions to Marx's Marxism helped articulate Marxism for our age. Surely,

the trail to the 1980s that Marx left us in the new moments in his last decade is not something one "picks up" en route to somewhere else. It requires labor, hard labor, to work out, and the work is never done until, once and for all, we're done with capitalism and have achieved new human relations. The dialectic of revolution keep re-emerging in ever newer appearances, as new forces and new passions are born anew. And yet the dialectic principle of second negativity never changes. Take the trail to the 1980s that Marx left us from the 1880s.

WE HAVE BEEN tracing this ever since Marx first uttered the phrase, when he broke with capitalism in 1843, and worked at its special-significance when he reiterated "revolution in permanence" in the 1850 *Address to the Communist League*, after the 1848-49 Revolutions were defeated. He wrote it to his organization, the first time he had an organization—the Communist League.

What makes 1875 so crucial a year in Marx's life is that, at one and the same time, he completed the definitive French edition of *Capital*, Vol. I, and the *Critique of the Gotha Program*, and that these two set the methodological foundation for absorbing all the new he began seeing in anthropological empiric studies. That illuminated for him what had been only a "vision" of the Man/Woman relationship he had developed when he first discovered his continent of thought and of revolution. Human development was, indeed, an "absolute movement of becoming."

This is what makes imperative that, to work out the new relationship of practice to theory, and theory to practice, we do not stop with Hegel's Absolutes—Knowledge, Idea, Mind—but recreate, as did Marx, Absolute Method—the unchained dialectic. In challenging post-Marx Marxists, we are articulating Marx's Marxism for our age.

The Absolute Method works out a correct Notion (Concept) from the very start, even "just" the immediate, or "just" organization, seeing everything in that conceptual fabric. The point is that EACH—both the concrete and the universal; both the organizational and the philosophic-theoretical—moves. There is one dialectic for the objective and the subjective. Listen to how concretely Gramsci envisioned the Absolute as "Absolute humanism": (p. 193 of *Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution*)

It has been forgotten that in the case of a very common expression (historical materialism) one should put the accent on the first term—'historical'—and not on the second which is of metaphysical origin. The philosophy of praxis is absolute 'historicism,' the absolute humanism of history. It is along this line that one must trace the thread of the new conception of the world.

Absolute humanism is surely the articulation needed to sum up a classless, non-racist, non-sexist society, where truly new human relations self-develop. Gramsci, however, like Lenin, didn't shed the concept of the vanguard party. Which is why I didn't for a second let go of Marx's *Critique of the Gotha Program*.

What has brought us to reunion with Marx's Marxism is the trilogy of revolution to back up our activities as they flow from Absolute Method, whether that is expressed in our view of the 1905 Russian Revolution or 1952 Bolivian Revolution or the philosophic encounter with Silvio Frondizi in Argentina or 1982 "simple" activities in Latin American or African solidarity movements, or 1984-85 Perspectives...

Organizational Tasks

...Of all the concrete organizational tasks we are setting for ourselves, none, I believe, will have the impact of the new type of classes on Perspectives. I am referring to all other tasks — from the activities in solidarity support committees with other revolutionary groups to a sub drive for *News & Letters*; from the sales and reviews of books and pamphlets and getting reviews of our works published, to our three new pamphlets — all of which are especially central to the new home of Marxist-Humanism in Chicago.

Chicago will gain a new dimension. I say this, not because I am not aware of what it has been historically in class struggles, Black Dimension, Woman's Liberation, youth developments — as well as what it says of historic connection with Marx or, for that matter, further into the history, from the Civil War through the last decade of Marx's life which got rooted here in the person of Eleanor Marx. Rather, I say this because dialectical philosophy had been missing, though Eleanor Marx did seriously practice the philosophy of Marx in his "new moments" and was the first to go "deeper and lower" into the ranks of labor as well as into women's liberation, to which she added, that is to say, practiced, literature and revolution, not alone in Europe but in America, Chicago especially. There her speech connected directly the Haymarket tribune to Marx's Marxism. Just as even the *Chicago Tribune* ran an interview with Marx — and that directly related to his opposition to any "cult of personality" — so the direct presence of Eleanor Marx speaks of Chicago as home of Marx's Marxism.

Thus, projection there of Marxist-Humanism as organization, as paper, as international category for this home gives us more than just new "elbow room"; it means seeing our whole goal with new eyes...

Our Perspectives projection this year is, at one and the same time, a test of us, a test of what we have been concretizing for 30 long years...

—July 7, 1984

* See "Saving Salvador," a review of six books in the NY Review of Books (June 14, 1984) by Christopher Dickey. He is no radical, having once been the Washington Post head for Mexico and Central America and a member at the Council on Foreign Relations, 1983-84.

Marxist-Humanist Perspectives, 1984-85

**Report to the 1984 Convention of News and Letters Committees
by Raya Dunayevskaya, National Chairwoman, July 7, 1984**

The movements from theory as well as from practice vs. the great artificer, Ronald Reagan, for whom the whole world is a stage—on which he rolls back the clock of history on the Black Dimension, Labor, Women and Youth, as he drives for world war

- I. The impotence of the summits, the intensity of new labor struggles, as the Black dimension looms ever higher
- II. From Managua to Grenada, from El Salvador to Berlin, from Africa to Asia—U.S. imperialism's tentacles (and those of its Allies from Great Britain and France to Japan) extend to the Pacific as well as the Atlantic.
- III. Not by Practice alone: The Movement from Theory
 1. The New Sense of Objectivity: The Theory of State-Capitalism and New Forms of Workers' Revolts
 2. What Was Marx's Dialectics of Revolution to the Post-Marx Marxists of the Second International?
 3. The Absolute Method—The Unchained Dialectic
 4. On The Threshold, 1950-53: The Relationship of Abstract/Concrete

IV. Organizational Tasks

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As Others See Us

Italian review of Dunayevskaya's work

Editor's Note—Below we print translated excerpts from a review of the Italian edition of *Philosophy and Revolution* and the American edition of *Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution* written by Valeria E. Russo which appeared in *Dimensioni* No. 30, 1984.

With its publication in the early 1970s, *Philosophy and Revolution* represents a most significant example of research on Hegel outside of academic Marxism...

"Why Hegel, Why Now?", is the question Dunayevskaya poses that will open in 1973 the initial chapter...where the actual relevance of Hegel for today is perceived in the centrality of his concept of the Absolute and in the possibility of utilizing the moment of the "negation of the negation" as a powerful instrument for the interrelation of the revolutionary processes of the present...

THIS READING OF HEGEL, which emphasizes on the one hand the humanistic interpretation given it by Marx, and on the other hand the political revolutionary interpretation given it by Lenin, tends to reaffirm that philosophy does not posit itself as a simple external reflection of reality but is already internal to the reality itself. What constitutes the theoretic novelty of this book is its emphasis on the essentiality of Lenin's interpretation of Hegel's philosophy (in *Philosophical Notebooks*) and particularly in the identification of the Absolute Idea with the movement "from practice to theory." Another point that seems important to remember is the consideration of philosophy as phenomenology of "new passions and new forces," that is, as phenomenology of new Subjects that begin to present themselves starting from the sixties...

The author...emphasizes as well that Hegel's impact is really shattering when once the vertex of Absolute is reached and what is heard is absolute negativity itself.

The Hegel represented by Dunayevskaya and the re-reading itself of Marx, Lenin, Mao, Sartre, and Trotsky are heavily affected by the attention that the author poses for an original formulation both of the concept of

political (and of revolution as a real movement and dialectic pole with respect to the philosophy), and on the concept of Subject which emerges from radical movements of our epoch (Black, Students, Women, Youth) as well as from the liberation struggles of African people and from the revolts of Eastern countries. These movements are the object of the third and last part of this book, which is often provocative yet offers interesting elements of reflection about important questions of contemporary political and philosophic thought...

IN HER LATEST BOOK, dedicated to Rosa Luxemburg, *Women's Liberation and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution*, she accomplishes on the one hand the precise recognition of the "feminist dimension" of Rosa Luxemburg's work (until now neglected by both Marxist and non-Marxist scholars) and on the other hand she has thrown light on the importance of the analysis of the role of women to Marx's late works. Dunayevskaya highlights in those decades a problem that is still present in the Women's Liberation Movement, that is, the problem of "spontaneity" and its connection with the party form or what is indicated in "the question of autonomy..."

Another interesting aspect of this book is the re-evaluation of Marxist work that contests the validity of the dichotomy between the young Marx and the mature Marx. The author starts her reconstruction considering some of the themes already present in her various works: the transformation of Hegel's revolution in philosophy into the philosophy of revolution of Marx, the most important aspect of the Marxist "new Humanism" reached on the basis of a recent transcription of Marx's *Ethnological Notebooks*, reconsiders the role that the question brought about by the anthropology and ethnology of the second half of the 19th century had on the development of Marx's thought...

In opposition to the attempt of these last years to find in the Marxist text the presence of several Marxes, Dunayevskaya restates the unified character, throughout Marx's works, though it is characterized by a richness of multi-dimensional articulation. The *Ethnological Notebooks* represent for the author not only an important moment of mature production but they contribute also to "cast light on Marx's works as a totality"...

A Marxist-Humanist Body of Ideas

three works by Raya Dunayevskaya

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In Brief...

Bolivia—The militant Bolivian Labor Confederation has once again pushed the Zuazo government to the Left. New strikes organized by the Bolivian Confederation of Workers forced suspension of all payments to the IMF, a freeze in prices of basic commodities, and a pay raise. At the same time, the workers came out to defend the very man their strikes opposed, President Zuazo, when rightist officers attempted a coup and kidnapped him. The military plotters had been trained by U.S. imperialism to fight the drug traffic.

Portugal—Raids in June on Left groups and individuals resulted in 40 arrests, including that of an important revolutionary military officer during the 1974-75 revolution. Otelo de Carvalho who, even after the revolution was defeated, polled 16% of the vote in the 1976 presidential elections. Otelo and many others are being held on "terrorism" charges without any evidence having been presented. The right-wing Socialist Party government of Mario Soares ordered the arrests ostensibly to break up a terrorist group, but the arrests occurred on the eve of a vote in Parliament to establish a new political police. The new law may, however, be vetoed by President Eanes, since the Portuguese masses made sure in their post-revolutionary Constitution that there would be no new political police to replace the notorious fascist police, the PIDE, which the revolution had dismantled as one of its first acts.

Thailand—Twenty-one poor people were killed and 42 wounded in Bangkok on July 30, when a crowd of 4000 hungry people trampled some of their own number as they surged forward to get small relief packages being distributed by a Buddhist association. The bourgeois press applauded the collapse of the Communist-led guerrilla movement last year, but largely ignores the social conditions which are surely developing a new generation of revolutionaries. Recently there have been new stirrings among the urban workers despite severe government repression in this U.S. imperialist bastion.

Haiti—The U.S. Coast Guard has been stopping boat people at sea and returning them to Haiti. They operate near Haiti with the full permission of the Duvalier dictatorship. In June, 7 Haitians were killed when the Coast Guard sank their boat while boarding it to check for U.S. immigration. The survivors and the bodies were returned to Haiti, where people had to pay bribes even to receive the dead bodies of their relatives from the Haitian government. Boats are routinely stopped and burned and refugees returned. Reverend Jean-Juste of the Haitian Refugee Center in Miami hit the nail on the head when he called the American government "the pirate of the Caribbean Sea."

Indians fight on own terms

Detroit, Mich.—Recently I had some experiences with the Indian Health Care Services of Detroit (IHC) that were not very good. They made me think about how different their approach to the Indian movement is from my own. They say that you won't get anywhere unless you play the white man's game and beat him at it. I went there to get help from them because of Medicaid cuts, but the Center is so busy with government bureaucracy that it doesn't have time for participation from its clients.

When I talked to the Assistant Director about the possibility of getting clients together to discuss ways of dealing with diabetes and related problems, he said they didn't have the time or money. But diabetes is one of the leading health problems among Indians, along with alcoholism. I felt his attitude was patronizing. The IHC would rather deal with the bureaucracy than encourage us to find new ways to help ourselves, like workshops on nutrition, or working out car pools.

This kind of thinking seems to be part of many urban Indian service agencies. It exists in our movement and can't be ignored. The Assistant Director and I also disagreed on another point. He downgraded the fishing rights struggle of the Indian people of Northern Michigan. He felt that they'd taken so long to achieve so little because they hadn't learned to beat the white man at his own game.

But the truth is that Indian fishermen did win exclusive unrestricted fishing rights in spite of years of harassment by white "sport" fishermen. (See N&L, Jan-Feb 1982). The state has been forced to help them purchase new equipment. There have also been small businesses opened to sell the fish. It has taken a long time, but Indian fishermen have much of what they wanted because they were willing to fight for the right to do what they wanted — and not because they worked within the system. They fought hard to make the government live up to treaty rights. They have a right to be proud of their struggle. It was no small victory.

I hope this article will show that we have a lot of differences not just within the system that we're living under now, but within our movement. Because of the ever more oppressive system that we live under, some of these harmful attitudes are understandable. We have a lot to learn from other movements in their struggles for freedom. Maybe we can do this by talking to and learning from each other, rather than by spending our time "playing the white man's game". —Shainape Shcapwe

Black women writers today

(continued from page 1)

years.

Thus, what is new when a woman presents a point of view on a question instead of a man can be seen in the kind of natural grasp of form with which she compresses history and experience. Listen to how different Paule Marshall's recent critique of William Styron's *Confession of Nat Turner* is than the lengthy responses of the all-male symposium of Black writers and scholars assembled in 1968 for the purpose of answering Styron's slanderous work: *First of all, there was the blatant racism of the thing. Nat Turner, the prophet, the visionary, the great 19th century religious rebel, the revolutionary, Nat the Marcus Garvey, Malcolm X and Martin Luther King Jr. of his time, had been reduced in Mr. Styron's fictionalized account to a cowardly, irresponsible, neurasthenic celibate obsessed with the thought of white female flesh. A portrayal in clear contradiction to established historical fact. I saw blood. Then there was the matter of art. Mr. Styron's Nat Turner speaks in the voice of an Emersonian schoolmaster. And the writing throughout...has the formal tone of an essay rather than the excitement and sense of lived experience of fiction.*

AFRICA AND AMERICA

History, oral and written, as well as anthropology, come together with the lived experience of the Nigerian woman in Buchi Emecheta's *The Slave Girl*. The struggle of Ojebeta, a young Ibo woman, to cling to the individuality she had derived from her family and village life before being sold into African slavery by her brother is not made a metaphor for Western slavery and colonialism. Instead, set in the early decades of the 20th century (including an account of the 1929 Aba Women's War), *Slave Girl* confronts the reader with a profound critique of African society in transition. For Emecheta, the African woman is the key to this critique. Though nearly every aspect of African society is brought in, from the workings of the market economy (including slavery) to the social division between town and countryside, the subjectivity of the African woman, her reason, remains the author's focus.

Not even the "mushroom of freedom" that Ojebeta is allowed to eat when she returns home to her village and gains the right to enter into a marriage of her own choosing, is seen as anything other than another form of slavery. For as Emecheta concludes of Ojebeta's marriage to Jacob who is both traditional and modern: *One does not ask whether they loved and cared for each other ever after; those words make no sense in a situation like this. There was certainly a kind of eternal bond between husband and wife, a bond produced maybe by centuries of tradition, taboos and latterly, Christian dogma. Slave obey your master. Wife, honour your husband, who is your father, your head, your heart, your soul. So there was little room for Ojebeta to exercise her own individuality, her own feelings, for those were entwined in Jacob's.*

It is in the works of Alice Walker, especially her *Col- or Purple*, that we meet not only the Black woman in the act of exercising "her own individuality" but encounter the political power of her imagination which is

at once tragic and, above all, displays the critical self-consciousness of humor. Here the literary form itself raises the question of the inseparability of the personal and political in man/woman relations. Alice Walker's appropriation of the letter as the form in which to trace the Black woman in the process of becoming, of gaining a mind of her own, is profoundly moving.

The letter is transformed from a vehicle of reflection into the method by which the women characters recreate themselves before the mind's eye of the author and the reader. Though written by two quite different Black women who are blood-sisters, Celie in the rural South and Nettie in Africa, the letters nevertheless reveal that the passion to communicate, to think their own thoughts, remains their common bond.

In the African, as well as the African-American experience, Walker's characters show us that woman is nothing to herself or to another woman except insofar as she is something to a man. In Africa and America, the painful reciprocity between man and woman is not, however, locked into absolute indifference but exists at the level of a passionate struggle for new, truly human relations.

WOMAN'S STORY OF STRUGGLE

Even in the barren wastes of South Africa's rural reserves, the Black South African writer Phyllis Ntantala shows that the Black woman is, in the words of the great revolutionary Rosa Luxemburg, "a land of boundless possibilities." While not fiction, as such, Ntantala's collection, *An African Tragedy*, contains the narrative of lived experience from which fiction is recreated.

Life for the "widows of the reserves" seems only to be an interminable waiting for the disappeared, the exiled and the enslaved. Ntantala writes that though this infertile land of waiting is located "in back of beyond", it, nevertheless, contains the "human story that tells of a noble band of women, who, with fortitude and courage, have refused to allow themselves to be overcome by their condition."

We read, for instance, of a young African woman doctor, Margaret Mncadi, who was asked to present the grievances of the women of the reserves in a letter to the government. Then with over a thousand women from the countryside, she came to the Native Commissioner's Office at Port Shepstone to deliver the letter they had written, the letter that set out the things that these semi-literate and illiterate women of the reserves felt the Government ought to know about their hardships.

However, when the government responded with arrests and ordered the doctor from the area the anger of the women knew no bounds. They filled the dipping tanks with stones, set the farms on fire, burnt down the cane fields and the whole of Natal south coast went up in flames.

What we have learned from the new and specific dimension of today's Black women's literature, that we began with, is how in fictional form it comes natural for these original writers to show political principles about freedom in such personal terms that the readers can draw their own conclusions.

YOUTH

From a Third World shop in U.S.

Oakland, Ca.—As a Middle Eastern student who was forced to quit school, working in a factory was new to me, but I didn't know that the conditions would be so similar to what I've seen in my country.

I work in an electromechanical company where we produce transformers and hospital equipment. We work a mandatory 10 hours a day with only a half hour lunch break which is deducted out of our small pay check. The majority of the workers are Latinos and the company makes it very clear from the very beginning that a union is illegal. This also means that we do not get any raises unless the boss feels like giving it to us. I know workers who haven't had a raise for five years now.

When I first began to work, we were 100 but in a three month period, 50 quit because the work is so heavy and the working conditions are so horrendous. For those of us who have remained, the work load has been doubled, which means mandatory overtime and speed up. After work everybody just vanishes and does not want to get anywhere near that place until the next morning.

We have no safety equipment and even after we pushed for safety shoes because a worker lost part of his foot in an accident, the company made us pay for it ourselves.

The first day I began to work, I worked very hard so the next day the foreman made me work faster and faster. I realized that the faster I work the more they'll expect from me. Other workers had tried to tell me that the first minute but it took me a day to understand it. Many of us can not quit because of the threat of unemployment but we resist in other ways by deliberately working slower to bring down production, or destroying machines to stop the assembly line. Or we help a fellow worker get a raise by pretending that we need his help in doing our job.

There is a very strong solidarity among men and women workers especially Latino and Black. For example, the company tells us to call a more experienced worker our "boss" but we have no such words. Instead, we call each other by name. The one Black worker in our factory has got the worst job which exposes him to chemicals all day long. He is always ordered to do the more difficult jobs of the white workers so we gave an ultimatum to the white workers against this type of discrimination. This not only created a feeling of trust between the Latino and Black workers but also with some of the white workers who realized it is not the boss who defends their interest.

The women workers are all kept in the wrapping sec-

tion which is the lowest job. They are not only put in front of the manager's office so he can constantly watch them, but are sexually harassed and always told to do the cleanup. I got so furious about this that a few times I took the broom from them and started sweeping the floors after work even though the boss looked at me in a threatening way. But these women resist by deliberately wrapping the machines incorrectly so the product is taken apart all over again, which lowers the output.

All of this has created a feeling of real trust among us so when the boss orders us around, we have a discussion and share ideas on how to resist. I call this a battle of ideas. And it is what the company is most afraid of, so they try hard to break up our discussions. For example a few weeks ago we were talking about the instruction sheets that we have to follow in assembling the machines. A lot of times we find mistakes in them and use our own minds to assemble a part. Almost always we turn out to be right and the instruction sheet is wrong. Nevertheless the boss yells at us for not asking him first. We asked ourselves, why is it that we are treated as stupid and can't use our own creativity. All were saying: "What kind of work is this?" So when I raised the struggles of coal miners in 1949-50 who were fighting against their own union bureaucracy and asking the question "what kind of labor should man do, why should there be a division between mental and manual labor," they all felt this expressed what was in their minds.

Another time we were discussing how hard it is to get a raise and that even when we do get it, we are still being robbed by the company. I told a fellow worker that Karl Marx talks about that in Capital but he said he didn't want to have anything to do with Marx. A few days later, the boss yelled at him for making a very small mistake and as soon as the boss left, he started breaking a machine. This time I talked to him about Silesian weavers who back in 1844 had resisted by breaking machines and burning the company deeds. This was especially relevant to me because contrary to those who consider this act backward, Marx hailed it as very mature and revolutionary. This worker's attitude toward me changed. The next day he came up to me and asked if I had heard the latest news on the radio about war in the Middle East. He went on to say how much he despises the way leaders just treat us as mindless objects to fight wars or tell us what to do in the factory.

This type of battle of ideas is very important because it reveals all these ways that we resist which seem small but are forms of revolt and can become massive. I realize that even when we are just asking for a raise, our concern goes far beyond wages and involves the very conditions of labor and of self-determination.

Internationalist Marxist-Humanist Youth

by Jim Mills

The gathering of the Internationalist Marxist-Humanist Youth this year was the fifth time we've met since 1979 when we adopted that name. Young activists from the Middle East, Britain, Latin America and the U.S. participated in the meeting.

It was that internationalist dimension in the discussions we were having with young activists, in the kind of articles being carried on the youth page of News & Letters which helped give us our name in the 1970s. Then our youth page carried reports by Latino students from Hostos College in New York opposing educational cuts; by British students occupying buildings against tuition increases and exclusion of foreign students; by young Iranian freedom fighters; and on the all-important high school youth leading the Black Consciousness Movement in Azania.

Here in the United States there had as well been a resurgence of youth revolutionary activity: in student demands for university divestiture from South African companies; in high school student actions against ID badges and discipline; in new expressions from unemployed and working, exploited youth against the restructured economy of the 1970s.

As we met in 1984 our Internationalist Marxist-Humanist Youth had a letter from Raya Dunayevskaya entitled, "On Listening to Marx Think as Challengers to all Post-Marx Marxists." In the first part of the letter Raya writes of why youth as a revolutionary force was singled out by Marxist-Humanists in the mid-1950s, where so many others had concentrated on calling youth the "beat generation."

The second part of the letter moves from the 1950s to the 1980s to ask us what is new in the 1980s whereby Marxist-Humanism would create the category of post-Marx Marxism.

Thus the letter was helping to present the method whereby revolutionaries single out categories—youth or post-Marx Marxism—as a way of summing up a new stage. In this case it was the emergence of a new revolutionary force, youth, and it was the recognition of revolutionaries who were not the full continuators of Marx's Marxism.

The third section of Raya's letter entitled, "The 1970s: Return to the Philosophic Source," discussed how youth become challengers not only of this society but of those who do wish to uphold it, yet whose thought has not diverged deeply enough into what is necessary for revolutionary transformation. Here the challenge to the youth became how to find the philosophic source, in Hegel and Marx, as well as source as human subjects of revolution; so that a full uprooting of capitalist class society could finally take place. With this letter as our ground, the Internationalist Marxist-Humanist Youth undertook discussion of perspectives and tasks.

Black youth in Chicago

Chicago, Ill.—This summer the state spent three times more money on youth job programs for rich suburbs than for the city of Chicago itself, which has the highest number of teenagers nationwide along with a high Black youth unemployment.

Thousands of teenagers stood in line for hours in May to apply for the city summer youth jobs program, but now they find that the city spent most of its money in the suburbs where it had to run an advertising campaign to attract teenagers to the programs.

Even when Black youth do find employment, these are no more than poverty jobs with Third World conditions of labor as well as racist and sexist harassment. Last year many youth turned to CETA jobs which were a dead end. This year Reagan has banned the CETA program and replaced it with a training program for the few. Chicago's youth federal funding has already been cut in half.

The high rate of Black youth unemployment now reaching 60% has never been counted in the official unemployment rate, which is supposed to have improved. But now Reagan is using it as an excuse to break up the minimum wage structure and offer us a sub-minimum wage.

—Ida Fuller

Working in Olympics

I have been working as an escort for the Olympic athletes the past three weeks, and I think the world should know how myself and my fellow workers have been treated.

First, we were told we could not take any food, drink or reading material on the buses that we sit in all day escorting the Olympic athletes to the Coliseum. Then we were told we couldn't play cards, listen to the radio, or talk to each other.

That is only the beginning. After four weeks of work, many of us have yet to get paid. How can someone go four weeks without a paycheck? Especially when we make only \$5.50 an hour?

The thing that really got me was when we were briefed about what to do in the event of someone planting a bomb on the buses. We were told that we must stay on the bus until after security police arrive, no matter what. That means that if someone plants a bomb, we have to escort the athletes off the bus, and then wait on the bus until the bomb goes off!

A lot of us, especially in the Black community, took these jobs as it looked like good pay for easy work. But there seems to be no such thing. Working for the Olympics is as much an illusion as the Olympics themselves.

—Black youth

Youth in Revolt



Students from Chicago's only bilingual college, mostly young Hispanic women, took over the office of the Illinois State Scholarship Commission August 6 and shut it down. They were protesting discrimination after an audit charged 500 students with improper citizenship or residency requirements.

If you ever signed up for free ice cream on your birthday, Big Brother may be watching you. Public outrage forced the Selective Service to return a birthday list it had bought from Farrell's and used to find draft resisters. If not through birthday parties, Uncle Sam wants to get you through the rising costs of college and high youth unemployment, which, together with decreased student and faculty opposition to campus militarization, have meant more than a doubling of ROTC enrollment since 1974, to 72,823.

"We're no different from the way American soldiers were in Vietnam," said Alexei Peresleni, one of four 19- and 20-year-old Soviet soldiers who deserted in Afghanistan. The four held a news conference in August in which they detailed massacres of whole villages and rapes of Afghan women.

At the same time, they told of their opposition to what they called the immoral war on Afghanistan and of young draftees' grenade attacks on the officers who abused them. Within the Afghan army itself, large numbers of soldiers have mutinied, fighting their officers and joining the guerrilla opposition.

Demonstrations in several countries marked the 39th anniversaries of the atomic bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, Japan. In Hiroshima, over 50,000 protested August 5 and 6 demanding an immediate end to nuclear weapons deployment and transport.

And while Reagan celebrated the week with his "joke" about bombing Russia "in five minutes," the Other America, not forgetting who dropped the bomb, demonstrated from Los Angeles to Offutt Air Base in Nebraska, to the Seneca Army Depot in New York.

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OUR LIFE AND TIMES

by Kevin A. Barry and Mary Holmes

The ever-more alive power of Solidarity surfaced in July and August with the abruptly adjourned trial of four KOR leaders and the subsequent so-called "general amnesty" declared by Jaruzelski's government. Ever since martial law was "lifted," Jaruzelski has tried to present Poland to the world, and to Poland itself, as if the whole consciousness of Solidarity had been erased on Dec. 13, 1981 when martial law was first imposed. However, since the military government was unable to silence political prisoners in jail, they could hardly give them the platform of a trial.

One of those prisoners, Adam Michnik, KOR theoretician activist had already moved to put Jaruzelski's Poland on trial: "The value of our struggle lies not in chances of success, but in the importance of the cause in whose name we undertook the struggle...My imprisonment is not pointless. It is part of Solidarity's resistance...I will not petition for mercy. I wasn't in KOR and Solidarity so that now I can ask Jaruzelski for mercy, but so that my nation will never have to ask anybody's

UN population conference

The UN International Conference on Population met this August in Mexico 10 years after its founding, a decade in which the effects of the world economic crisis have devastated conditions of life in the Third World. The Conference's final report drew attention to the ever-widening gulf between the technologically advanced and underdeveloped lands, and within the Third World nations, the human crisis in the urban centers where populations in poverty—and revolt—have burgeoned.

The delegates from the developing nations were in the majority and addressed the social dimensions of population, including a particular focus on women. They called for an end to the traditional forced marriages of young girls, and the final report states that "improving the status of women and enhancing their role is an important goal in itself and will also influence family life and size in a positive way."

The unholy alliance of the Reagan Administration and the Vatican was able to impose an anti-abortion resolution on the conference, which stated that abortion "in no way should be promoted" as a method of birth control. Reagan scored points with the Immoral Minority at home by putting an aid cut into effect which denies funds to international family planning organizations that support abortion in any way as a part of their programs.

The Reagan view was delivered by the right-wing arch-conservative anti-abortionist Sen. James Buckley, who headed the U.S. delegation. Claiming that population "is, of itself, a neutral phenomenon," the U.S. policy statement blamed all ills on governmental interference in "free market economies." The conclusion was that Western-style capitalist economic "progress" is the "natural mechanism for slowing population growth."

This ahistoric, non-scientific, ideological view was demolished a century ago by Marx in his battle with the Malthusians who attributed all questions of population growth and decline to "natural laws" outside of human social and production relations. Reagan expresses his own brand of neo-Malthusian concepts in his anti-abortion praise of abstract "Life" while never taking up the concrete reality of 1984. In the U.S. alone, millions are unemployed, homeless and hungry. "Life" inside or out of the womb means nothing to Reagan in light of the fact that the U.S. infant mortality rate ranks well above the Western "standard."

These conditions are multiplied many-fold in the Third World. Reagan has done nothing to alleviate the horror of mass starvation in Africa today. Delegates at the conference called the U.S. statement "supply-side family planning" and analysts project that even were Third World nations to achieve the miracle of a respectable 5-6% growth rate through the end of the century, there would still be well over half a billion human beings living in poverty.

New Zealand elections

When voters elected the Labor Party in a landslide in July, it was to be sure a protest against previous conservative economic policies at home. But another factor which immediately made world headlines was whether the LP leader, David Lange, would actually keep a party platform promise to ban all nuclear ships from New Zealand waters. This called into question New Zealand's participation in the ANZUS alliance with Australia and the U.S.

Not only is New Zealand in the same region as Asian trouble spots such as the Philippines and East Timor. It is even closer to Antarctica, whose mineral riches and strategic position at the bottom of the world may make it a point of super-power contention in the 1980's. One war over the Falklands/Malvinas islands has already been fought with Antarctica as part of the background, in 1982.

Secretary of State George Schultz rushed over to meet with Lange. However, they agreed only to disagree. So delicate is the situation that U.S. imperialism now promises that no ships will enter New Zealand waters until mid-1985. Before then, they will surely work tirelessly either to bend or to undermine the new LP government. Australia's Robert Hawke, elected on a similar platform last year, soon reversed his anti-nuke position once in power. The U.S. has many avenues by which to apply pressure, including the New Zealand beef industry's dependence on the U.S. export market. But the end of nine years of conservative rule under Robert Muldoon—which included outrages such as a 1980 tour by a South African rugby team, which was met by mass protests—is sure to unleash new passions and new hopes for total change, which will pressure Lange from the Left.

Poland's Solidarity continues to fight

mercy." When amnesty was declared Michnik made his jailers carry him bodily from the prison.

The Reagan Administration and the Catholic Church are trying to take credit for the so-called amnesty. Reagan claims that economic sanctions played the decisive role in forcing the hand of the Polish rulers. But Reagan's partial lifting of sanctions against Poland was not meant to ease the desperate situation of the Polish people, but to help save the West's investments in Poland. Thus, dropping the objection to Poland's membership in the IMF could lead to a \$3 billion plus loan in the next six months, money that the Polish Finance Minister has already designated: "We have to be ruthlessly consistent here...not a single dollar of these new credits can be spent on increasing consumption, or anything that does not generate new and lasting productive capacity and export potential."

The church's role has been criticized by Solidarity activists in and out of prison who felt it had been doing very little to win the release of political prisoners the past 2½ years. Michnik, who wrote a work, Church,

Left: A Dialog, in the mid-1970s where he defended the church's fight against the state, has not made the church synonymous with the nation, nor with the ideas of freedom. He has criticized the church's non-condemnation of anti-semitism and censorship.

Debates among different tendencies within Solidarity about its direction are ongoing and a meeting of released activists is expected soon. Some, like Zbigniew Bujak, the most prominent Solidarity activist still underground, have scorned the government amnesty conditions which call for those who had eluded the police for 2½ years to "admit their crimes" and hand over their documents. Bujak has favored a fully functioning underground that would extend beyond the political realm to involve every facet of social life. Others, like Michnik and Kuron, just released from prison, are still in the process of working out ideas for the movement's direction.

A new dialogue is going to come from the reassessments within Solidarity and from the Polish masses' future activity as we approach the fourth anniversary of the Gdansk strike.

Philippines: new demonstrations in Manila



Several thousand protesting the Marcos government were set upon by Manila police using billy clubs and shields. Later gas-mask-wearing police patrolled streets with guns in hand. A few days later half a million marched on the first anniversary of the assassination of Benigno Aquino.

Japan: labor conditions

The unravelling of the Japanese economic "miracle" the past decade was naturally not a topic of discussion at the Western economic summit in June. But it has become evident in growing unemployment and worker resistance. The showcase automated steel industry has been in accelerated decline the past decade. Last year alone, mill furnaces operated at only 63% of capacity. Since the peak year of 1970, almost 90,000 workers have been eliminated in steel.

The myth of the paternalistic "happy family" of labor and management in the large state-owned or subsidized industries has likewise been disintegrating to reveal true conditions. The so-called "lifetime employment" benefits cover only a third of all workers. Instead of being laid off, steelworkers, for example, are farmed out to industry subcontractors where wages are lower, hours are longer and working conditions much harder. Twelve million workers labor in this world of non-union small shops without "guarantees" against lay-offs.

Unemployment in Japan has reached a new post-World War II official high of 2.7%, or 1¼ million workers. But even this does not take into account forced "retirement" and the conditions of women workers who make up 40% of the work force. Most women work in the service sector and two-thirds work part-time. They receive training for their jobs, but are expected to step aside for men to become the managers and full-time employees. The saying for women in this sector is, "You're sitting on a chair until you get married." Women are forced into "retirement" at age 30.

Younger women have begun to express an attitude opposed to this system. Likewise, the men workers in the "privileged" industries have begun to protest their conditions. A group of unemployed steelworkers demonstrated in Tokyo earlier in the year against their own forced "retirement." Once a middle-aged worker loses his job in the large industries, it is impossible to ever find a "lifetime" job again. The protest was tiny, but important in voicing the new open opposition to the stifling reality of state-capitalism and company-controlled unions.

Israel's shift to right

The July national elections in Israel for the Knesset showed a further move to the right. The plan to build a "national unity" government of Labor and Likud arose due to their almost even vote totals and majorities for neither. Both parties have many more points of agreement than fundamental differences over the policies of Israel the last seven years, from the 1982 genocidal invasion of Lebanon to the continuing settlements and expansion in the occupied Arab lands of the West Bank.

The balance of power is once more being decided by the most ultra-conservative, reactionary, religious and nationalist parties such as the National Religious Party,

Agudat Israel, Sephardi Torah Guardians and Tehiya. Though small in number they have in the past exerted a heavy influence in every sphere of Israeli civil society and foreign policy.

The fascist Rabbi Kahane's Kach Party was given upward of 22,000 votes in the election, winning a Knesset seat by advocating the "solution" for Israel of removing all Arabs from Israel, the West Bank and Gaza. Kahane's success is not an "aberration" as some claim, but a measure of how far to the right Israel has moved.

This has not been without some opposition. In the town of Umm al-Faham, where Kahane said he will begin his anti-Arab program by opening an "emigration office," Jews joined Arabs on Aug. 4 for a protest march of 7,000 against Kahane's racist and fascist intentions.

N. Ireland: police riot

For seven minutes Aug. 12 the police fired volleys of four-inch long, rock-hard plastic bullets into a crowd of 5,000 protesters peacefully assembled in Belfast. At least 250 rounds were fired. When it was over, Sean Downs, 22 years old, was dead, and at least 25 more were seriously wounded. The Sinn Fein rally was ready to hear U.S. solidarity activist Martin Galvin when police moved in to arrest him as a person "banned" from "British (sic) soil". Moments before the police charged, Gerry Adams had declared: "To the Royal Ulster Constabulary and British soldiers and to those in charge, if you want to kill men, women and children, this is your opportunity because we're not moving". They failed to capture Galvin.

Since plastic bullets were first introduced into Ulster in 1973, they have been used again and again on such demonstrations. The British admit to having fired a total of 40,000 rounds — 12,000 in one month in 1981 during the hunger strikes by IRA and INLA prisoners. And despite claims that they are a "soft option" for the police, they have now killed 15, seven of them children!

The scenes of the brutal attack Aug. 12 shown on British TV created an uproar in Britain, with many calling it a "police riot". The attack comes nearly 15 years to the day after British troops were sent to Northern Ireland, ostensibly to "keep peace". And it follows by 13 years the introduction of the hated policy of internment without trial, which was supposed to end "terrorism", but brought out the most massive uprising in nationalist neighborhoods of Derry and Belfast. Even British government supporters say there is no prospect of pacification in sight.

In the Irish Republic new demonstrations followed the release from prison July 17 of Nicky Kelly, who served four years and two weeks of a 12-year sentence. He was framed for a train robbery that he could not have committed, after being severely beaten in police custody to obtain a "confession". N&L had campaigned for his freedom ever since he was imprisoned.

Theory/ Practice NEWS & LETTERS

'Human Power is its own end'—Marx

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25c

Will labor
gain a mind
of its own?



by John Marcotte

"The bosses are getting tougher and tougher on us. They got us like slaves. If the union backed us up, I would rebel. As it is, there's no unity because there's no support from the union," a fellow worker told me the other day. That was when another worker with four years seniority was arbitrarily transferred to another department just because the new foreman disliked him personally. When the worker went to tell the boss he had no right to take his job and give it to a new man just off the street, the boss started talking about "competition" and the "good of the company" and said: "The foreman has the absolute right under the contract to make the team he needs to get the most production out. Management has always had the absolute right to shift workers as we see fit."

On the one side is the worker, recognizing that we are being reduced to mere slaves and not for a minute accepting the boss' "right". On the other side is the boss, arrogantly claiming his "absolute right" over the worker. There is no possible ground between the two. They are in absolute opposition.

Here is the boss' attitude when he fired a new worker the very same night she asked to go from part-time to full-time if there was an opening. She left crying because her three small children were

(continued on page 3)

From outer space to Lebanon, from Nicaragua to the U.S.

What would four more years of Reagan, world outlaw, mean?

By Olga Domanski

National Organizer News and Letters Committees

When Ronald Reagan was awakened on Sept. 20 with news of the latest bombing of the U.S. Embassy in Lebanon, he met briefly with reporters and then proceeded on to his helicopter for a leisurely day of campaigning for "four more years." This B-actor President of the most powerful country in the world clearly is intent on continuing with his latest Mary Poppins role, smilingly assuring us that all is well and America is healthy, while the grim reality of the world crises—at the center of which stand the two super-powers, equally bent on either world domination or world destruction—grows ever worse.

Exactly what does Ronald Reagan promise us, as our "Leader Maximum," if he gets his "four more years?" In the face of the fact that fully 75 percent of the American people support an end to the nuclear arms race by a mutual and verifiable freeze, this President is so against any arms control that he has opposed every single agreement ever reached, no matter how "rhetor-

ical" they have been — and that includes those of Kennedy, Johnson, Nixon, Ford and Carter. His Administration has spent four years producing nuclear weapons as fast as possible. While he sings us lullabies about how much stronger and safer we are than we were in 1980, Russia continues to produce four and a half and the U.S. one and a half new nuclear weapons every day — a day during which the interest alone on the current national debt increases \$300 million!

STAR WARS AND FIRST STRIKES

The escalation is never-ending. Thus, we now learn that as soon as the new Federal budget year begins at the end of September, the Navy will stop buying Trident I missiles for their nuclear weapon submarines and begin producing Trident IIs, with four times the destructive power of the Trident I, and the new capability of destroying Russian land-based ICBMs in hardened underground silos. By the time the Russians match the Trident IIs, they will be able to reach America's inland missile silos in less than 15 minutes. (As against all of 30 minutes now presumed available to presidential "decision-making" after detection of a possible ICBM attack.)

Most fantastic of all is the drive with which Reagan is pushing his Star Wars schemes, officially called "Strategic Defense Initiative" — the deployment of a system of laser or pulsar beams aimed at destroying incoming nuclear missiles — which he launched last year in an attempt as much to defuse the anti-nuclear movement as to gain support for a Pentagon war budget of \$239 billion, by scaring Americans witless at the supposed superiority of the "evil Empire," Russia. This year he has asked for \$305 billion, and Congress, — Republicans and Democrats alike — considered it a "compromise" to give him "only" \$292.9 billion for 1985!

What the experts call a "nearly leak-proof" Star Wars plan means, in the most optimistic terms, that "only" six percent of incoming warheads would get through — more than what is needed for a holocaust. There is no defense against nuclear war, but the very concept of Star Wars is enough to propel the already deadly arms race right into space. (Indeed, space is already being used for military purposes, as every space launch testifies.) The terrifying talk of "first strike success" has already begun.

Nor does the world consider it beyond these mad rulers to think a nuclear war could be "winnable." The expression "gallows humor" found its epitome and crossed over into frightening reality with Reagan's so-called "joke" that "We begin bombing in five minutes."

FROM GERMANY TO JAPAN; FROM WWII TO . . .

The headlines of any daily paper on any day give all the proof that is needed that no corner of the world is free from the constant threat of and preparation for war. Thus, while the anti-nuclear movement was swelling throughout Europe, we learn that in West Germany a refuge for 3000 senior government officials on "Day X" was being built under a mountain, where they evidently expect to remain for up to two years to plan what to do with what is left after a nuclear war. Now, ever since new Soviet and U.S. missiles were installed on both sides of the border between the two Germanies this year, there has been an increasing demand for public and private shelters—to which the major cities such as Bremen, Hamburg, Berlin and Munich have responded by updating old World War II bunkers and giving after-work voluntary survival courses. (One lesson: Minimizing exposure to fallout by holding a briefcase over your head while running to the nearest shelter!)

As Britain's largest field-training exercise since 1945 got underway on Sept. 17 for some 58,000 British soldiers and airmen just east of the frontier with East Germany—and the U.S. exercise (dubbed "Certain Fury") began in southern West Germany—West German protesters began a week of mounting demonstrations against these NATO "maneuvers." As we go to press, the news carries pictures of a human

(continued on page 10)

See Azania revolts p. 12; Steve Biko, p. 8; Black Education p.8;



Rally in Sharpeville, South Africa to protest rent increases was part of demonstrations in many townships.

Black World

Aboriginal
women
speak



by Lou Turner

We Are Bosses Ourselves: The Status and Role of Aboriginal Women Today, ed. Fay Gale. Canberra: Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies, 1983.

In 1983, a spontaneous revolt of Aboriginal people erupted around Sydney, Australia, known as the Redfern revolt which among other things was over land rights and education, and was led by women. The government's brutal suppression of Aboriginal militancy very nearly hid this revolutionary dimension of women as an indistinguishable force within the continuous struggle of Black Australia.

It cannot be considered as accidental, then, that the first Australia-wide gathering of Aboriginal women held at the annual conference of the Australia and New Zealand Association for the Advancement of Science, of which the present study, *We Are Bosses Ourselves*, is the summary compilation, took place just two years

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ON THE INSIDE

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WOMAN AS REASON

by Angela Terrano

The recently released 1980 census figures that show that men's wages are twice as high as women's, as well as the fact that more than 15% of Americans, 13 million of them children, live in poverty, confirm what women have known all along—this society is hell-bent on keeping women ill-fed, ill-clothed, ill-housed and ill-paid.

The fact that since the mid-70s only a small number of women workers has been able to break into higher paying jobs that heretofore had been for men only, is proof not that these are "exceptional" women looking for "traditionally male" jobs, but that American industry is determined to keep women out of jobs that would make them far more independent.

For example, in 1979 there were 3,000 women miners. They not only had to use the courts to crack the shield surrounding that job, but once in the mines they came face to face with male chauvinism in circumstances and working conditions found only in the mines.

Being compelled to confront this chauvinism at the same time as entering a new, hard and dangerous job, made it imperative for women miners to establish their own groups within their own communities and without. *Southern Exposure*¹ reports that by the end of 1981, "a number of very active support groups (were) banded together into a larger umbrella organization called Coal Mining Women's Support Team." In 1979 it was women miners and their supporters who made the UMW move its convention out of Florida, a state that did not pass the ERA.

WHAT MUST LIVES HAVE BEEN?

These women sought jobs that would enable them to provide for themselves and their families. In some cases it meant not having to work 16 hours a day at two miserable minimum wage jobs, never being able to see their families. The fact that for many of these women, mining coal was an "easier" job than they had been doing speaks volumes on what kind of jobs had been available to women workers and what these women's lives had been like. One 59 year old woman miner, who went into

1. *Southern Exposure*, Vol. IX, No. 4, Winter, 1981.

Sexism out of the subways!

Ed. Note—In our last issue, we printed an article on four Japanese feminists' victory against a viciously sexist ad that appeared in Tokyo railway trains. We have just received word of a similar victory in Washington, D.C.

Feminist protest and community pressure recently forced *Penthouse* magazine to cancel its subway advertising contract with the Washington Metropolitan Area Transit Authority. The ad, which first appeared in 100 DC subway cars in late February, pictured a woman lying on a billiard table with poker chips around her neck. Incensed by this callous and purposeful reference to the gang rape of a woman on a pool table in New Bedford, a coalition of women's groups held press conferences, leafletted subway stops and drew up petitions.

Many of the ads were torn down or marked up by individuals who were also outraged. One man, arrested for writing "This is a sexist and racist magazine" on an ad, had charges dropped when he argued that he had acted in self-defense, as the father of two young daughters.

Information from Lesbian Connection, Ambitious Amazons, P. O. Box 811, E. Lansing, MI 48823

Women in Nigeria

Women in Nigeria (WIN) is the monthly newsletter of the feminist organization of the same name, which presents a new expression of Third World feminism in Africa. WIN takes up the struggles of women on many fronts from the fight against landlords who evict single women from their lands, to laws which force single women to get married within three months or 'be dealt with', to struggles for child custody and rights of victims of rape.

Below we print excerpts from the July issue of WIN for our readers:

On Women's Oppression: Malama Ayesha Imam explains that "The reason (women's oppression) could not be biological is because if that were so, all women in every society would suffer in the same way. Nor could it be only class, since women suffer in different ways from men, and since some women do have the power to exploit some men, the reason for women's oppression cannot be universal sex oppression either. Rather, women suffer from a combination of class exploitation along with men and sex exploitation specific to women. The organization Women in Nigeria was created to fight both class and sex oppression."

And in a section of responses from readers, a WIN reader writes:

"I am of the opinion that WIN should never have existed if we just accept defeat and believe that man has been claiming ownership of children in case of divorce because God has made it so and it has to be so."

...The tradition of marriage has eroded the condition of women to that of slavery to man, for whom marriage was introduced. Until women know that the historical books (Bible and Quran) were written by men whose aims were to reverse the position of women, we shall remain where we are."

To contact WIN, write to: Women in Nigeria, P.O. Box 253, Samaru, Nigeria.

—Neda Azad

Women miners fight poverty, chauvinism



the mines at 54 and who had been working since age 15, said:

"When I was 20, I was working in the cotton mill...I worked 23 years as a weaver...the 10 months I worked as a spinner like to get the best of me. It was the hardest work I've ever done. Face ventilation in the mines is the easiest job I've ever done, and it's some of the hardest work in the mines...When I went in the mines, I no longer had to work 16 hours a day, which is what I was working when I went in. Six days a week at the factory and seven days a week at the diner right down the street. The other eight hours I slept...Five more years (in the mines) and I'll get a 10 year pension. That's what I'm planning on. Then I'm going to write my book and buy a kiln and do ceramics."

Another woman worker on entering the mine said, "They worked me real hard at first, to see if I 'was man enough to take it,' as the old saying goes. The first 30 days, they about bruted me to death, I didn't think I

VDTs: woman vs. machine

Chicago, Ill.—I work on a machine that is commonly called a VDT, shorthand for its actual name—video display terminal. The working conditions for women working on VDTs are taken lightly and unseriously. The conditions for women workers sometimes get reduced to questions of psychology (to see if the conditions are imagined) or the attitude is that women do not "really know" what the actual problems are. And yet, the facts remain—the effects of working with a display terminal are serious.

What is just beginning to be discussed concerning VDTs are the health effects—from carpal tunnel syndrome and severe back strain from the position you must hold your hands in and sit in all day, to the radiation effects of cataracts of the eyes, miscarriages and even cervical cancer.

But there is also the particular kind of alienation that the VDT breeds. The VDT's "logic" produces the strangest kind of false consciousness—a plastic kind of knowledge.

"Knowledge," in this case only goes so far as to whether data are "right" or "wrong." There is no compassion, no human reasoning, no understanding in working with VDTs. Rather, there is a cold, calculated, empty kind of knowledge. Both the worker and the machine learn by rote (the same manner in which a robot "learns"). When a VDT worker presses the wrong button—the machine produces an unmistakable, hauntingly high pitched beeping sound—a sound that is recognizable to any VDT worker.

And what is more unnerving is that for eight hours a day—this "process," with the continual back and forth between worker and machine goes on every single second. The VDT worker has no relation to any one else for the entire eight hours. Workers are not supposed to talk to each other. Instead they begin to talk to the machine as if it were another human being. I've heard workers speaking to their machines continually throughout the day. But they also try to get beyond the VDT's confining systems.

Workers do try to get beyond this confining wall of so-called logic in many ways. One worker who has worked with video displays for a number of years was having problems on one job. The machine was not producing the information she fed into it. So what she did instead of punching in new information was to repeatedly punch down hard the same keys over and over again to get the machine to work. Only now the machine skipped all the time. Many workers have to do this continuously—punching down hard their hands on those keys. VDT workers feel very much the alienation of their work and want to change it.

—Diane Lee

MARXIST-HUMANIST ARCHIVES

For further reading:

● See Angela Terrano, electrical worker, on "Which Way Out?" in the 1960 N&L pamphlet, *Workers Battle Automation*. Archives p. 2843.

● See Raya Dunayevskaya's 1962 reports from West Africa, including descriptions of the self-activity of African women during the struggle for independence. Archives p. 3184.

The Guide to the Marxist-Humanist Archives is available from N&L for \$1.00.

could stand it. I worked every day. I'd be so tired that I'd come home and could hardly put one foot in front of the other."

WOMEN IN MINERS' HISTORY

Women miners of today fought to enter union mines for wages equal to men. However it does not mean that women had not been used in mines before. It is known that many women worked in family mines, small mines and non-union mines, to help their husbands and/or fathers. They worked without pay and without records that they had ever been there, so that many women miners of the past facing black lung disease today cannot receive help from black lung benefits.

Another truth is that women miners today have a long history of women's participation² in the struggles of miners and their families against coal companies, the courts and the Federal Government. They will bring a militancy to the mines, not only in contract demands that benefit men miners as well as themselves but a militancy that combines the history of those struggles in the past with their struggles deep in the mines today that is sure to astound us.

2. See: *The Coal Miners' General Strike of 1949-50 and the Birth of Marxist-Humanism in the U.S.*, a News & Letters publication.



women-worldwide

Remember the Willmar 8, eight women bank tellers who picketed for months during the bitter Minnesota winter and whose heart-breaking struggle inspired two films? Following their lead, women at another Willmar bank, First American, used "Tupperware parties" as a guise for union organizing this summer, and forced the bank to recognize the union after two-thirds of the tellers signed union cards.

—Information from *New Directions for Women*

"Daily housework" for hundreds of Black South African women living near the township of Crossroads means rebuilding their plastic sheet-and-willow-branch homes, which government crews demolish each day. The government plans to demolish the entire township of 20,000 residents early in 1985. They want to move half the people back to tribal homelands—which they had left due to lack of work; and half to a new "modern" township further from Capetown, designed to destroy the self-organized community of Crossroads.

A study of cotton mills near Calcutta found that no women had been hired since 1965, the year equal pay for men and women became law. The remaining women workers have continued to agitate for increased hiring of women, establishment of legally required child care facilities, an end to harassment, and decent toilet facilities. One union commented: "Women have legitimate demands, but it is not feasible to take them up with management."

—Information from *Manushi*

"We don't want to treat the donors like they're on an assembly line," said one nurse as 124 Red Cross nurses struck Detroit area blood donor centers for nine days at the end of August. With donor safety the main issue, the nurses of Local 1199M of Michigan Health Care Associates rejected management's attempt to "increase productivity" from 20 to 30 donors per nurse. The final settlement, ratified Sept. 19, agreed to a 24-donor case-load.

Production, racism rule at U.S. Auto Radiator

Detroit, Mich.—Recently there has been a lot of harassment at U.S. Auto Radiator. They got a new daily report which means they're going up on production. There was a meeting on scrap recently. They're telling us that we should try and fix the scrap. We have obsolete machinery, machinery that doesn't cut the material right, that cuts people too. It makes defective parts that workers are expected to fix.

They have always harassed every worker for production, but it's hitting Black women the hardest. Right now four women have been transferred out of their regular work areas to areas that are the dirtiest and the hardest. And the job classification has lower pay.

The contract says you get paid for whatever job classification you are. Two of them got switched from testers to assemblers. The difference in pay is thirty cents. So they got cut 30 cents for not speeding up their production. The other two were sent to Plant Two. But most of the pay there is based on assembler's pay. Everybody in the plant says it's racism. Their goal is to divide everybody with racism. They'll get the opposite of what they want. The other workers sympathize with the women.

The harassment has gone so far that they harassed a pregnant woman. The foreman thinks she can't do the job. She does her work, she works hard, and she's not sick on the job. But pregnancy at U.S. Auto is treated like a disease.

And there was even a man who went to the bathroom, and the boss followed him, saying "Are you supposed to be here? This is 15 minutes before break."

I heard one worker say the only way to solve this problem of harassment for production is a wildcat.

—U.S. Auto Radiator worker

FROM THE AUTO SHOPS

Worker control needed for real job security

by Felix Martin, Labor Editor

Los Angeles, Cal.—After pulling 69,000 workers off the job in a "selective strike" against General Motors, the United Auto Workers reached a tentative settlement with GM on Sept. 22. The UAW leadership says the new contract will "guarantee job security for all workers". But to me this looks like one more give-back to GM.

The tentative agreement doesn't really provide any solid guarantees on job security. It doesn't prevent GM from laying off more auto workers, nor does it limit import of foreign parts. Instead, it calls for a billion dollar fund to be set aside to pay for a "re-training program". But what guarantee of a job is that? What is to say that after being trained for a new job, there will be any jobs available?

What we have gotten is only a 2 1/4% pay increase, which doesn't even keep up with inflation. In addition, the \$3.04 cost-of-living increase will not be figured into the base pay for some two years. That means auto workers actually end up earning less in real wages.

BIGGER PROFITS, FEWER JOBS

Almost every worker I talked to thought the main issue in the strike was job security. Many workers walked off their jobs after the "selective strike" was announced, even though their plants were not targeted for the strike, because they felt so strongly about job security. But instead of getting a guarantee that would save their jobs, they are being told that, because it will cost GM \$17,000 to re-train each laid-off auto worker, GM therefore won't lay them off.

The reason workers were so concerned about job security is that despite the huge profits of Ford, Chrysler and GM, 24.6% of all auto workers are unemployed. Since 1978 auto industry employment has fallen from 735,000 to 565,000—a loss of 170,000 jobs. Tens of thousands more jobs have disappeared from the parts plants. The capitalist system tries to make people think that bigger profits mean more jobs, but the opposite is the case.

All GM has offered in the face of this is a "re-training program" for laid-off auto workers. But what workers need to get job security is not a re-training program, but control of production. This the UAW leadership cannot see. They talk plenty against "imports and foreign made parts taking jobs away", but they never show why the auto companies are doing this.

The companies are relying more and more on imported parts because they are cheaper and can give them an even bigger profit so they then can go out and buy new

automation and unimation. Instead of looking to the drive to build more and more machines as the cause for auto worker unemployment, the UAW wants to take up the issue of "foreign imports" as if it exists by itself. They haven't even raised the issue of automation and unimation at the bargaining table.

"MACHINE INTELLIGENCE"?

GM announced just a few days before the strike deadline that it is buying into three more high-tech companies, this time firms that produce machines able to "see" faulty parts and welds on the assembly line. They call this "machine intelligence." I want to know what kind of intelligence the UAW bureaucrats have when they let this go through without a peep while putting all the attention on foreign imports.

What I do know is that the tentative settlement was a surprise to everyone when it was announced. No one thought GM and the UAW were anywhere close to an agreement just 24 hours before it was reached. It looks to me like the UAW wanted a quick settlement because the strike was spreading faster than they could contain it. The strike may now be over, but the issues that produced it are not.

Detroit: which job?

Detroit, Mich.—GM workers at the Clark Street Cadillac plant joined other selected plants already on strike against GM five days after the contract expired.

Workers had heard little about bargaining over wages, despite GM's record profits, except for the company's offer of a lump sum payment.

Job security is the key issue, and that includes putting a halt to outsourcing. One striker asked, "Why hasn't outsourcing been a big deal till now? The companies could outsource work to low wage suppliers all along, and some have, but I have to blame the government partly for policies that encourage companies to shut down their own plants and get the same work done with cheaper non-union labor." Another worker said, "Reaganomics is part of our problem, but the guy running against him won't get it done."

Strikers also discussed that job security means more than just keeping a job; it is also which job you have. A worker with some seniority has spent years getting a decent job in the plant. If your plant shuts down and you get another job at another plant, but have to start all over again with the worst and hardest jobs, that is still no job security.

Strikers said that whatever is called job security in the next contract would not apply to all workers; they just did not know what and who it would protect. One Black worker carried the official union picket sign plus his own: "Jobs for now and the future!"

—Strike supporter

Van Nuys: no contract, no work

by Peter Wermuth

Van Nuys, Cal.—Workers at the GM Van Nuys plant voted overwhelmingly Sept. 18 to remain on strike and reject a GM-UAW local contract agreement, just 24 hours after thousands of angry workers walked off the line in defiance of both GM and their local union negotiating committee.

When GM and the UAW failed to reach a national contract agreement on Friday, Sept. 14, Van Nuys became one of 13 plants closed as part of a "selective strike" against GM. Then on Sunday, Sept. 16, the evening news reported that GM and Van Nuys local union leadership had reached an agreement covering local plant issues. The news said all workers had to report to work in the morning.

"WE WALKED OUT"

"Here we come to work Monday morning," one worker told News & Letters, "and we didn't know why we were called back or who authorized it. No national agreement had been reached, and we hadn't voted on the local one announced on the news. Workers were real mad and asking why we were working without a contract. About 80% showed up to work, but we were only running 20 cars per hour. There were no union people around to explain anything; we couldn't even find a committeeman. Everyone was real agitated, and by 10 o'clock we walked out."

Hundreds of workers left the plant and went across the street to the local union hall demanding an explanation from Local President Pete Beltran as to why Van Nuys was breaking ranks from the national strike. Beltran told them that a "mix-up in communication" had occurred and that all workers should leave the plant.

"But most workers had already left by that point," another worker said. "What I don't understand is why didn't Beltran take any action until he was confronted. How could he not have known that hundreds of workers

were reporting to work right across the street from his office?"

Most of the 2,000 present to vote on the local contract at the union meeting the next day left no doubt about their opposition to returning to work so long as other assembly plants were still on strike. When a UAW international representative got up to explain that "nothing unusual has happened here...we have gone back to work before on the basis of a tentative agreement before the membership has had a chance to vote on it," he was met with shouts of "not this time!" and "strike, strike."

Local union officials made little effort to explain how or why the Monday "mix-up" had occurred. But workers said they knew what was involved. "When the national contract expired (on Sept. 14) the night shift walked out, leaving a lot of cars unfinished on the line," one worker said. "GM wanted those cars built out because in just a few days the plant goes to model change over. That way they could sit out a strike for a few weeks and not worry about losing any money or paying us a thing. It's a good thing it didn't turn out that way."

Union officials who tried to convince the membership to agree to the local contract were booed heavily. The sentiment from almost everyone was to stay out until full national agreement was reached. "Management says we wildcatted; the local leadership says they pulled us out. But the workers acted on their own. They stood up and did something and that feels great," another worker told us.

Oklahoma: mobile work force

Oklahoma City, Okla.—The big issue at GM in Oklahoma City is job security. GM wants transfer rights, giving them the power to move workers from one plant to another. They are pushing for corporate seniority, which would allow a worker to keep his seniority as he moves from plant to plant, no matter how many years the workers at the plant he arrived at had been working.

Corporate seniority is a touchy subject in Oklahoma, where hundreds were forced to move from plants in California. Workers say it sounds good at first, but in no time it will be used to move workers around at random. We've been saying for years here that what Oklahoma workers experienced will become nationwide; it will lead to a mobile work force.

What is on everyone's mind is the news that this plant will stay open until 1987, when a major re-tooling will be done. No one can be sure how many workers they will need after they put in all those new machines. We're also losing a lot of jobs over design change; there is a lot less that gets built into a car these days. All signs point to a smaller and smaller work force.

—Paint shop worker

Baloney from Oscar Mayer

Chicago, Ill.—On Sept. 25 the word came down that the arbitrator had ruled that Oscar Mayer had to pay us every penny of the \$2.44 an hour they cut from our paychecks for the last five months, money they took without negotiating, against the union contract. So what did the arbitrator's award mean for us? Nothing! The award is on hold. The company says they are appealing the ruling to the courts. They put out a letter saying that they won't pay us the wages in our contract, even though it doesn't expire until June, 1986, unless the federal court forces them to pay it.

People here are angry. In 1981 the company cut our cost-of-living pay. Now they refuse to give us the money the contract and the arbitrator say belongs to us. I feel that it's all a way to pressure the workers in Iowa and Wisconsin. They voted down the concessions there, even though they are all on lay-off. Everyone here feels they were right to vote it down.

But what is the position of our Local 100 leadership? I heard that some of them told the Wisconsin workers that Chicago is "satisfied with the cuts." This was before the arbitrator's ruling. They knew it was nonsense. All I know about Local 100 is that they take \$14 a month out of my check, and we get very little for it. It seems like whatever the company says, the union goes along with it sooner or later.

Now Oscar Mayer is bringing in quite a few new workers—right off the street. I have been training one the last six days. This is totally wrong, when you consider we have workers laid off here for over a year. I personally know 5 or 6 women laid off in baking who could have been called back to do this job. The company hires new people because they can pay them \$2.25 an hour less than laid-off workers, and then get rid of them after 45 days if they want. We feel like they are doing increased work that should be done in Iowa or Wisconsin. They are doing it here to keep the pressure on workers at those plants.

Where is the union in all this? I have worked here over 15 years, and all along we have had a no-strike clause. I'll tell you what that means to me: it's a bunch of baloney!

—Oscar Mayer worker

WORKSHOP TALKS

(continued from page 1)

waiting for their visa appointment in her country, and if she didn't have a job they would lose the visa to come join her. Workers felt bad and the next day asked the boss to please give her one more week, since she still had two weeks left in her trial period. But the boss shot back, "Look, I don't care about her problem!"

But I have never seen anything get such universal revolt from the workers in my shop as a letter the boss posted by the time clock when he accused one worker of punching out for another. The letter said, "If you act like animals, we will treat you like animals." When the boss went into some departments the next day workers started barking and mooing at him. He stayed in the office after that. Then some workers circulated a caricature of the boss as an animal and posted it up, which really showed, who is calling whom an animal? The boss' lack of respect and denying our humanity struck a deeper response than all the miserable wages, accidents and hazardous conditions we suffer daily.

It is true we do not have human relations with the bosses. A worker with 30 years seniority told me, "It burns me up when the bosses walk through here and don't even look at me, like I was a piece of steel. I get so angry I can't even look at them. I never believed in being friends with your boss, but at least they could say good morning. I worked for your daddy and now you don't even see me!"

While the bosses would have us as slaves, the German philosopher G.W.F. Hegel in the "Lordship and Bondage" section of his Phenomenology shows the slave gains "a mind of his own" by struggling to be free and stands higher than the lord who lives in luxury, does not labor, and therefore cannot really gain true freedom.

What is very important to us in the shop, with one year left to go in our contract, is what atmosphere the nation will be in then. Will labor be gaining a mind of its own, like in the Phelps-Dodge strike and the wildcat at GM's Van Nuys assembly plant? What is at stake for all of us is not only will Reagan win or be defeated, will we have to accept concessions or not, but as Hegel showed, will we become "aware of the idea—aware, i.e., that women and men are aware of freedom as their essence, aim, and object...this very idea itself is the actuality of women and men—not something which they have, as women and men, but which they are."

THEORY / PRACTICE

by Raya Dunayevskaya
author of *Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation
and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution.*

Professor Louis Dupré's *Social Critique of Culture** is a most original critique of all of Marx's works by an independent scholar who has previously made a serious contribution to the study of the young Marx with his *Philosophical Foundations of Marxism*. He achieves this, not by extending his study, nor merely by now focusing on what Marx is best known for—his "Economics." Rather, he has embarked on a totally new venture, which is at once disclosed in the Foreword, where he states: "What started as an attempt to correct and further explore certain theses I proposed in an earlier publication eventually led to a wholly new assessment of Marx's significance in the history of Western consciousness." (p.vii)

The uniqueness of a study of Marx as "the first major critic of a process of cultural disintegration that began with the modern age and has continued unabated to our time," challenges both Marxists and bourgeois interpreters of Marx.

CULTURE AND IDEOLOGY

Dupré grasps most presciently the impact of Marx's concept of ideology as a false consciousness when he writes, toward the end, that "the term ideology receded almost as suddenly as it had risen to prominence. But the concept reemerges..." (p. 217). To stress that it was not limited to Marxists, Dupré prefaced that statement with: "No aspect of Marx's work has more profoundly affected the modern mind than his critique of ideology" (p. 216).

Nevertheless, none before—and this includes Marx himself—had ever viewed Marx's works from the vantage point of culture. Furthermore, far from that vantage point having been embarked upon by Prof. Dupré as some sort of specialized study, it indeed excludes no major work, be it philosophic, economic or political, from his purview. Let me begin with the most specialized field—that of the "law of motion of capitalism" to its collapse, and not restrict that to Chapter 4, "Economics as Sociocultural Activity," which is entirely devoted to "Economics," since it pervades the whole work.

Thus, in the second chapter, "Culture as Historical Process," Dupré not only deals with "Base and Superstructure" but touches on something as pivotal for that final decade of Marx as his critique of Mikhailovsky who tried to make a universal of Marx's law of accumulation of capital. Marx insisted that he had been analyzing West Europe only and that precapitalist societies could find another path to revolution. Thus, in Chapter 3, "Structural Dialectic," Dupré tackles the whole question of "The Dialectic of Economic Concepts" as well as "The Historical Principle Radicalized: Capital," and in Chapter 5, "The Uses of Ideology," to which we have already referred, what stands out is the relationship of ideology to superstructure.

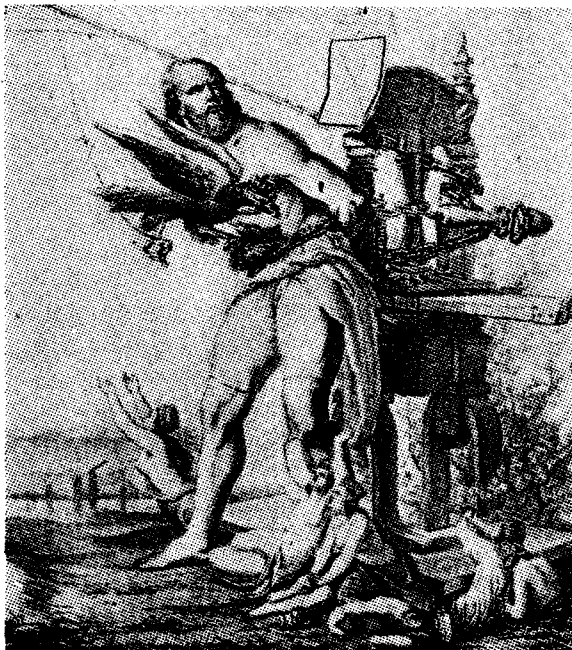
There is no escaping from Dupré's preoccupation with "Economics" as both what he considers his most pivotal analysis of Marx's concepts and his concern with righting the record on the manner in which critics of Marx have not given sufficient attention to Marx as a serious, indeed "the first major critic of a process of cultural disintegration" in Western consciousness. To further emphasize that, he keeps returning to the point that it simply isn't true that Marx meant to completely subordinate culture to economics. Furthermore, he seldom says anything on economics without stressing it as a social phenomenon. Therein precisely lies also the weakness because it leads to very nearly so subordinating human activity to "social" as to make the two appear synonymous. I therefore will start with the very first chapter, where Dupré is strongest and most convincing, as he tackles the question of fetishism of commodities.

ALIENATION OR CLASS STRUGGLES?

His subtitle for the section on Capital is "Alienation as Economic Contradiction." Dupré holds (correctly in this writer's view) that alienation and fetishism are not at all synonymous, that fetishism of commodities is directly related to the process of production where the "reification of all aspects of man's productive activity" occurs. He also denies a direct relationship of fetishism as Marx develops it in Capital to his concept of the fetish as he presented it in his 1842 Notebooks, when he

*Marx's Social Critique of Culture, by Louis Dupré (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1983) \$25.

Marx's critique of culture—a new study



This contemporary cartoon on the suppression of the paper Marx edited, *Rheinische Zeitung*, shows Marx chained to the printing press while the royal Prussian eagle gnaws at his vitals. The original lithograph appeared in 1843 without any accompanying text, since printed comment was forbidden by the censorship.

was summarizing Charles DeBrosses's famous 1785 work, *Ueber den Dienst der Fetischgötter*. Dupré approvingly quotes Theodore Adorno's letter to Walter Benjamin: "The fetish character of commodities is not a fact of consciousness, but dialectic in the eminent state that produces consciousness."

At the same time, however, Dupré shows an affinity to what the Frankfurt School later did by extending the question of fetishism to the whole cultural field. His ambiguity continues though he is well aware of the fact, as he himself put it, that thereby "we have left the area of Marxist hermeneutics for what is in fact a critique of Marx" (p.50). Nowhere is this more jarring than on the question of praxis. No wonder that in a "Provisional Conclusion" to that chapter, Dupré suddenly questions why Marx concentrates "primarily on the capitalist mode of production and its exclusive orientation toward the production of exchange value" (p. 55). He points to the determining factor of "the negativity of praxis, in alienation, in the total dialectic of society, and indeed of all history" (p. 57), which is exactly where Dupré's ambiguity stands out most sharply. It is only now that we can turn to that Chapter 4 on "Economics" and, with it, the greatest weakness of the whole work.

Dupré fails to see that it is because of the priority of the mode of production and the relations between capital and labor at the point of production that Marx is not dealing only with "economic laws." It is there that Marx hears the "stifled voice" of the worker, follows his actions of resistance in the factory and extols the workers' struggle for the shortening of the working day. Dupré pays no attention whatever to the 80 pages Marx devotes to the chapter in Capital on "The Working Day." While Western ideologists have dismissed that as a sob story, it is precisely there that Marx credited the workers with creating the ground for a philosophy greater than what the Declaration of Independence expounded: "In place of the pompous catalogue of the 'inalienable rights of man' comes the modest Magna Charta of a legally limited working-day, which shall make clear 'when the time which the worker sells is ended and when his own begins'" (Capital, Vol. I, Kerr edition, p. 330).

All this is missing from Dupré, as if it had nothing to do with "culture." Marx, on the other hand, as early as the *Communist Manifesto*, referred to it as "class culture." But to see that, one has to not separate culture any more than philosophy from revolution. So all-present was that concept of revolution to Marx that he called the whole struggle nothing short of a civil war: "The creation of a normal working day is, therefore, the product of a protracted civil war, more or less dissembled, between the capitalist class and the working class" (Capital Vol. I, Kerr edition, p. 327).

MARX'S LABOR THEORY OF VALUE

Dupré prefers, when he comes to that "Economics" chapter, to make the usual beginning—critique of Marx's law of labor value, and to stress the fact that "...outside the strictly Marxist ambit no living economist accepts Marx's value theory" (p. 178). The expression "living economist" is supposed to hide the fact that Dupré is both relying on bourgeois economists, and, at the same time, excluding Third World economists. It is true that he quotes two great economists who are sympathetic to Marx—Joan Robinson and Joseph Schumpeter; but both are pragmatists, hostile to Hegelian dialectics which Dupré certainly is not. Somewhere (I believe in the very essay Dupré quotes) Joan Robinson expresses her great indignation at Marx for constantly allowing Hegel to "stick his nose" into the field of economics: "The concept of value seems to me to be a remarkable example of how a metaphysical notion can inspire original thought, though in itself it is quite devoid of operational meaning."

Schumpeter, who is just as hostile to Hegelian dialectics in the economic field, nevertheless was most profound in understanding why it was impossible to argue with Marx on strictly economic

grounds, asking how you can argue with an "economist" like Marx when he is forever "transforming historic narrative into historic reason."

The very first sentence of the "Economics" chapter states: "While the tendency in the modern age has been to emancipate itself from any other functions of the cultural process, Marx's theory aims at reintegrating economic activity with the overall process of socialization" (p. 165). Despite that declaration, and despite the fact that Prof. Dupré over and over again disclaims any attempt on his part to consider Marx an economic determinist, we will see him here falling into what I consider the Engelsian trap, that is to say, quoting Engels as if that were a statement of Marx.

MARX AND ENGELS AREN'T ONE

On the second page of that "Economics" chapter he suddenly declares: "...Ever since he (Marx) had read Engels' 'Outline of Political Economy' (1844), he had known that an economic system, once established, cannot be simply dislodged by a better one" (p. 166). It is true that the young Marx as a philosopher was overly impressed with Engels' early essay on political economy. It is not true that he first got from Engels the concept of the solidity of the capitalist system.

Marx's *Economic-Philosophic Manuscripts*—which he described only orally to Engels that same year—had already singled out a great deal more than the need to break with capitalist society. Marx's Promethean view of new human relations had projected not only the need to overthrow capitalism but to establish such totally new human relations that communism was also rejected as "the goal of human society." On the contrary, Marx insisted: "Only by the transcendence of this mediation, which is nevertheless a necessary presupposition, does there arise positive Humanism, beginning from itself."

Prof. Dupré has such a profound grasp of those 1844 Manuscripts and so much stresses the fact that Marx totally opposes a purely economic view, that it is hard to know how Dupré could have fallen into the trap. I believe it results from not grappling with the last decade of Marx's life. Despite Dupré's appreciation of Marx, not Engels, as the founder of a whole new continent of thought and revolution, he still treats Marx and Engels very nearly as one. Thus he writes as though Engels was right to claim that his *Origin of the Family* was a bequest of Marx: "It is, of course, impossible to verify this claim. Yet Marx's recently published ethnological notebooks appear to support it. Hence there is every reason to take Engels' word as, at least, in substance concordant with Marx's latest development" (p.99). Nothing could be further from the truth, as can be seen from the actual transcription of Karl Marx's *Ethnological Notebooks*, which discloses the wide gulf between Marx's multilinear view of human relations and Engels' unilinear view.

Engels' near identification of Lewis Henry Morgan as a "materialist" differs sharply from Marx's critical attitude to Morgan; Engels' view of women as suffering from some sort of "world historic defeat of the female sex" ever since the victory of patrilineal over matrilineal society sharply contrasts to Marx's multidimensional view of all human development.

Dupré couldn't have fallen into this trap if what he calls Marx's "application" of the dialectic to economic categories were actually Marx's transformation of that dialectic of thought to the dialectic that emerges out of the actual praxis of the masses, of the historic events that shaped and reshaped history, and developed into the dialectic of revolution itself—not only as an opposition, as a first negation, but as a continuity, as what Marx called "revolution in permanence."

WHAT IS ECONOMICS TO CULTURE? AND WHAT IS IT TO REVOLUTION?

Dupré himself—despite his deep comprehension "in general" that Marx had the category of praxis as the divisive line between all different varieties of socialism and his own philosophy and practice of revolution—nevertheless makes this fantastic conclusion: "Since the production of surplus value by means of surplus labor practically vanishes, revolutionary action loses its purpose. Marx did not pursue this line of thought. If he had, it might have changed his entire political program" (p. 192).

It is true he, himself, rejects that as Marx's view, but he nevertheless continues to manifest this ambiguity when he writes: "Our present criticism bears only on the fact that Marx singled out economic relations of production...from the social complex as a whole being more fundamental, and that his work displays a tendency to regard these relations as being primarily determined by the means of production...Yet the ambiguity remains..." (p. 215).

The "ambiguity" is Dupré's, not Marx's.

From Dupré's Introduction: "The Reintegration of Culture," to his Conclusion: "Culture Reintegrated through Praxis," he develops the unique view of Marx as a social critic of culture without in any way trying to hide Marx's disdain of bourgeois culture as he shows that Marx "the great critic exposed the spurious claims of a culture which had erected itself into an independent, quasi-religious reality, a dehumanized, denaturalized fetish" (p.3).

And though he sees that praxis is a dividing line also within the Marxist movement, Dupré himself does not fully comprehend what Marx meant to express in the category of praxis. It was certainly a great deal more than practice, especially as intellectuals consider practice to be merely the practice of theory, rather than grasping that theory itself emerges out of praxis—and that praxis is an activity both manual and mental. Put differently, and as we have tried to show throughout

(continued on page 10)

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"Disappeared" worldwide spark new forms of women's revolt

by Terry Moon

Women worldwide are confronting, directly, a death that has tried to remain faceless—those governments that in the dark of night or the light of day, in front of wives, grandparents, brothers and sisters, children, grab human beings, take them away, imprison them, torture them, murder them—make them "disappear".

The first to create a new form of revolt against this terror were the women of Argentina, the Mothers of the Plaza de Mayo. For eight years they have marched in the center of the city with the names of their missing children painted on or sewn into their head-scarves. They began this at the height of the junta's power and are one of the reasons for its downfall. Their protests were as consistent as they were open, and there was nothing to prevent them from being murdered as well.

FROM EL SALVADOR TO SRI LANKA

The form of revolt that has made public to the world the atrocities of the junta has been recreated by women in other countries:

●In EL SALVADOR, the Mothers Committee of Political Prisoners and El Salvador's Mothers of the Disappeared have been able to hold open demonstrations in San Salvador when all other protests in the cities have been stopped.

●A founder of the Mexican National Committee for the Defense of Political Prisoners, Exiles, Fugitives and Disappeared Persons, Rosario Ibarra de Piedra, ran for president of Mexico in order to publicize that MEXICO has its own secret police grabbing people off the streets and murdering them.

●Inspired by the women of El Salvador, women in GUATEMALA have just formed their own organization, Apoyo Mutuo (Mutual Support), thus showing the

world that President Oscar Humberto Mejia Victores continues the death squads of Rios Montt.

●In SRI LANKA, minority Tamil women formed a group called the Mothers Front. Five hundred marched through the streets of Jaffna to the district's chief civil administrator demanding the release of over 500 youths arrested in August.

●In July, women in Beirut, LEBANON, both Christian and Muslim, blocked roads, burned tires, stopped the operation of the airport and traffic, occupied the government television studios and for four days stalled the plan to reunite Beirut and stabilize the cease fire. Women in Beirut had held protests throughout June as well.

FROM LEBANON TO ARGENTINA

It is in Beirut and Argentina where we are seeing a development in this movement. The bloodbath was supposed to be over in Lebanon; in July the government wanted to return to "normal life". But what can ever be "normal" again after your relatives are picked up, not even killed in a regular war, but simply murdered for

being in the wrong place or the wrong religion?

Ms. Wadad Halwani, a leader of the Lebanese women, put it this way: "We refuse to have the curtain dropped on the fate of hundreds of kidnapped people, and demand in each case that those responsible be taken to account and punished." These women, some of whom have four pictures of their kidnapped relatives pinned to their clothes, are refusing to let things return to "normal" because Syria now wants to impose its idea of "peace", just as, earlier, Israel tried to impose their "peace". The women and children, those who are supposed only to be victims, are demanding justice and saying that they will have a say in what is a "normal" society.

In this they have much in common with the women of Argentina, who as well as making it impossible for things to return to normal. They, along with the Mothers of the Plaza de Mayo and other human rights groups, have kept the pressure on the government even after a special commission was appointed to study the disappeared, and even after the military trials have begun. In fact, they are protesting these very trials. They argue that an army will not police itself, letting murderers go free with the loophole that a serviceman cannot be punished for following orders, a plea even senior generals are using.

Many don't agree that the investigation of the disappeared is reaching a climax with the publication of a report by the National Commission on the Disappearance of Persons and a TV program aired in July called "Never Again". That report documents only 9,000 out of 30,000 missing. The Mothers oppose the report, insisting it is not enough, that thousands of Argentinians will be left with haunting questions.

What is new is the persistence of the women and the creativity and development of their form of protest. They are making sure that they have a say in what is justice, that no society can ever be "normal" until all questions are answered and all the guilty punished.

They are making sure that "never again" is not to be only a heartbreaking plea, but a fact. With that they have taught all theoreticians where theory comes from—their activity.



The Mothers Committee of Political Prisoners Missing and Assassinated, demonstrating in San Salvador.

Latinas: U.S. and Nicaragua

Chicago, Ill.—On Chicago's West Side a newly organized Latin American women's group recently met with Gladys "Daisy" Zamora, Vice Minister of Culture and head of the Social and Economic Institute for the Nicaraguan government. Sra. Zamora had been in Chicago for a week discussing the issues surrounding the survival and continuation of the Nicaraguan revolution. As the Mexican Independence Day parade marched by on the street below twelve women sat in a small office to listen and share ideas with Sra. Zamora.

As a newly formed group, the Chicago women were interested in how the official Nicaraguan women's organization first got started during the pre-revolutionary times of Somoza. Sra. Zamora explained that initially the organization was formed to fight repression and defend the human rights of people persecuted and imprisoned by the Somoza regime. Many of the first organizers were women from the university and the legal profession. As the organization grew, more women who were workers and peasants and who had had relatives killed or imprisoned joined. Sra. Zamora felt that these women politicized the intellectuals and professionals. It was the coming together of intellectuals, professionals, workers and peasants that made the organization evolve from concentrating on repression to fighting for the revolution.

After the overthrow of Somoza, Sra. Zamora said that the organization has continued and is now the official Nicaraguan women's organization. She talked about the enormous problems that the Nicaraguan women are facing today. Similar to the United States, many women are left alone to raise their children. More day care centers are being started and a law has been passed that makes fathers responsible for the support of their children. The government can deduct payments from the father's check if he does not contribute voluntarily.

Sra. Zamora said that many of her Cuban sisters feel that women in Nicaragua have made greater advancements than in Cuba. Twenty years of struggle for women's liberation have made the difference.

She also brought up the fact that abortion is not yet legal. It has not been made a priority to fight for by the official women's organization. Unfortunately, there was not enough time for the women to discuss this issue with Sra. Zamora. However, after she left, several of the women did discuss abortion. One woman thought it was hard to believe that women were denied their choice to control their own bodies. When discussion led to the fact that many women in Nicaragua were dying from illegal abortions, one woman exclaimed, "Many! If one woman's life is in danger, that is too many!"

—A Chicago Reader

Latin America, U.S. labor struggles linked

Editor's Note: At a recent meeting in Chicago of The Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador (CISPES), two trade union activists spoke. One, Fernando Rodriguez, was active in the Council of Salvadoran Trade Unionists and is now in exile. The other, Noel Beasley, is a representative of the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union. What follows are excerpts from their speeches.

El Salvador

Greetings from all Salvadoran workers. I would like to talk about my experiences in helping to organize workers in El Salvador.

At McCormick Company which produces mustard and mayonnaise for the U.S., we were faced with the owners of the company and the ministry of labor who wanted to stop any union activity. The majority of the workers lived in the old zone of the city of Coscatlan in a slum where houses are made of cardboard and there is only one communal bath for 140 houses in filthy conditions. There the government only came when it was time to collect taxes or when the owner figured out that we were organizing. Immediately 62 workers were fired and the union was stopped. That's the way multinationals work in El Salvador.

Another company was Texas Instruments. Workers there started to organize in secret. We finally won a union but it lasted only eight months because the company didn't accept collective bargaining. Workers took over the factory. But soon the army surrounded the plant with troops and took workers out by force of guns. The radio and newspapers said it was a clash between terrorists and the government, but this operation was directed by a U.S. military advisor. The union was crushed and the company still pays only \$3 a day.

If El Salvador liberates itself, there is a possibility that other countries can do the same. This is what the Reagan administration wants to stop. If we have a workers' government, we can control our lives. If El Salvador liberates itself, that would mean stopping the free enterprise zones in our country where multi-nationals don't pay taxes, don't have to pay a minimum wage, allow no trade unions and have the army's protection.

Chicago

I am involved in helping to organize Mexican immigrant workers in Chicago as well as a small sewing factory in North Chicago with Salvadoran workers. What we have to realize is that there is no longer a separation between the problems of Salvadoran workers and labor in Chicago. We no longer have a simply American work force. This is why we can't separate the struggle of labor from Central America.

First of all, we have a common revolutionary heritage. The zones of exploitation created in Central America have always existed in the South U.S.A. If you look at the free enterprise zones in the State of Illinois, you see that our conditions are beginning to exactly equate with the Third World. And it is not just the Reagan Administration that has created this. It has been the active and continuous operation of the Democratic Party as well, and the policy of the U.S. historically.

I first studied El Salvador when I was battling

the free enterprise zones in the State of Indiana and discovered that in San Salvador there are 200,000 workers in such zones and that the U.S. owns 80% of El Salvador's major manufacturing firms. So for us the question is not one of feeling sorry for the Central American workers, but we have to realize that when auto workers bargain with GM or Ford, that has to be done in the context of knowing that there are four parallel plants in Mexico who get much lower wages.

Trade union rights are not an abstraction. We can't say, here is the American worker and here is the El Salvador intervention, because all aid to El Salvador supports those free enterprise zones. We need international trade unions. You can't bargain in isolation. We need a global and not just a Chicago map.

Protest Chicago fair

Chicago Ill.—"You must think we are crazy. You want to give us this beautiful gift with such pretty wrapping. But the thing inside is rotten. Everything we have got ourselves. Nothing is given to us."

These are the words of a Latina woman as she expressed the sentiments of nearly 80 of her neighbors in Chicago's Hispanic Pilsen Community who gathered to protest a plan designed by Chicago's corporate elite to develop a \$900 million World's Fair adjacent to their neighborhood. The meeting was the first of a series of public hearings agreed to by World's Fair developers as a result of earlier protests. Angry residents told representatives of the Chicago World's Fair Commission and the City of Chicago in no uncertain terms that the proposed fair was diverting their own money for a "party on the lake," that it was a plan that would destroy their homes, jobs and community.

One Latino man stated, "It's a shame that you corporate leaders like First National Bank won't lend us money to fix up our homes, yet have plenty of money for this fair. I've been lied to so many times about how many jobs there will be in other projects. It never happens."

Another man added, "Fires are happening every day in our community. People can't get loans to fix their homes. The people who want the fair are only concerned with money, not with our community or the people who live here."

"You mean to tell me that I'm so stupid that I don't know what is going on here!" shouted a Latina woman. "It is very hard for me as a working mother to keep up my home. The fair will bring the speculators to take my home. The question about the fair is, at whose expense?"

An older Latina woman pointed to the fact that the opposition to the plans of the corporations is only just beginning. "You all must eat at that Chicago restaurant named 'Let Them Eat Cake'. We don't believe there will be jobs for us. We've heard that before. The Hispanic community is always being pushed around. You great liberal humanitarians are telling us to step aside. But we are not going to stand for it."

—David Park

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ELECTION HORRORS VS. MARXIST-HUMANISM'S VISION

This year's election campaign has me scared. The organized disruption of the Mondale and Ferraro rallies reminds me both of the Nazi assaults on Socialist meetings just before Hitler came to power, and of the Likud supporters in Israel's 1981 election, who broke up Labor rallies by chanting "Begin, King of Israel". I don't think that the problem is limited to Reagan, but to the deep and totally perverted phenomenon called "Reaganism."

The most horrible example of this is the widespread wearing of a new T-shirt on US armed forces bases. It has a picture of a nuclear mushroom cloud, with the words "Hiroshima/Nagasaki. Made in USA, Tested in Japan." Then in big letters, above and below the bomb, it says: "Mess with Us, We'll Do it Again." This is so degenerate a society that I know you are right—we need "revolutions in theory and practice"—if we are to ever be really human.

Observer
Brooklyn, NY

I am kind of new to the movement, so I do not know everything about Marxist ideas. But what I want to know more about from Dunayevskaya's article is the material on "Absolute Method". Everybody else in the Left seems to think that Hegel is some kind of embarrassment. But the way it is presented there makes me think it has a lot to do with the question of how revolution can avoid counter-revolution. When you look at some recent activities, especially among Chicanos, you can see how much need there is for some ideas that are new.

Chicano Youth
Los Angeles

Reagan's administration is as lawless as they come, even though he talks all the time about "the rule of law". I got furious when I read that 491,300 medically disabled were purged from the social security rolls. When judge after judge ordered them re-instated, the Administration simply refused to follow the decisions even of their own U.S. Court of Appeals. So brazen was the "nonacquiescence" that the House and Senate finally had to pass a bill to prevent further mass purges from the rolls.

Social security taxpayer
Philadelphia

I am so mad every time I hear Reagan use religion to justify what he does. When I think of how it was used in the 1830s, 40s and 50s in the fight against slavery, and I remember how Harriet Tubman said that God is against slavery, it seems like they had a different idea of religion from what Reagan has in mind. His idea of religion is to say you pray for the meek, and then starve them, jail them or kill them with bombs.

Factory worker
Detroit

It didn't surprise me that the Russians would decide to help Reagan where he is most vulnerable by sending Foreign Minister Gromyko to the White House just five weeks before the elections. But what do you think of the coincidence that the date for that meeting, September 28, is the 45th anniversary of the Hitler-Stalin pact on friendship and frontiers—which followed the infamous Non-aggression Pact of August 23, 1939?

The N.Y. Times (8/16/84) reports that a recent Tass commentary recalled the pacts by "explaining" that Stalin made the agreement as a tactic to gain time against a "Nazi first strike," and that there was no illusion Hitler would not press for "military superiority." The Times writer speculates that the current-sounding phraseology of this commentary has something to do with the news that the mortal enemy Reagan gets an election boost. Nuclear madmen in power today can shift from tirades to cordial sweet-nothings without changing their deadly intentions one bit.

Student of history
New York City

The inseparability of political and philosophical principles for revolutionaries was illuminated powerfully for me in the Lead article by Raya Dunayevskaya last issue. The totality of the "organizing Idea" of Marxist-Humanism is so different from that of any party, state, or institution. When I read the full Perspectives thesis, I was made aware of

ministrators, but also the tragic shortcomings of great revolutionaries when they ignored philosophy and rushed to conclusions based on the immediate situation. Very enlightening.

Economics student
Salt Lake City

Ed. Note: The full thesis, "Marxist-Humanist Perspectives, 1984-85: The Movements from Theory as well as from Practice vs. the Great Artificer, Ronald Reagan, for whom the Whole World is a Stage", is still available from N&L for \$1.00, postage included.

VIEWS FROM THE SHOP FLOOR

As an autoworker what came to me as I read the Perspectives was that what makes intellectuals go backward in their thinking is that they have not worked out any theory of state-capitalism. Without this theory of criticising "Soviet" regimes, they become apologists for these regimes. That is also true when you don't see state-capitalism as a world stage, and not just a thing Russia went through.

Look at the union bureaucrats like Bieber of the UAW and you can see he has no idea of what state-capitalism is. He calls for selective strikes as if that is going to get to the root of the crisis in auto. You aren't going to get rid of state-capitalism by some mild reforms. Mondale has a hell of a time fighting Reagan because he takes Reagan's ground that this is some sort of "free market economy" that has to be saved.

Former autoworker
Pico Rivera, Calif.

All through the GM-UAW negotiations the workers were in the dark about everything. The way you find out news about your union here is to read it in the newspapers. I think this is intentional, because the UAW leadership must be afraid of what will happen if the workers get some input into this strike. It reminds me of the 1949-50 coal miners' general strike, as I read about it in your pamphlet. When the workers there got to know how the union leadership was looking to cook up some deal, they took things in their own hands, and as a result, their strike shook the whole nation. The UAW doesn't want to shake Reagan that hard. They know they can never control the power that is below once it is released.

Paint shop worker
GM Oklahoma City, Okla.

I was one of over 300 striking restaurant workers and supporters who participated in a march through the Fishermen's Wharf district of San Francisco last week. We joined picket lines where 22 restaurants are on strike, and 25 more are under boycott. There is a new movement of solidarity among workers here, with workers from many industries joining the lines.

At Scoma's, one of management's worst, I talked with a group of picketers. One waiter told me how they felt almost no control over the job—no breaks, and they can be ordered around to do anything, no matter what their actual job was. He also said the owners had a policy of hiring Asians like himself because they thought Asians could be used as cheap labor. Another told me that he wanted a new type of union, since this one wasn't strong enough to keep scabs out. Labor revolt has picked up in this town since the Macy's/Emporium strike, and the solidarity movement is growing.

Strike supporter
San Francisco

... AND FROM SOLIDARITY WORK

In working with a number of Latin American solidarity committees, especially CISPES, I have found that the pull of Popular Frontism is one of the most powerful forces around. I'm not referring necessarily to the popular fronts in Latin America, but the way the committees here often want to tie you down to uncritical focus on just one event or one activity, and treat you like a sectarian if you say anything else. I recently read over Dunayevskaya's 1960s letters on Cuba and what came across was the necessity of criticism, especially when a revolution is being drawn towards state-capitalism. Critical

Readers' Views

thinking is not just something for your private study, but for how we approach political events.

CISPES activist
Los Angeles

What bothers me about those who talk on and on about how land reform is the answer to the economic problems is that they never get around to saying who it is that distributes this land and what will become of it. In the Black community there are people who say welfare recipients should be given land and that way we would become self-sufficient. It's about time people thought about their relation to society, to classes, and to who really controls such programs.

Black woman on welfare
Los Angeles



AFRICA, USA:

TWO-WAY ROAD

OF FREEDOM

IDEAS

A picket line was called in front of the South African consulate in midtown Manhattan. The crowd—overwhelmingly Black—included many from the city's African and West Indian communities as well as Left groups. As the crowd grew to nearly one thousand the chanting became a continuous roar. The focus for most of the marchers was the release of political prisoners, especially ANC leader Nelson Mandela.

There was a visible presence of Haitians who have been holding regular pickets against the repression of President-for-life Jean-Claude Duvalier.

Picketer
New York

When you break it down block by block, Chicago is similar to apartheid South Africa. It is the only place in Illinois other than Cairo that would come

under the Voting Rights Act if the law was enforced. We have seen over the last two decades how white school officials and political organizations use the demographic figures of the Black community to get money for redistricted white schools and neighborhoods.

The biggest threat of apartheid, Chicago style, is to Black children. When we were trying to desegregate the public schools on the Southwest side, we learned that white children were literally taught racism in elementary schools when they were given inflatable Black dolls to beat with sticks, shouting "n-----, n-----!" The white police would pick up older Black children and, for sport, turn them loose in racist Marquette Park so that white bigots could chase them. That is why there is no doubt in my mind that it will take a revolution in Chicago to clear up this mess.

Black woman
Southwest side Chicago

DISCUSSION ON IRELAND

I did not think that the article in "Our Life and Times" on Northern Ireland was a good enough analysis. It doesn't explain who NORAID is, and why a cynical Martin Galvin was more interested in a publicity stunt for the Provos than in the peaceful protesters who came to the rally. Don't the Provo IRA and the INLA represent the Stalinist halfway house of state-capitalist anti-imperialism? Here in Britain we are trying to get out of the "Up the IRA" mentality as the solution to serious political analysis.

Nigel Quinten
London

Ed. Note: For a Marxist-Humanist analysis of the "Irish question" from the time of Marx and the Fenians, through the period of James Connolly and the Irish Uprising of 1916 (which was hailed by Lenin), to the contradictions of the present-day, including those within the Republican movement, readers can order "Ireland: Revolution and Theory" by Michael Connolly. Available from N&L for 75¢, postage included.

SUBSCRIBE TO NEWS & LETTERS, \$2.50 A YEAR

I was reading Marx's Humanist Essays and was especially struck by how Marx considers man/woman relationships as a measure of society's humanity, and how he shows the similarity between "vulgar communism" and the degradation of women in prostitution. After that I read the 1984-85 Marxist-Humanist Perspectives and it seemed to me that the theory of state capitalism, which Dunayevskaya founded in 1941, also had roots in Marx's 1844 manuscripts and his struggle against "vulgar communism". I want to get N&L regularly.

Middle Eastern student
Indiana

Thank you for the copy of N&L. I do want to subscribe. I am interested in the Black struggle and its inner conflict—Black male/female struggle—as well as the labor movement, especially the role of Black workers. I belong to District 65-UAW. I originally heard of N&L through a work by Paula Giddings, When and Where I Enter.

Black worker
East Orange, NJ

To some Americans, Raya's focus on Marx and revolution is hard to swallow because of Anglo-American prejudices arising out of British abstract empiricism and capitalist ideology. I once took a sociology course at the Univ. of Chicago entitled "The Theory of Revolution". The professor defined revolution as "the illegitimate succession of elites". That is not what Marx meant. Marx meant the progressive transformation of society in the direction of individual fulfillment and empowerment. For Marx the details of political procedure were not important, the quality of human life was...

The Anglo-American tradition holds only a weak version of philosophy, a positivism or abstract empiricism. I remember, in my youth, the career of a he-man was business, for which intellect was not needed, only will and aggressiveness... That is the dead end which we have reached. The opposite of that is philosophy, if it is a philosophy of taking control of one's own life as a social individual. At its best, philosophy is power, the power needed for liberation...

New subscriber
La Grange, Ill.

I think that N&L is an informative piece of work. It addresses quite often the needs of the today woman of the 1980s, in that it reminds her of a struggle for freedom for both men and women. It reflects upon her strengths and endurance to overcome obstacles in today's era. We have to confront issues of upward mobility in the workforce in the face of discrimination in hiring and promotion, and we know about issues regarding sensitivity and social attitudes toward women in careers and rearing children. Above all N&L keeps me abreast on subjects of Black heritage, Reaganomics and Marxism.

Black working woman
Chicago

OK, I am well satisfied with N & L. So here is a gift subscription for a friend, and here is another year's sub for myself. Where else could I find out about the Black history of Cincinnati 100 years ago and about Japanese feminists activities today? You say that you are unique and you are. But when are you going to get serious about the price of your paper?

Student
Massachusetts

IF N&L IS A "UNIQUE" VIEW OF "MARX'S MARXISM", IF "AT ITS BEST, IT IS THE POWER NEEDED FOR LIBERATION" ... ISN'T IT TIME THAT YOU JOINED OUR SUBSCRIPTION DRIVE? HELP US NOW EXPAND THE BATTLE AGAINST REAGANISM ON MARXIST-HUMANISM'S GROUND OF HUMAN FREEDOM!

WOMEN'S LIBERATION'S CRITIQUE: YESTERDAY, TODAY

Two women steelworkers filed suit Sept. 13 against McLouth Steel Corp. in Michigan, charging that the company condoned and participated in a campaign of sexual harassment against them. I was furious when I read the details because it shows how far we still have to go to achieve even basic civil rights for women in the plant. These two women were hired in 1976, yet they have been repeatedly laid off without regard to union contract seniority since 1981. Male co-workers used peepholes to watch them using showers and toilets, and urinated on them from overhead cranes. McLouth officials ignored all their protests.

I hope they win their suit, but even more, I hope that it doesn't take 10 years, like it took ARA workers in an earlier sex discrimination case, to be "vindicated" in these courts.

Women's liberationist
Michigan

Although the Democrat's woman vice-presidential candidate, Geraldine Ferraro, is maintaining a principled, pro-choice stand on abortion in the face of relentless, vicious, personal attacks, she nonetheless is not fundamentally challenging Reagan on the issue of "traditional family values." Rather, both Ferraro and Mondale are saying how loyal they are to God, family and country. That surely isn't women's liberation.

Subscriber
Los Angeles

Lou Turner's column on "Black Women Writers Today" (Aug-Sept N&L) was very moving, very necessary, and certainly revealed Black women writers, not as a sum total of oppressions, but as Reason—creative thinkers who, because of their "lived experience," are able, "to show political principles about freedom in such personal terms..."

But I did question a phrase Turner uses elsewhere in the column, when he speaks of the "painful reciprocity between man and woman." I can't help but wonder if "reciprocity" is the right word. Is it "reciprocity" when the fight to change human relationships between men and women is always waged by the woman alone; when it is she who always carries the fight to him, thus forcing him to make some changes, however minimal they are? If the man is happy

with the way things are now between men and women and thus she is the one who fights—is that reciprocity?

Women's liberationist
Chicago

I just heard about Raya Dunayevskaya's description of the 1929 Abu Women's War in Nigeria in *Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution* and appreciated the way Dunayevskaya makes a category of tribal women's methods of resistance. Her reference to the practice of "sitting on a man" is what my women relatives did when a man insulted or beat his wife. They would get together, go to the man's cottage, sing songs to ridicule him, and all this time the man had to serve them food and do what they ordered him, such as crawling on his knees. The women continued by pounding their sticks on the door and left after a few days after the man had apologized. Many writers miss this magnificent women's liberation struggle in looking at African history.

Nigerian woman
San Francisco



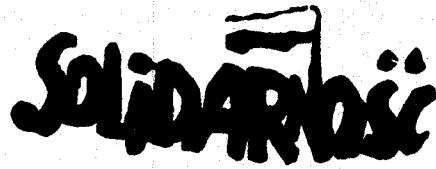
URANIUM
DEATH
ON NATIVE
PEOPLE'S
LAND

Native people of the community of Wollaston Lake, Saskatchewan are fighting to prevent the opening of a uranium mine that will extract ore from under the lake itself. Members of the Lac La Hache Band fish and trap for income, and hunt and gather berries from the land around the lake. But the Wollaston Lake area has already been severely affected by radioactive wastes from the nearby Rabbit Lake mine, wastes which have been discharged into Wollaston Lake since 1975.

Eldorado Nuclear, which seeks to open the new underwater mine, operated uranium mines in other parts of the province from 1953-83. Three lakes where they operated are now totally dead. The Wollaston Lake community people are now dying of cancer, and many are afraid to eat fish and ducks.

One native activist asked: "If the water is not fit to drink and fish not fit to eat, what are the children in the future going to live on?" You can still help stop the mine. Write to:

Diana Leis
c/o Lac La Hache Band
Wollaston Lake, Sask. S0J3C0
Canada



Two Solidarnosc leaders, Wladyslaw Frasnuk and Jozef Pinior, only lasted a month in the government's "amnesty" program before being re-arrested, supposedly for placing a flower at the train depot in Wroclaw where the 1980 mass strikes began. Frasnuk had slipped out of sight for a day right after the amnesty and met with Zbigniew Bujak, leader of the underground Solidarnosc. Pinior had made a public speech at his old factory right after his amnesty, during which 100 workers downed their tools for a while "to discuss the situation."

Solidarnosc supporter
New York City

Those who think that the setbacks in Poland mean that it's time to cry despair and hang crepe for Eastern Europe should do some re-thinking. My recent trip to Czechoslovakia was full of surprises. The borders were easier than a few years ago, but when I asked people whether this was a sign of liberalization, they said no, it's just that the government needs trade dollars.

But things have changed a great deal. In contrast to the fearful silence of a couple of years ago, people talked very openly of their opposition and contempt for the government, calling it the "mafia." I also heard it described as "state-capitalist" more than once. In a country not yet mummified by TV, people are out meeting each other in the pubs and parks, and news travels quickly.

The opposition to the regime doesn't mean "pro-American." Since his "bomb joke", Reagan is now generally hated as much as the Russian premier, perhaps more. I was asked about the "joke" everywhere. When I left, I couldn't help but think that we may see some profound changes in Eastern Europe very soon. Such a situation of complete separation between the official way of life

and the way people actually live can't last very long.

Traveller
Eastern Europe

DEFEND KURDISH FREEDOM

On Sept. 15 about 150 Persian, Kurdish and American supporters of the Kurdish freedom movement gathered in front of Amnesty International in Los Angeles to protest the Iranian government's effort to forcibly relocate thousands of Kurdish men, women and children living in 66 villages. These peasant families who live in the border area of Iraq and Iran form the backbone of the movement of the Kurds for self-determination, which, despite their loss of 75,000 lives, remains the most visible challenge to the theocratic regime of Khomeini in Iran and the bloody Sadaam Hussein regime in Iraq.

The mass expulsion of thousands of villagers ordered by Khomeini is aimed at separating the Kurdish population from their pishmargas (guerillas) and completing a military encirclement of Kurdish areas. The demonstration in Los Angeles was part of a worldwide mobilization of Iranians and Kurds in support of the Kurdish struggle against Khomeini's counter-revolution.

Iranian activist
In the USA

COPPER MINERS HOLDING OUT

The struggle at Phelps-Dodge continues. Over Labor Day about 1,000 copper miners and supporters held a rally to show support of the miners on strike for over a year now. Cars came from California, Arizona, all over the Southwest. This time the state police made sure to keep a distance from the demonstration. At the last rally in June, they charged the miners with tear gas.

The media has been spreading a lot of talk that Phelps-Dodge might close the mine soon, but that has not stopped the miners' determination to keep fighting. We have been getting support from some local unions. UAW Local 600 in Detroit was especially generous. We went to the local there asking for a \$1,000 donation, and a worker got up and said, "No, I don't think they should get that much money." We all held our breath for a second. Then he said the local should give us \$10,000 instead!

Send help to:

Morenci Miners' Womens Auxiliary
1113 Third Ave.
Safford, AZ 85546

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BLACK-RED VIEW

by John Alan

The seventh anniversary of Steve Biko's murder by South Africa's Security Police witnessed a new wave of Black revolts. Starting in Sharpeville, the revolts quickly engulfed all of the Black townships in the industrial area surrounding Johannesburg, closing factories, businesses, and schools.

A flash point for the revolt in Soweto was the tear-gassing of a Biko memorial service by the police. It was proper that Soweto should hold a memorial service in honor of the founder of the Black Consciousness Movement, even if it meant the violation of the government's ban on all meetings critical of its racial policies.

In 1976 Biko had singled out Soweto as the "direct result of Black Consciousness ideas among the young generation in Soweto and elsewhere."

For us in the United States, Soweto opened a new window on the ceaseless movement for freedom ongoing in South Africa since the Sharpeville massacre of 1960, revealing how a whole new generation of Black youth had reorganized a freedom movement in a police state and made Black Consciousness a household word for us.

FROM SHARPEVILLE TO SOWETO

It was almost eight years after Sharpeville that Steve Biko and his colleagues began to question the assumption that the fight for Black liberation in South Africa had to be multi-racial or nonracial in content. It was at that time that he became acutely aware that all the distinctive voices of Black liberation had been silenced by the apartheid regime and that the main opposition to what the government was doing to Blacks was coming from white liberal organizations. In Biko's words there existed a "kind of anomaly in this situation, where whites were in fact the main participants in our oppression and at the same time the main participants in the opposition to that oppression."

Biko knew from his disappointing experience in the NUSAS (National Union of South African Students) that the ideology of liberal "nonracism" suffered a dichotomy between principle and practice and had its own peculiar brand of racism. Liberal whites thought

Notes from a journal

Working women's untold story

by Clara Jones

I am feeling very tired. But I am lucky just to be working only eight hours at the factory. The place is more and more a concentration camp. It is worse now than in the whole time I have worked there. A production quota is not in our contract and the workers are forced to make more and more production. We do all that we can and we are harassed to make more production.

I have been following what the Polish workers have been doing. In Poland the workers have the burning desire for freedom. I also see it in the workers of my plant. That is why I think about both the Polish workers and those in my shop here. One worker said that he would like to see a wildcat strike. After he said this, six other workers in the shop said it too.

When I was in high school I worked in a day care center after school. Time for fun was short. I would like to find time to learn my language, Polish. I am embarrassed that I can't speak my original language.

I have been reading several things. One is a book by Alice Walker on American Black women writers. She tells about her mother running away from home to marry her father and about all the things her mother did in the home, battling the white landlord, making all the clothes she and her brothers and sisters wore, laboring in the field beside her father. She tells of her mother never having time free to unravel her own private thoughts and how Alice Walker came to realize that her mother's stories about her life must be recorded. Alice Walker recorded her labor as mother and worker which never stopped, it was her life.

I have also been reading about Aleksandra Rembienska who came to Chicago from Poland in 1911 and found a job as a domestic. She had a job paying \$16 a month where she had to wash and iron 300 pieces of linen each week in addition to cleaning 18 rooms and cooking. She wrote back to Poland, "I am in America, and I do not even know whether it is America. It seems to me as if there was only a single house in the whole world and nothing more, only walls and a very few people. This I think is a very sad life I have to live."

Or there is the anarchist Emma Goldman, who came to America at the end of the 19th century. She found a job when she was sixteen years old in an overcoat factory in Rochester, New York. She described conditions in the factory where a worker could not even go to the toilet without permission.

One incident she described was about a fellow worker, a frail girl named Tanya who fainted from overwork. This caused a commotion in the shop. The foreman without even asking the reason for the commotion shouted "Back to your machines! What do you mean stopping work now. Do you want to be fired? Get back at once." When he spied the crumpled body of Tanya he yelled, "What is the matter with her?" "She has fainted," Emma Goldman replied. The foreman sneered, "She is only shamming."

The whole incident seemed so much like my shop. The foreman's reaction to a worker being injured was the same. Workers stopped because they cared about the injured worker, but we were told to go back to work.

Biko's thought lives in today's revolt

that they had a monopoly on intelligence and did all the talking while Blacks were supposed to do all the listening. In this context of liberal white/Black relationships, whites were the perpetual teachers and Blacks the perpetual students.

What became politically crucial in this relationship was that South African liberals were opposed to any independent Black movement that projected Black power as the opposite of white racism; they denounced it as the other side of the coin of "white supremacy."

It was this "twisted logic" of white liberalism that caused Steve Biko and his colleagues to leave NUSAS and to form SASO (South African Student Organization) a Black student organization. Biko wrote at that time: "It was felt that the time had come when blacks had to formulate their own thinking, unpolluted by ideas emanating from a group with lots at stake in the sta-



tus quo." This first conscious move, after Sharpeville 1960, to declare the self-determination of Black thought and, at the same time, the predominance of Blacks in the process of their own liberation, was in itself a genuine revolution that eventually revitalized the Black mass character of the Azanian revolution.

In this attempt at a short tribute to Steve Biko it is not possible to touch upon many of the important ramifications of the Black Consciousness Movement or upon the theoretical essays that Biko has written. But in any case, one should stress that the Black Consciousness Movement was not just the "cleansing" of Black thought of "negative white" ideas or just something that's peculiar to South Africa. This would be only one side of the dynamics of the idea of freedom that emanated from the Black Consciousness Movement leaving out its universal dimension.

It is well known that Biko was opposed to narrow nationalism that would "close the door to communication." But Biko didn't stop there, he expressed "the determination of Blacks to rise and attain the envisaged self" as "the quest for a true humanity." This, too, is an important part of the legacy that Biko has given us, that it challenges us to discover, what in the Black Consciousness Movement caused Steve Biko to see it as a movement for absolute human liberation, the total emancipation of humanity.

EDITORIAL

Black education: S. Africa, Chicago

Both the present crisis and revolt in Black education impels a historical view of the new concept of Black education which arose in the U.S. out of the Civil Rights Movement on this 20th anniversary of the Mississippi Summer Project Freedom Schools. Robert Moses, head of the Project, expressed it this way in 1964: "We got freedom schools...Because when you come right down to it, why integrate their schools? What is it that you learn in their schools? Many Negroes can learn it, but what can they do with it? What they really need to learn is how to be organized to work on the society to change it. They can't learn that in schools."

What we see on the question of Black education is that so adamant is the single dialectic of thought and revolt which continuously upsurges globally from within the Black condition that even when imprisoned or thrust into exile people find new ways of bringing it on the world historic scene. Thus, in a recent *New York Times* article, Randall Robinson of the *TransAfrica* Foreign policy lobby described two internationally known human rights figures whose persecution glaringly exposes the totalitarian nature of a regime abhorrent to American principles of "democracy."

MANDELA AND SAKHAROV

Robinson's point was, however, that except in America, the two who come to the mind of the rest of the world are not Andrei Sakharov and his wife Yelena Bonner, but the South African freedom fighters, Nelson and Winnie Mandela. Here they are ignored.

What cannot be ignored is the apartheid conditions of Black education and life that the Black masses in South Africa and Chicago are determined to uproot.

From the vantage point of Black Chicago, the September upheavals in South Africa have revealed

Police lawlessness

by Eugene Ford

Los Angeles, Cal.—Young residents of Watts are responding to the deployment of a permanent staff of 29 police officers in the Nickerson Gardens and Imperial Courts housing projects by denouncing this as an "occupying army" who would instigate more violence against Black youth rather than deter crime.

The Los Angeles Police Commission unanimously voted in favor of creating this special "task force" to permanently station a battalion of cops in the housing projects. Some residents in the area have spoken in favor of the idea, but the real push for it is coming from Black leaders who are opportunistically trying to ride the coattails of reaction rather than the thoughts and feelings of Black youth abused by police.

Recently, Nickerson Gardens got national attention when Mayor Tom Bradley and the LAPD showed support for "good citizen" grocer James Hawkins and his family who were involved in a shoot-out with a street gang, the Bounty Hunters. The Police arrested several from this gang for alleged attacks on the Hawkins family, and Hawkins was presented as a hero for standing up to gang violence. Not long afterward, it was discovered that Hawkins had murdered one of the gang members in cold blood, which had precipitated the violence in the first place.

While "Black on Black crime" is a favorite target of the Black politicians, the real Black on Black crime is the way Black politicians like Bradley say nothing about unarmed Black citizens being killed at the hands of a vicious police force. Just recently, two LAPD officers shot and killed an unarmed driver of a stolen car, shooting him six times in the back. The Police Commission could find nothing wrong in this.

Meanwhile, members of a community group called South Central Organizing Committee have been promoting the idea of greater police presence, as a way to stem the "lawlessness" in the community. But Black youth want to know when they will hear such groups talk against the lawlessness of Reagan's military build-up which has been financed off the daily needs and bread of Black people.

through the glaring light of Black mass revolt once again that apartheid is in 1984 as much a reality in these United States as in South Africa.

One of the unmistakable warnings that Black revolt is lodged in the Black condition within the U. S. is seen in the present crisis in Black education. Thus, Chicago's school system remains grossly segregated eight years after the federal government ordered it to implement desegregation plan. Gerrymandered school boundaries by district officials and segregated housing patterns have produced a situation of overcrowded Black schools reaching crisis proportions. Indeed, the sheer racism of the crisis is evident in the fact that underutilized white schools border on overcrowded and redistricted Black schools. In the meantime, federal funds continue to pour into school districts that the federal government has determined are illegally segregated.

As we go to press, the Republican-dominated U.S. Senate has voted to kill the 1984 Civil Rights Act which would have cut off some Federal funding to segregated and discriminatory educational institutions.

CONCENTRATION CAMP

The impact of segregation doesn't stop at the district boundary lines, but extends to the Black mind. Black students within white school districts are being tested as "educable mentally handicapped" and separated from white students. Moreover, this "fine edifice," Lenin termed the enforced illiteracy of Blacks in the sharecropping South at the turn of the century, founded on a structural poverty in which the city of Chicago has 84% of the entire Cook County population though it has only 50% of its total population; 50% Black Chicago children are growing up in poverty; 142,000 people are packed into the city's public housing "warehouses"—30,000 in Robert Taylor Homes and 12,000 in the 20-story "gun towers" of the Cabrini-Green projects alone; 84% of Chicago's 1.2 million Black folk live in segregated neighborhoods; and more than half the poor families in Black Chicago are headed by young, single women.

As one Black woman resident of Cabrini-Green testified before the Illinois Advisory Committee to the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights in 1980: "Anytime thousands of people are confined in small areas of land stacked and herded on top of each other like animals, that place ceases to be home but instead becomes and is a concentration camp. The guards and keepers that patrol such camps come in the guise of social workers, politicians, police, medical practitioners and even sons of us."

In truth, she could just as well have been talking about South Africa as Chicago. In September, the white apartheid government imposed a 25% rent increase on the shanty townships of tin-roofed dwellings in the industrial area south of Johannesburg known as the "Vaal triangle," bringing forth mass revolt. Along with the townships of Bophelong, Sebokeng and Evaton, the Black townships of Sharpeville, where world attention was riveted in 1960 when South African security police massacred Blacks who burned their hated passbooks, also erupted in revolt.

What, however, has remained continuous both in its creative form of expression and in the main fronts in which it is active whether protesting the new Constitution or fighting the apartheid "Bantu education" system has been the magnificent student demonstrations. With more than 30,000 students boycotting classes, the schools, nevertheless remain forums for Black youth revolt and thought. As an African Catholic priest working the Botshebo reserve warned prior to the September revolt in South Africa, "Botshebo is time bomb...It is a lot of people that will eventually see that they are confined and are losing their rights in South Africa. The kids at school already have a different, more militant attitude."

The time bomb is not only in South Africa, it is right here in Black Chicago.

British miners, women strike supporter/activists speak for themselves

Editor's Note—British coal miners have been on strike for 7 months against the threatened closure of 20 pits, which would entail the loss of 20,000 jobs. The strike, involving 75% of British miners, has been a bitter one. Two striking miners have been killed, hundreds injured, and 6,500 have been arrested. In Nottinghamshire (Notts), where Marxist-Humanists had the opportunity to speak to striking miners and women active in strike support committees, only 20% of miners are out on strike, and there are 8,000 anti-strike police on permanent duty, police whose activities are overseen by the ex-chief of the Royal Ulster Constabulary, Sir Kenneth Newham, who presided over torture in Northern Ireland. The activity by women in this strike is seen by everyone to be crucial. Women have created new forms of organization. More than 50 support groups have sprung up in mining communities all over Britain. Below are excerpts from interviews and informal discussions we had with men and women from Notts, as well as excerpts from a speech made by a woman from Kent and from a Notts' miners' newsletter.

Member of Aylesham women's support group, speaking at a rally

This is not just a miners' strike, it's not just Scargill's fight, it's a rank-and-file struggle, a working-class struggle. We're all fighting the same fight, all being attacked by Thatcher. And it's not just as wives, daughters, sisters of miners that we are fighting back, striking back. We women, as working class people and as human beings, know what's at stake. We've been on the picket lines with the men; we've seen the brutal, para-military police tactics, police dragging people out of their homes. We see that the viciousness and repression that people struggling in Northern Ireland face is what we're up against.

WE'RE FIGHTING not only to save jobs, but for decent lives. We know that nuclear power threatens lives as well as jobs. It's up to us to safeguard the safety and health of ordinary people, because if the government has its way it will crush our will, bring our communities to ruin and destroy our lives. And so we wholeheartedly support the efforts of women at Greenham Common, as well as the striking women at South London Women's Hospital, who are fighting the cuts in the National Health Service.

After the news broke about Sellafield nuclear power plant, (high incidence of leukemia among children in Cumbria), they changed the name from Windscale to

U.S. miners: 'a step back'

Morgantown, West Virginia—"This was the first time in all my years in the mine that I ever saw a contract ratification vote taken at the mine instead of the local union hall," declared a Consolidation Coal Company rank-and-file miner about the recently ratified UMW (United Mine Workers of America) contract negotiated between UMW President Rich Trumka and the Bituminous Coal Operators Association.

The contract, the first to be settled in the past 20 years without a strike, did not have too many miners singing the praises of Trumka. "Maybe Trumka didn't take a step back in this contract," the miner said, "but he sure didn't take any step forward either. This is just the 1981 contract warmed over and that contract was a giant step backward."

Referring to the heated local union discussions the rank-and-file had over the contract, the miner pointed out that the \$1.40 increase over the 40-month contract was about a three percent increase a year, and with inflation running about five percent a year, miners and their families won't even keep up with the cost of living.

A hotly debated point was the fact that nothing was done about the overtime the companies can schedule. Many mines are working six days a week and running coal seven days, while there are over 50,000 miners unemployed. "If we could cut out all overtime," the miner stated, "we'd be able to get most, if not all, of our laid-off people back to work."

More criticism was levelled at the paltry increase in the widows' and pensioners' benefits. Widows will get a \$5 a month increase now up to \$100 a month, and another \$5 in 1987, while the retirees will get only \$10 a month increase.

The companies agreed to pay 20 cents more into the 1950 retirement fund because it is in such bad shape, but they are deducting this 20 cents from what they'll pay into the 1974 retirement fund. "It's a simple trade-off," the miner noted, "but they're trying to make it into a big deal."

On safety, the companies agreed to a mine inspection every two months instead of every three—a small price to pay for the increasingly unsafe working conditions and the climbing number of miner deaths and injuries. As for the "improved seniority and job security provisions", all this amounts to is that if a coal company sells or subleases a mine, the new mine owner is supposed to rehire any qualified laid-off miners at that mine before hiring new miners.

"Trumka and the companies were real smart in playing their cards to get this contract ratified," the miner summed up. "I know for sure that if we had been out on strike, and Trumka gave us this same contract, it would have been turned down flat. As it is, we'll have to live or die with it, but a lot of guys who voted for his contract are going to have second thoughts about it long before 40 months are over."

—Ex-miner

Sellafield, as part of their clean-up campaign. They thought that would make us forget. They think they can take our thoughts away. But our thoughts belong to us, and we will never forget. Our lives will never be the same after this strike.

Four young Notts miners

Lots of young miners are realizing what's going on in this country. Thatcher called miners the enemy within after she called Galtieri the enemy without during the Falklands war. Lots of miners fought in that war; one bloke died in that war. She's disgusting. You come back from war, and you're called the enemy by Maggie. To us, SHE'S the enemy within, our enemy at the top.

WE OWN THESE PITS; we don't want them privatized. Thatcher wants to break the union and bring in private industry so we can work more hours for less pay under very unsafe conditions. As taxpayers we pay for the pits, but we don't control things, don't make decisions. See, the miners get the coal out, but the government can't sell it, so they take it out on us.

Meanwhile, there's enough fuel in this country to have it run out of your tap. Old people freeze to death in winter here, when there's enough coal to give it to them as part of their pension, to give it to the unemployed, too. If they dropped prices when they can't sell beef, instead of exporting it, we wouldn't have people starving in this country, or in the Third World, where people can't walk because they're too thin. Everyone



Women in Britain march against pit closures.

could eat steak. They say everything has to run on profits, but not everything should, not food, not coal.

We're going to stick it out to the end. We've not given in yet, even though 80% are scabbing. Nothing's going to stop us; time is on our side now with winter coming on. And there will be no compromises. Our determination, our strength, comes a lot from what the women have done. They don't stop for nought once they get started. They're the ones keeping us out, keeping the strike going, especially here in Notts.

Women from Sherwood and Ollerton women's group

I'd rather starve than give in now. There's too much at stake, we've come too far. We can't let the scabs, the disgusting police, the newspapers, the attacks by the Tories AND the Labour Party get the best of us. If it weren't for us, a lot of the men would be back in the mines by now. Their pickets are too quiet for me. They stand there with their hands in their pockets hanging their heads. We have our own all-women pickets every few weeks. We shout scab and Judas, and worse; lots of us have been arrested. But you can be arrested for anything anyway. They change the law every hour if they want. We have no civil rights here in Notts.

WE ALL SAT in our houses the first two weeks of the strike, scared about the future. Then a few of us decided to get together and we set up this soup kitchen. There are five of us here steadily from 4:00 in the morning until the last pickets come in and have their meal. Now we have our own meetings once or twice a week. Women who never even went into pubs without their husbands are travelling all over, speaking in front of hundreds of people, doing fund-raising, telling people the truth about the strike. There are so many lies in the papers, all about the violence of the picket lines. That's why we're glad you're going to tell the truth about it in America. I read about copper miners in Arizona in your newspaper, so I know that people in America are facing the same thing as us. I wrote to the women's group that was mentioned because I wanted to tell them what we're doing and hear more about them. I hope we can write back and forth. We've been talking about things we want to do once the strike ends; we'll keep our group going. We've thought of having some famous woman, part of the feminist movement, come to give us suggestions, as some of us still feel funny coming right out and saying what we think. But we don't want leaders to be separated from the rest of us, so we have to talk about it some more.

Don't forget the sub drive!
Fill out the box on page one
and buy a sub for a friend.

Paul Whetton, of Notts rank and file strike committee

The threat to miners' jobs is not just pit closures, it's also technology. Ten thousand jobs will be taken by the new technology. We don't have a Luddite attitude about technology. We welcome it, as long as the benefits from it are shared, as long as we get something in exchange—shorter working day, shorter working week. But when they invest in this expensive machinery, they want a return on their money. They pour millions into machinery for production, but put nowhere near as much into safety.

WHAT MANAGEMENT WANTS to do is invest in rich pits, like the pits in Notts, put nothing into pits that are less viable because of geological conditions, and create one huge complex, a super pit. In order to do that, they have to smash the union, the National Union of Mineworkers (NUM), first. Then they'll have a super pit with high profitability, high productivity and weak organization, ripe for privatization.

So the argument is about whether this country has a trade union movement. If they smash the miners, who are considered to be in the vanguard of the British trade union movement, that's it for all the unions, all the workers. That's why it's so important that miners win and are seen to win. And that's why the strike is so important in Notts, where mine fields are the richest, make the most profit. They've molly-coddled Notts by giving them high bonuses, by investing so much in that pit. That's why there are so many scabs; many of them feel safe.

In '72 and '74, a ballot was held on the question of wages. It was logical that if you call an industrial action on wages, you'd have a ballot, because that affects everyone the same. And, see, the strike was solid in '72 and '74. But this strike isn't over wages. No man has the right to ballot on another man's job. It can't be that miners in Notts get to sign a piece of paper that means that coal fields in Wales or Durham will be shut down.

The Notts Striker, vol. 1, issue 1

I have just returned from the Notting Hill carnival, working on stalls and a float with a group of miners, funded by the black delegation - a highly dedicated band of people, without whose help it would not have been possible...On the two days of the Carnival we sold 53,000 stickers and 33,000 badges saying "Black People Support The Miners." On one stall alone over the two days we collected one thousand pounds selling NUM-related products. As usual the police had to stick their noses in; at one stage trying to take the money we had collected on the grounds of illegal collecting. As the police moved in so did the black delegation and many supporters forced the police to make a quick retreat. Many people told us of the riots in Brixton and Notting Hill, frustrations of high unemployment and constant daily harassment and intimidation and watching their civil liberties slowly disappearing. It sounded all too familiar....

Notts Miners' Forum

We represent the miners on strike in Nottinghamshire and through the Notts Miners' Forum we appeal for your support to help alleviate the hardship and suffering which is being experienced by those miners and their families who have chosen to support the call from the National Union of Mineworkers for solidarity...We will not weaken in our resolve to stand and fight for our jobs and for the jobs of those miners who cannot show the altruism that is needed from all Trade Unionists. We are winning and we know it. With your help we shall not find the struggle so hard. Send contributions to Notts Miners' Forum, c/o M. McGinty, 1 Pine Ave., New Ollerton, Newark, Notts, Great Britain.

Chicago Readers

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What would four more years of Reagan, world outlaw, mean?

(continued from page 1)

chain over 12 miles long which surrounded the military bases in the strategic Fulda Gap region near the East German border — and the news that Russia has for the first time just deployed 100 new SS-22 medium range nuclear missiles in East Germany and Czechoslovakia.

In Japan — the only country in the world which has already suffered actual nuclear horror — thousands of Japanese leftists marched through downtown Tokyo to protest South Korea's President Chun Doo Hwan's September visit, opposing any attempt to bind Japan to a military alliance with South Korea and the U.S. At the same time, Prime Minister Nakasone was busy denouncing an "unrelenting military buildup" in Asia by Russia, while praising the U.S. deployment of new bombers and Tomahawk nuclear cruise missiles in the Pacific as signs of an effort to "strengthen the credibility of deterrence," and Japanese and American advisers were urging their governments as the world's "technological leaders" to start developing high-technology weapons together.

RONALD REAGAN, WORLD OUTLAW

At the same time, the war that is not "in preparation" but already here is the war that the Reagan Administration has been escalating from the day he took office against the peoples of Central America. Nowhere has the out and out lawlessness of Reaganism been more flagrant than in his all-out effort to crush the Nicaraguan Revolution that finally rid that people of the barbaric U.S. stooge, Somoza, in 1979. It can hardly be a surprise that an Administration which thumbs its nose at the World Court's condemnation of the CIA's terrorist mining of Nicaraguan harbors and blowing up of Nicaraguan oil tanks, had no problem in undermining its own Federal laws against private help to the counter-revolutionaries in Nicaragua. This was after Congress limited official CIA aid for Reagan's war against that country to "only" \$24 million.

The deaths of the two American "paramilitary volunteers," shot down in their helicopter during an attack on a Sandinista military training school in Nicaragua on Sept. 1, merely proved what everyone knew: that Reagan had not stopped for one moment his arming and financing of the counter-revolutionary army of mercenaries in Honduras, on Nicaragua's border. All that has been revealed is how totally the CIA has continued to supply the Nicaraguan "contras" with intelligence information and rocket-firing aircraft, and even picked the target for the recent attack. What has been revealed also is that five Federal agencies — the State Dept., the Defense Dept., the Treasury Dept., the CIA and the FBI all knew from the beginning that illegal support was being funneled to the counter-revolutionaries from both private American citizens and corporations (no less than \$10 million in the last six months alone) and that U.S.-supplied military equipment was being shipped by the Alabama-based "commie-hunters" calling themselves "Civilian Military Assistance."

ESCALATING THE WARS AT HOME

Nor can any of Reagan's wars abroad be separated from his wars against the American people right at home. The slashing of every social program on the books — from vitally needed food stamps to school lunches, from CETA to Medicaid, from student aid to urban development, and from the arts to rural electrification — began within weeks of his inauguration — and have never ceased being slashed ever deeper. His only answer to critics of his unrelenting drive for greater and greater militarization, which has pushed the Federal deficit to an unprecedented \$174.3 billion for fiscal year 1984 was to say that "the deficit today would be \$40 to \$50 billion less" if only Congress had "granted what I asked" in additional social benefit slashes — which he immediately promised to try for again if he is re-elected.

The cold-blooded willingness to sacrifice human life, on the altar of the power struggle with Russia for world domination, is nowhere more chillingly exposed than in the recent re-investigations of the horrifying shooting down by Russia of Korean Air Line Flight 007 over Sakhalin Island one year ago, with the loss of all 269 people aboard. The August 18-25 issue of *The Nation* has devoted almost its entire issue to a detailed study by David Pearson, a Ph.D. candidate in sociology at Yale University, which does not pretend to answer whether KAL 007 was or was not a spy plane, as the Russians have charged, but does prove beyond any reasonable doubt that the full array of U.S. military and intelligence agencies, including the Air Force, the National Security Agency, the CIA, the North American Aerospace Defense Command, and the National Military Command Center at the Penta-

gon — all knew that the flight was off course long before the attack over Sakhalin — and that not one of them attempted to correct its course.

The clear implication is that either the elaborate and highly sophisticated system of U.S. intelligence suffered an incredible total breakdown or that the Administration was quite willing to gamble those 269 lives in hopes of gathering information about Russian defense systems put into operation by an intruding aircraft.

NOT ONLY REAGAN, BUT REAGANISM

By now so horrendous a combination of a perverted Lewis Carroll's *Alice in Wonderland* and a genuine George Orwell's 1984 is being played out for us on the world stage that a frightening number of Americans appear ready to accept that "war is peace," that lawless-



ness is "law and order," and that 8 million unemployed is "recovery."

The truth is that whatever "boom" is being experienced in places like Connecticut — where there is the highest concentration of major defense contractors in the land, and where the Pentagon spent no less than \$5.13 billion last year. But it is not the same kind of war-time "boom" that up to now has always been the only "answer" to the previous depressions of capitalism. For what Connecticut's "growth" also reveals are the deep structural changes that the growth of high-tech has brought about in capitalism ever since the mid-1970's. In the Black ghettos of Bridgeport and Stamford deep unemployment and slum housing are the human measure of the supposed "boom" in Connecticut.

What high-tech has created is a whole new middle-class of "Yuppies" at the same time that it has produced a veritable and permanent army of the unemployed from the smokestack industries throughout the entire land, who will never find jobs again in our new high-tech economy. It has brought Marx's analysis — of a capitalism that is destined to collapse from within — to life.

The living worker is the only element in capitalist production that can create any new value. The greater the preponderance of constant capital (machines) over variable capital (living labor) — which we see spelled

out in today's fantastic automated high-tech factories — the lower and lower falls the rate of profit, and the greater and greater becomes the stagnation of the economy. It is the fundamental crisis for which the world rulers have only one answer: preparation for the final nuclear holocaust.

That is why it is important to be clear that it is not only Reagan but Reaganism that we are out to get rid of. While Reagan is surely an extreme product of senile capitalism, he is not an aberration. The 19 Nobel Prize scientists and 178 leaders of environmental and arms-reduction groups that met in Washington at the end of September were not precise enough when they said our choice is "extinction or change." For the "change" can be nothing short of the total uprooting of our present world order hurtling to the actual destruction of civilization altogether and the creation of a new, human world at last.

Protest Reagan in Utah

Salt Lake City, Ut.—Ronald Reagan spoke before the American Legion here on Sept. 4th preaching military might and religion as if morality and peace came out of the barrel of a gun! This unholy alliance of religion and war against North, Central, and South Americans was met with defiance as over one hundred people gathered outside the Salt Palace to show that the "other America" accepts neither an "optimism" based on covert/overt displays of military force nor a "recovery" when so many are still poor and unemployed.

People came from many miles away to participate as did one Navajo woman I spoke to. She told me how Reagan's policies hurt the tribe, especially the elderly on the reservation who needed firewood and fuel. One Hispanic man talked about discrimination here in Salt Lake City and related this to the recent outbreak of the Spanish-speaking community in Lawrence, Mass. One young man who has a temporary job at the Parks Dept. told me that "Reagan hasn't given us a recovery but a takeaway. I can't find work for more than three days a week which only pays me half what I would make if I could find full-time work." He liked N&L and bought a subscription because we were "interested in other people's thoughts."

—Ted Hill

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Who We Are and What We Stand For

News and Letters Committees, an organization of Marxist-Humanists, stands for the abolition of capitalism, whether in its private property form as in the U.S., or its state property form as in Russia or China. We stand for the development of a new human society based on the principles of Marx's Humanism as recreated for our day.

News & Letters was created so that the voices of revolt from below could be heard not separated from the articulation of a philosophy of liberation. A Black production worker, Charles Denby, author of *Indignant Heart: A Black Worker's Journal*, became editor of the paper. Raya Dunayevskaya, the Chairwoman of the National Editorial Board and National Chairwoman of the Committees, is the author of *Marxism and Freedom, Philosophy and Revolution* and *Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution*, which spell out the philosophic ground of Marx's Humanism internationally as *American Civilization on Trial* concretizes it on the American scene and shows the two-way road between the U.S. and Africa.

Where *Marxism and Freedom*, whose structure was grounded in the movement from practice throughout the 200 years from 1776 to Today, discloses Marx's "new Humanism," both internationally and in its American roots, *Philosophy and Revolution*, in recreating Marx's philosophic roots both in the Hegelian dialectic and in the actual revolutionary movements of his day, articulated these forces of revolution as Reason — Labor, Black, Youth, Women — of our day. By tracing and paralleling this age's 30-year movement from practice to theory with our own theoretical development for the same three decades, Marxist-Humanism in the U.S. has met the challenge of the "new moments" in the last decade of Marx's life by disclosing in them a trail to the 1980s. It is this trail, these paths of revolution — be it in the birth of a whole new generation of revolutionaries, including the transformation of Women's Liberation as an idea whose time has come into a Movement or the emergence of a whole new Third World — that form the content of *Rosa Luxemburg, Women's*

Liberation and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution.

This work challenges post-Marx Marxists to return to Marx's Marxism. At a time when the nuclear world is threatened with the extinction of civilization itself it becomes imperative not only to reject what is, but to reveal the revolutionary Humanist future inherent in the present.

News & Letters was founded in 1955, the year of the Detroit wildcats against Automation and the Montgomery Bus Boycott against segregation — activities which signalled a new movement from practice which was itself a form of theory. Vol. 1, No. 1, came off the press on the second anniversary of the June 17, 1953 East German revolt against Russian state-capitalism masquerading as Communism, in order to express our solidarity with freedom fighters abroad as well as at home. Because 1953 was also the year when we worked out the revolutionary dialectics of Marxism in its original form of "a new Humanism," as well as individuality "purified of all that interferes with its universalism, i.e., with freedom itself," we organized ourselves in Committees rather than any elitist party "to lead". The development of Marxist-Humanism in the U.S., 1941 to Today is recorded in the documents and on microfilm available to all under the title, *The Raya Dunayevskaya Collection*, on deposit at the Labor History Archives of Wayne State University.

In opposing the capitalistic, racist, sexist, exploitative society, we participate in all class and freedom struggles, nationally and internationally. As our Constitution states: "It is our aim . . . to promote the firmest unity among workers, Blacks and other minorities, women, youth and those intellectuals who have broken with the ruling bureaucracy of both capital and labor." We do not separate the mass activities from the activity of thinking. Anyone who is a participant in these freedom struggles for totally new relations and a fundamentally new way of life, and who believes in these principles, is invited to join us. Send for a copy of the Constitution of News and Letters Committees.

THEORY / PRACTICE

(continued from page 4)

this review, Marx saw workers' activity not only as action, not only as practice, but as Reason. Dupré grapples with it, and does tend to conclude that: "Marx rescued productive labor from its cultural isolation. In his concept of praxis he attempted to reintegrate all facets of culture, the theoretical and aesthetic as well as the practical" (p. 280).

But since revolution is not exactly a preoccupation of Prof. Dupré, his view of Marx's Economics is presented quite ambiguously—for, without revolution, "Marxism" is not Marx's Marxism. Nevertheless, Marxists as well as non-Marxists will find it a serious study to grapple with as a challenging interpretation by an independent scholar.

YOUTH

Free speech for freedom ideas

by Ida Fuller

Freedom is so much the essence of man that even its opponents realize it...No man fights freedom; he fights at most the freedom of others—Marx, 1843

I was born in the year of the Free Speech Movement (FSM), and now as a 20-year-old woman college student, I feel very much related to what the movement fought for. In 1984, there has been a tremendous effort by the Right to degrade Free Speech to a meaningless slogan and a bastion for the most reactionary thought. Thus, last month Congress ratified a law which will allow religious groups to form branches in high schools and could even allow the Ku Klux Klan to organize on campus. This all in the name of "Free Speech".

It is absolutely crucial for youth to battle this reactionary claim to free speech, through a return to the source of the Free Speech Movement and the ideas which they raised. Thus I would like to take a look at the American Free Speech Movement and the Hungarian Revolution, both of which opened a new chapter in freedom.

Study and Struggle

October marks the twentieth anniversary of the FSM. White students who had been participating in the Civil Rights Movement and had gone South the previous summer for the Mississippi freedom schools, were now coming back with a totally new idea and practice of education. In the Mississippi freedom schools, Black youth did not separate thought and action and, recognized the purpose of education to be the fundamental transformation of this society. White students were no longer just teachers because the division between educator and educated had been broken and topics of study were live discussions of the history of Black and international struggles.

Upon returning to schools in the North, these white youth were now faced with a new "theory" from Clark Kerr, the President of U.C. Berkeley, who had designated universities as "producer, wholesaler, and retailer of knowledge" and students as commodities to run the capitalist system. The UC Berkeley administration declared the university free speech area to be private property, closed to student literature tables precisely at the time the students were having tables to provide information about and to collect money for the Black movement in the South. The students responded with a sit-in and the Free Speech Movement was born.

Thus it was a Free Speech Movement in support of freedom ideas and freedom activities, not freedom for the reactionary powers-that-be, who already had a near monopoly on the means of communication. It was for extending the Freedom Schools and its new kind of education to the North.

Six months later, a new form of resistance, the "teach-in" against the Vietnam War was created at the

No to U.S. military action

Detroit, Mich.—The Emergency National Conference Against U.S. Military Intervention in Central America/The Caribbean, held in Cleveland Sept. 14-16, drew about 400 participants from around the country. Solidarity activists, lower level trade union leaders, and members of the organized Left came to "educate and to plan specific national actions against U.S. military intervention." What I found new was the overriding theme of encouraging workers into the solidarity movement.

In the workshop entitled, "The Impact of U.S. Intervention in Central America and the Caribbean on Union-Busting at Home and Trade Union Solidarity," Bud Schulte from United Food & Commercial Workers Local 4P in St. Paul, Minn. described the 7-month strike of Iowa pork workers over the two-tier wage system, which ended last month when the company shut down. He spoke of how Reagan had internationalized this two-tier wage system by encouraging runaway shops. But Schulte concluded only with his desire to "educate workers about these conditions."

In the workshop on Grenada and Nicaragua, Paul Garver of the Service Employees International Union spoke first about Nicaraguan trade union support for the revolution, and then about organizing the rank-and-file here. However, he confided that were he speaking to workers instead of this conference he would soften his support for the Sandinistas in order to win their vote. Yet, he then described a resolution opposing U.S. intervention that was passed overwhelmingly by the rank-and-file.

That some conference participants felt dissatisfaction with seeing workers, Blacks, women and youth solely in terms of "how to organize" came out in a workshop on "movements of Women, Senior Citizens, Ethnic Minorities." The point one woman raised that received heartfelt response from the 100 or so people packing the room was, "Why is it that at conferences like these they always lump all the so-called minorities into one workshop together?"

This conference clearly put labor on the anti-intervention movement agenda. Several dates were set for national demonstrations. But next time I hope the bureaucratic attitude that was revealed so clearly in this marriage between the labor and anti-intervention organizers will be thwarted by putting the actual ideas of workers, Blacks, women and youth at the top of the agenda.

—Laurie Cashdan

University of Michigan. By rooting itself in the Black struggle for freedom, the Free Speech Movement opened a new page in the mass movement for freedom.

But the youth of the 1980's live in an age when it is not only U.S. capitalism which abusively claims the name of Free Speech, but Russian and Chinese state-capitalism masquerading as Communism.

One of the most massive struggles for free speech was the October, 1956 Hungarian Revolution. In five short days, people took over all means of communication and created their own revolutionary councils for running society. They overthrew the one-party system overnight and created hundreds of newspapers, parties, worker, student, local, district councils. It was in these councils where slogans such as "Bread and Freedom", "Down with this phoney Communism" brought a discussion of Marx's Humanist Essays on the historic stage.

The ideas of freedom raised by these two movements have been so strong that the rulers are constantly trying to bury them. Their usurpation of free speech and abstract slogans of "academic freedom" for reactionary purposes are further means for distorting history. It is our responsibility not to let that happen by making sure that ideas about concrete human freedom are heard and yes, acted upon. The greatness of the Free Speech Movement and the Hungarian Revolution was that they refused to separate free speech from action for human freedom. This is why searching out the historic-philosophic roots of free speech is indispensable to our activities.

El Salvador's university

In September, 20,000 students returned to class at the National University, only to find awaiting them a near-total, savage destruction of intellectual life and culture at the hands of the military, which has occupied the school for the past four years. Speaking at the risk of their lives -- two more student leaders "disappeared" in August -- university people recounted the destruction of the past four years.

The library now has only 30,000 books, 50,000 having vanished, including all dictionaries and 75% of the medical books. Three days into the military occupation in 1980, the humanities building was burned to the ground. During the occupation, National Guardsmen stood on street corners outside the school selling books, typewriters, and medical equipment. Electrical wiring was ripped off walls. Library card catalogues and a rare book collection including Mayan texts disappeared. All maps of Nicaragua were burned, as was the Book Publishing Record: the military mistook the letter BPR for the initials of a Left group at the time, ever since driven underground.

The students of 1980 had dared to become politically active, and the campus had become a center of legal Left opposition. Thirty professors and hundreds of students have been killed since then. Head Librarian Antonio Mendez stated as school reopened: "No public official, including President Duarte, who was president of the junta at the time of occupation, has ever condemned what happened or proposed some type of retribution." Alluding to how students in Canada have collected and sent English texts and magazines to the needy library, he added: "Canada sends us culture. The U.S. sends us bullets."

—Kevin A. Barry

Youth in Revolt

Officials of Brown County High School in Illinois were ordered Sept. 4 to reinstate 19-year-old Loretta Wort to the National Honor Society. She had sued the school after they dismissed her from the society two years ago for becoming pregnant. Just as in the Miss America pageant, the hypocritical indignation of the officials reveals not "honor" for "talent" but conformity to the "moral" standards of the genteel degeneracy of misogynist capitalism.

Two hundred students who gathered at the University of Liberia August 22 to protest the arrest of two faculty members and several other leading opponents of the Doe regime were attacked by troops, who killed, wounded, and raped scores of students. Pupils later struck high schools to commemorate the deaths. The student movement has been highly critical of Doe's actions belying the promises of democracy and non-alignment he made after his 1980 coup against the U.S.-supported Liberian government.

While the ROTC has been trumpeting its increased enrollment, only 15% of its enrollees actually stay long enough to be required to serve in the military. It has nothing to do with academic difficulty, according to one student who dropped out of ROTC. "The problem is that you've got to kiss everybody's ass," he said. "The blind adherence to military doctrine...makes me sick"

The youth of Poland continue to find ways to express their sharp critique of that state-capitalist society. A recent four-day rock festival in Jarocin featured songs such as "War Is Coming", "Load the Cannon," and "Everything Is Getting Rotten," and lyrics like: "Propaganda slanders me. Propaganda horrifies me. Truth is left behind. I prefer the enemy's words."

BLACK WORLD

(continued from page 1)

prior to the women-led Redfern rebellion. On the contrary. Taken together, the revolutionary dimension of Aboriginal women and this unique study illuminate such new progressive features of Aboriginal society on the question of women that we experience a "shock of recognition" in discovering in the words of the Aboriginal women themselves some of the new moments that Karl Marx had singled out in the *Ethnological Notebooks* he compiled at the end of his life.

WOMEN, RURAL AND INTELLECTUAL

The unique originality of *We Are Bosses Ourselves* is not only evident in its combining of academic studies with oral presentations by Aboriginal women, and the way it is beautifully illustrated with photographs of the women's meetings. What needs to be singled out as very original, because it presents us with a totally new sense of objectivity, is the relationship of Aboriginal



Members of a women's council meet.

women intellectuals to the Aboriginal women who came from all over rural and urban Australia to meet and tell their story.

It is true that all the women anthropologists—European and Aboriginal—were critical of the "quality of the ethnography of male colleagues who dismiss women as 'feeders, breeders and follow-the leaders.'" However, it is the quite dialectical attitude of the Aboriginal women toward the subjectivity of the rural woman as reason which is distinctive and most compelling.

Listen to how an Aboriginal woman anthropologist simply describes the "intimate knowledge" Aboriginal people have of the seemingly barren desert landscape of Western Australia: "The rainfall is erratic and the Aborigines in that area have had to rely on their intimate knowledge of the topography to survive. To the visitor the country appears empty...The Martukuja, the people of this area, consider the land to be bountiful and have an attachment to it that could not be replaced. Much has been written about an Aboriginal man's identification with 'his country' but it soon becomes obvious to the casual observer that women too have a special relationship to the land".

WOMEN, MYTH AND MARX

Thus, when women from Borroloola described their independent roles as hunters, we are not only given a view of the Aboriginal woman's "special relationship to the land," but sense in the mythic dimension of her thought the remembrance of an heroic age of woman's autonomy: "We are Aboriginal women. We talk for our hunting business, ceremony business. We used to go hunting and feed the men too... Men never used to boss over women. We are bosses ourselves, women ourselves. Sometime man used to work for woman too when we come back from hunting, tired and everything and husband got to work for us, get some wood, water, make tea... Woman too, sometimes when husband go hunting and same way we work for men too, you know, help them."

Not only does her knowledge disclose the advanced elements of Aboriginal culture that are limited for women under capitalist patriarchy, but the Aboriginal woman's knowledge is decisive in the "modern" education of Aboriginal society. The women reported on how some Aboriginal schools have developed an "ethnoscience" curriculum which studies the material environment of Aboriginal society within its own world view.

Another Aboriginal woman, Helen Boyle, who was active with the Sydney Commission to Defend Black Rights when the Redfern revolt broke out, gives a compelling critique of the role played by Christian missionaries in the colonization of Aboriginal Australia: "...early missionaries did not realize that the Aborigines had a fully developed religion of their own. Indeed, the missionaries saw this as their chance to save a few souls. The education they provided for Aborigines reflected the European view of what male and female roles should be."

It is precisely this relationship of modern to "primitive" society which does not merely signal the advent of private over communal property, Christianity over native belief systems, but discloses what Marx called future "epochs of social revolution" that makes *We Are Bosses Ourselves* as serious a philosophic work as it is a living voyage of discovery into the profound Dreamtime of Aboriginal society.

Thus, we cannot consider it accidental that Marx concludes his greatest work, *Capital*, with a critique of the colonization theory that Wakefield applied to Australia. And in compiling his *Ethnological Notebooks* at the end of his life, Marx's study of Aboriginal society revealed not the "savage mind" a priori posited by Western Anthropology, but instead the "intelligent black" of Australia.

OUR LIFE AND TIMES

by Kevin A. Barry and Mary Holmes

In August and September new grass-roots movements unfolded in Azania (South Africa) in the biggest and most multi-dimensional outpouring against racism since the 1976 Soweto uprising had shown the birth of a new generation of Black revolutionaries. At the center of the protests was a new apartheid constitution offering "participation" alongside the white minority (16% of the population) to Indian and mixed-race communities (11%), but leaving the overwhelming Black majority totally disenfranchised. The new constitution had been repudiated after four weeks of activity by an 80%-plus abstention rate among Indian and mixed-race Azanians. Thousands of students had gone on strike, barricade fighting had broken out in Black ghettos, Black puppets of apartheid had been killed, and new strikes had arisen among the country's Black miners.

◀ The most serious resistance broke out in the Black mining towns of Sebokeng, Evaton and Sharpeville, beginning in September. Shops and municipal offices were looted and burned, and barricades were set up in the street. At the same time as the racist election results were being implemented, sharp rent increases went into effect for impoverished and disenfranchised Blacks. Three Black puppets of apartheid, including "Deputy Mayor" Sam Dlamini of Sharpeville, were killed. But over 50 protesters were also killed by police, who used everything from tanks to helicopters.

This working-class area south of Johannesburg near the mining complex of Vereeniging has a rich revolutionary tradition. In 1955-56 Evaton residents organized a bus boycott inspired by the Montgomery Bus Boycott in the U.S. In 1960, the area was a center of the anti-

passbook campaign. Sixty-nine Blacks were killed in the infamous Sharpeville massacre of 1960.

On Sept. 6 so-called Law and Order Minister Louis LeGrange and other officials toured the area, whizzing through Sharpeville in armored vehicles, until they reached Sebokeng when: "As they crested a low rise, with escort helicopters above, their convoy came to an abrupt halt because hundreds of people, about 500 yards down the rock-littered highway in front of them, seemed to have formed a human barricade across their route, a presence of vague menace, lighted by a low sun. Without investigating further, the ministers withdrew." (NY Times, 9/7/84)

A few days later, as Blacks buried their dead amid chants of "Amandla...Ngawetu!" (Power...It shall be ours), new resistance broke out and barricades went up once again in Sebokeng. The government hastily banned all indoor political meetings as the anniversary of the death of Steve Biko, Black Consciousness Movement leader murdered in 1977, approached, yet street protests continued, spreading to Soweto as well. Mass arrests were made.

Next to move were the Black miners. Over 40,000 went on strike against a wage offer of 2.3%, even though the new Black National Miners' Union (NUM) had not yet called for a strike. The NUM has organized 70,000 of the country's 600,000 black miners in its first year of existence. Eight thousand strikers were attacked by police and retaliated by burning company buildings. At least seven miners were killed, and thousands were fired. White miners, mainly supervisors, make \$17,000 per year, while Blacks make only \$3,000 per year. Blacks are today 82% of the national work force.

Youth have also been on the move. More high

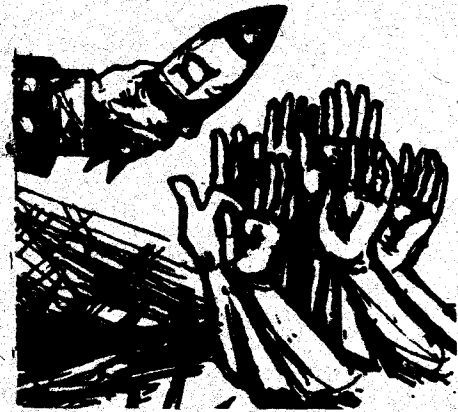
school and college youth have boycotted schools this year at one time or another than in 1976. Students want to stop blatant oppression: corporal punishment, sexual harassment, expulsions, and a racist budget which spends \$900 per year on white children's education and \$125 on African children's.

By the Aug. 23 mixed-race "election" offered by apartheid, 600,000 students were boycotting classes. The turncoat mixed-race Labor Party had to hold its "election" rallies under heavy white police guard. Turn-out averaged only 17%.

Then came the election for Indians, with only 17% turn-out as well. Five hundred Indian demonstrators in Lerasia were set upon by police, and 100 were injured when they rallied to protest the exclusion of the African majority from the voting. One protest leader was Ella Ramgobin, granddaughter of Gandhi, who had organized Indians against South African racism in the 1890s.

By mid-September over 60 Africans lay dead, but it was the apartheid system, rather than the African masses, which was reeling in fear from the explosion it had unleashed. In 1976 the uprising came at a time when Mozambique and Angola had just wrested themselves free of Portuguese rule and pledged support to the South African revolutionaries. In 1980 new mass unrest followed the Black victory in Zimbabwe. In 1984 it was in a different international context with apartheid's military aggression having forced Mozambique and Angola into "non-aggression" pacts aimed at the exiled South African revolutionaries. Yet the masses seem to be saying to the world: we will show you that it is our own, internal, class resistance which is the key to toppling the racist regime, no matter how many pacts it forces on our neighbors.

'Call for Peace in Europe'



A "Call for Peace in Europe" appeared on August 7, Hiroshima Day, from the "Initiative for an East-West Dialogue, Berlin". It began: "We are living in the most dangerous period in human history. A third world war is not only possible, it becomes more likely." Unlike most such peace appeals, this one went on to discuss Third World economic problems and argued, at great length, that: "For us, peace is more than the absence of war."

To the signers of the appeal peace also means, "the free expression of opinion, unconditional freedom to organize and to travel, and complete protection of human democratic rights at both the political and trade union levels. Every violation of human rights, wherever it appears, endangers peace as much as the actual outbreak of war."

Published in the independent Left paper *Tagezeitung*, the "Initiative" was signed by a wide array of activists, many of them East European: Wolf Biermann, the Left folk singer expelled from East Germany; Petra Kelly and Gert Bastian of the Greens; German Marxist economist Elmar Altvater; Rosana Rossanda, Left Italian writer; just-released Marxist dissident Petr Uhl and four others from Charter 77 in Czechoslovakia; Hungarian dissidents Gyorgy Konrad and Mihaly Vajda; Roland Jahn, peace activist expelled from East Germany; Wlodek Goldkorn and Zbigniew Kowalewski, former Solidarnosc activists now in exile; and Russian exile writers Lev Kopelev and Raissa Orlova-Kopeleva.

Iran's economic crisis

While many Western military analysts have attributed the long delay in Iran's anticipated offensive against Iraq to Iran's lack of military equipment, the truth is that there has been much resistance among the young draftees who refuse to walk on mines and clear the front for tanks with their dead bodies. As one young draftee said, "No one wants the continuation of this war. We have realized that it is much more valuable to have a father or brother in this world than to have a house in heaven."

Meanwhile, the reactionary Islamic regime of Khomeini is facing one of its greatest internal crises ever, not only from the continuing Iraq/Iran war, but from the internal war economy that has resulted. Officially unemployment is 20%, but the true figure is almost double that. There are shortages of kerosene and other basic necessities, and the government has continued to issue ration coupons for meat, eggs, milk, rice and sugar, items which are available in the open market for three to five times their government prices. Many in the slums of southern Tehran are forced to sell their food coupons for other necessities, such as rent payment and medicine.

The regime has tried to combat unemployment through massive inflation of the state bureaucracy. It now employs two million people, up from 1.1 million during the Shah's regime. The mosques can also be added to this growing bureaucracy, as they contain 180,000 mullahs. Nearly half the budget of the government, after allocation for the military, has been earmarked for industrial plans.

Clearly the mullahs' regime, which until recently paid little regard to the economy, has realized that one can hardly ignore production. The process of production of more means of production and of less means of consumption continues in Iran. Western powers have reacted to the "smell" of capitalist production in Iran, and the volume of trade between Iran and the West, including Germany, has been increasing.

What is demanded from the Iranian masses, as usual, has been greater austerity and a total acceptance of the militarization of the economy. Resistance, however, continues.

Bulletin

New Trials in Yugoslavia

Marxist-Humanists the world over are outraged at yet another Stalinist type of measure in Yugoslavia. Six young opposition intellectuals are facing five to fifteen years in prison for "counter-revolutionary activities", which consisted of simply attending political discussion meetings in private apartments. Three are on hunger strike. A trial is planned for October in Belgrade. Many are associated with the Marxist Humanist Praxis group, organized since the 1960s by philosophers such as Mihailo Markovic and Ljubomir Tadic. Those facing prison include a leader of the 1968 student revolt, Vladimir Milanovic. We are organizing support networks for our Yugoslav comrades.

Theology of Liberation under attack by Pope

Pope John Paul II's campaign to terminate the dialogue between Catholics and Marxists took a new turn in September when Leonardo Boff, a Brazilian author and activist of liberation theology, was summoned to the Vatican to appear before the Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith. This body is the late 20th century edition of the Holy Office (Inquisition). Its mission has remained: to root out heresies and re-establish orthodoxy. Boff's summons coincided with a strong denunciation of Marxist ideas within liberation theology by the Pope.

It is no accident that a Latin American was singled out for condemnation of the Catholic-Marxist dialogue. Liberation theologians' inclusion of Marxism as a theory of human liberation has found its most fertile soil in those lands of oppression and revolution.

The Pope attacked liberation theologians for using Marxism as an analytic "science" of class struggle. But as the American Left philosopher Thomas Sheehan wrote, the Vatican "speaks of 'Marxism' much the way President Reagan and Reader's Digest do...a crude oversimplification." The Pope's deepest fear is the Humanism of Marx, which he tries to usurp by speaking its language. Travelling through Canada he pontificated against the dehumanization of technology and automation, and raised the spectre of a "judgement day" for the capitalist, industrialized North if it did not feed the impoverished—and revolutionary—South.

When this Pope was first elected, N&L reported (Nov. 1978): "...the Vatican has again plunged deeply into its professional anti-Communism, this time aimed not just at Russia but more specifically and directly against the Latin American liberation movement...What

more 'brilliant' move on the part of the Vatican than the choice of Cardinal Wojtyla as Pope, a man as adept as the totalitarian Communists in the country in which he lives at using libertarian, sometimes even 'Marxist' language, to cover up capitalist exploitation."

This is far from an abstract question in Nicaragua, where the Vatican is abetting Reagan's efforts to sanctify his open aid to the hated Somocista contras—counterrevolutionaries. The Nicaraguan government expelled 10 foreign priests in July for agitating on behalf of another priest charged with collaboration with the contras. Archbishop Ovando y Bravo, head of the established Church there, openly admits his opposition to the Sandinista government and has made an issue of the return of the priests. He actively supported a Holy Week procession where marchers called for a "dialogue" with the contras. Reagan hailed that event as a "demonstration of defiance."

The Pope's attack on the Latin American liberation movement attempts to blur what Marx made explicit long ago in his philosophy of absolute humanism—the dualities that arise out of the religion espoused by the oppressor, and the religious expression of the desires of the oppressed struggling to be free. In that there is no reconciliation.

Dominican Republic

Before President Jorge Blanco could announce a new round of price increases for gasoline and fuel on Aug. 30, he had to turn the Dominican Republic into an armed camp. The government deployed hundreds of army troops and police throughout the cities, especially in the poor neighborhoods, where rebellion swept the country last April.

Despite conditions resembling an armed occupation, youth from the Santo Domingo slums built barricades of burning tires against the police and smashed the windows of public transport buses. Police arrested scores and carried them off to jails in San Francisco de Macoris, Santiago, Puerto Plata and other cities.

Earlier in the month hundreds of students from the Autonomous University of Santo Domingo had tried to march from their campus to the commercial district to protest a rise in bus fares. Many students were arrested as police armed with rifles and tear gas ringed the campus to prevent the march, while hundreds of special operations police invaded the poor neighborhoods to prevent any actions there.

Several union chiefs and Left party leaders were rounded up by authorities as a "preventative" step before Blanco's speech. But it is the poor who have borne the brunt of the economic crisis as well as daily police repression since the April rebellion. The protesting students had said: "All these days will be days of struggle, of anti-government protests, but it will be a struggle of all the people."

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Theory/ Practice NEWS & LETTERS

'Human Power is its own end'—Marx

Vol. 29 — No. 8

NOVEMBER, 1984

25c

Labor's needed militancy



by Felix Martin, Labor Editor

Ford Motor Co. and the UAW top negotiators reached a tentative contract agreement on Oct. 14, the same day GM workers ratified their three-year contract by a slim majority. An article in the *Los Angeles Times* stated the auto contracts would give the nation's two leading auto makers three years of labor peace. But the Canadian GM workers already showed that everything is not "peaceful." Thirty-six thousand auto workers in nine Canadian plants went out on strike against the concessions contract, forcing GM back to the bargaining table.

Last month I discussed how the so-called job security program offers far less than it seems to promise (see "Worker control needed for real job security," in Oct. N&L). And not only does the 2¼% average raise not become part of the hourly wage level, so that medical benefits, workers compensation, and retirement remain unaffected, but it actually means 3½% for the skilled trades workers and only 1½% for production workers! The capitalists love to pit the higher-paid workers against the lower-paid.

OPPOSITION WITHIN UAW

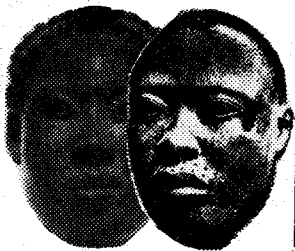
The fact that the contract was approved by such a slim majority shows that workers are thinking for themselves. The question now is, What is our ground when we oppose both the union bureaucrats and the company?

How could some workers who are against the union bureaucracy turn around and say that they are going to vote for that strike-breaker Ronald Reagan? I am thinking there are some white workers who think that way. After World War II, at GM South Gate, some of us were trying to force the company to hire Black workers — and some of our fellow white workers

(continued on page 3)

Black World

Black land crisis



by Lou Turner

Whether one takes the latest outcry over the shocking projection by the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights 1982 study on "The Decline of Black Farming in America," that the number of Black-owned farms will, by the year 2000, be reduced to zero if the present decline continues, or takes the individual struggle of Tchula, Mississippi's Black mayor Eddie Carthan to hold on to his family farm against court foreclosure, the loss of Black-owned land today discloses the multiple crises besetting the Black South.

I was in Tchula, Mississippi on the invitation of Eddie Carthan the summer of 1982 and had a chance to talk with Black farmers in the area who had formed their own cooperative and had through it raised some \$230,000 in bail to gain the release of Eddie and his brother. Because Carthan was again under arrest at that time, his father showed me around their quite beautiful 500-acre farm.

Following the older Mr. Carthan's death last December, Eddie and his family now stand to lose the farm because they have been denied a loan by the Farmer's Home Administration (FHA) to pay off the debt in legal fees incurred during his lengthy trial. (For more information on the situation in Tchula and to contribute support write directly to Eddie Carthan, P.O. Box 29, Tchula, Miss. 39596)

BLACK LAND, FROM LENIN TO TODAY

Because the new and specific stage of capitalist production in agriculture confronting Black farmers remains rooted in the economic survivals of the plantation system, we need to take a brief historical look at the de-

(continued on page 9)

Philippine masses mount new protests against Marcos regime, U.S. bases



Manila ghetto dwellers march against Marcos

by Kevin A. Barry

On October 25, thousands of anti-Marcos demonstrators once again surged through the streets of Manila. The demonstration followed the release of reports by the five-member panel investigating the killing of the opposition leader, Benigno S. Aquino, on Aug. 23, 1983. One commission report directly implicated Marcos' dreaded supreme military and police commander, General Fabian Ver, in the plot to murder Aquino. Even this hand-picked commission of Marcos was forced to call the killing of Senator Aquino "the concretization of the horror that has been haunting this country for decades" which "confirmed our fears of what unchecked evil could be capable of doing." If ever there was an "evil empire," it was to be found in that hated dictator's nearly twenty-year reign over the 53 million Filipino people, backed to the hilt by U.S. imperialism from Nixon to Ford to Carter, and especially by Ronald Reagan and Co.

The streets of Manila have been filled with hundreds of thousands since Aquino's murder. One million people attended his funeral in 1983 and marched right by the gates of the U.S. Embassy, which had closed for the day. A full year later the anniversary demonstration of Aug. 21, 1984 had some 500,000 marching, yet U.S. newspapers chose to bury the story on the back pages. The opposition to the Marcos regime has involved ever deeper layers of the Philippine population from youth and workers to women and to a growing guerrilla movement.

This Sept. 3,000 revolutionary youth and students tried to march right onto the Mendiola bridge next to Marcos' Presidential Palace, Malacanang. "We just want Mendiola, not Malacanang," quipped march leader Agapito "Butz" Aquino, brother of the martyred Senator, but police chief Narcisco Cabrero was not amused.

A stand-off lasted until dawn. Then Marcos' police moved in against the young people and a few opposition politicians armed only with lighted candles. The next week, at another demonstration eleven bodies of demonstrators were found scattered about Manila, all bearing stab wounds and marks of torture. Ninety-two youths were reported missing afterwards.

The Mendiola bridge has a long revolutionary history. In 1971 Left students fought pitched battles with Marcos' police before his 1972 martial law drove them deep underground. In Sept. 1983, students had also attempted to demonstrate on the bridge leading to the palace, resulting in deaths at the hands of police.

This past June some 30,000 Bataan workers, mainly women, paralyzed 90% of the firms in a solidarity strike in support of union leaders at Interasia Company who had been fired. The strikers set up barricades sealing off the whole "free enterprise" zone that Marcos had set up on Bataan in 1974. This "free enterprise" zone and supposedly "strike-free" zone is where U.S., Japanese and other foreign capital can reap obscene profits by paying women workers \$5 per day, yet forcing them to shape up (to report for possible work) six days a week. Sometimes they only get two days pay.

(continued on page 8)

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Women, not bishops, decide on abortion

By Terry Moon

Before the election the nation was subjected to the blather of Archbishop John J. O'Connor who, while helping that racist, sexist warmonger, Reagan, get re-elected by attacking Mondale/Ferraro on the question of abortion, at the same time could hypocritically claim to be anti-war, opposed to poverty, and against discrimination. Boston had to put up with the distortions of Archbishop Bernard F. Law who claimed that not raising the abortion question during the election would be the same as if the Abolitionists of the 1850s, "those great Protestant ministers who led the movement, had not been persistent in the face of great opposition."

Here in Chicago we have our own Joseph Cardinal Bernardin who tries to be "consistent" by linking opposition to abortion with opposition to nuclear arms and people living in poverty. Yet his own statements show that his "concern" is only because "credibility of our advocacy of every unborn child's right to life will be enhanced by a consistent concern for the plight of the homeless, the hungry and helpless in our nation, as well as the poor of the world." Of course it wasn't until recently that the Church even bothered about this kind of "credibility" and only because of the women's movement's critique of the anti-abortionists who care so passionately about life only while it is "unborn."

Archbishop Law says speaking out against abortion "is a risk one has to take." Just how much of a risk is it to throw a bomb into an abortion clinic in the middle of the night (19 clinics have been burned or bombed this year) or for some man to pontificate about what a woman should do with her body when he has the backing of the Catholic Church as well as the misogynist President of the United States?

What the issue of abortion is about is women's demand for control over our own bodies. This was made crystal clear by a very international conference held in Amsterdam, Holland, this past year called, "Population Control: No — Women Decide." There one could see concretely what the fight to control our bodies and minds means. A Portuguese woman spoke of the results of a restrictive abortion law passed by that so-called "socialist" government: about 2000 women die each year from illegal abortions. A Mexican woman explained that in some places 50% of the hospital beds are filled with women suffering the results of illegal abortions.

MINORITY WOMEN'S STRUGGLE

The Conference was not limited to the question of abortion. A South African woman showed how abortion, racism and sterilization abuse are intertwined. Abortion is available to white women if they have slept with a Black. As for Black women—they fill 25% of the hospital beds due to illegal abortions. One in 200 dies, one in four is made sterile. A woman from Sri Lanka told of

how the minority Tamil women who work on the tea plantations are given 300 to 500 rupees to submit to sterilization. Women have many of the same problems in the U.S. as well.

Part of what I liked so much about the Conference was the second half of the title: "Women/Decide." That is what we have been saying for over 15 years. The desperation and determination women have to control our lives is revealed in those statistics of women who have undergone butcher abortions and ended up dead or mutilated in some hospital. It is revealed in that conference.

What all those anti-abortionists fear most is that the fight of women to control our bodies is a fight to be whole human beings. We are not bodies on the one hand that the church or state can control; and minds on the other—supposedly "free." We are whole persons and we will decide what we will do with our lives.

Algeria — 1954, 1984



Nov. 1, 1984, marks the 30th anniversary of the opening of the Algerian national liberation struggle against French colonialism, in which women played a crucial role. Above, Algerian women participate in a general strike in October, 1961, in which 80 were killed.

In 1982, Algerian women again took to the streets in a successful battle against a "Family Code," which would have made it necessary for them to have male relatives act as their legal representatives in areas such as marriage, divorce and right to work. They have continued this struggle against second class citizenship, expressing feminist views and demanding basic human rights for women. Many, including a heroine of the struggle for national liberation, were recently arrested for fighting for their own liberation.

(Thanks to Women in Nigeria)

Creativity of workers challenges academics

Detroit, Mich.—When the sixth annual North American Labor History Conference met in Detroit, Oct. 18-20, by far the most interesting session was the one at which three women labor historians spoke under the title, "Labor Faces Decline." While that was the official title for the session, one hardly came away with the gloomy picture much of the conference painted. As one speaker, Elaine Bernard from Simon Fraser University in British Columbia, put it, "Automation is part of the de-industrialization process and the greatest challenge the labor movement faces. Labor faces the challenge to transform itself, and I'm optimistic workers can do that."

The overall theme of the conference was "The Human Impact of De-Industrialization: History and Theory." The reason Elaine Bernard could project such a different view of the labor movement was based, she said, on what workers have been doing in British Columbia. She then went on to describe the five days of Feb. 1981, when telephone workers at B.C. Telephone occupied and ran most of the telephone exchanges in the province, during what she felt was one of the most creative strikes ever.

Bernard first traced the decade leading up to the strike, a decade which hailed the computer age for the telephone workers. At the cutting edge of the new technology, automation for them signalled increased de-skilling, loss of control over their work, massive layoffs, more supervisors, and a weakened union. "This," she said, "was in the minds of the workers when they went on strike."

She described the beginnings of the 536-day strike, when selective sit-ins led to selective lay-offs, and flying pickets led to court injunctions, up to the day when 26 maintenance workers threatened with suspension walked into a building and took over. The occupation immediately spread. Supervisors were told, "There is no work for you, you must go."

Workers raised signs saying, "Under new and better management" and "Now 100% Canadian-owned." At ongoing government hearings about rate hikes, workers won support from the public by showing that they were the experts, the ones that cared about the quality of telecommunica-

tions, and that automation had nothing to do with quality. A one-day general strike preceded their eventual victory.

What Elaine Bernard focused on was the creativity of the workers once they were in motion: "What was so tremendous is that in a long-term sense it poses a very different kind of labor action and a worker consciousness that demands a whole re-evaluation of labor/management relations. While telephone workers are at the leading edge of new technology, there is much that is present in other industry."

This session really came alive, as opposed to the defeatist attitudes in so much of the rest of the conference, because here we got a glimpse of how rank-and-file women workers, in fighting to win a measure of control over jobs threatened by automation, could alter the whole ground of discussions on "technological change." These telephone workers, in their occupation and in their appeal to workers in other industries, reasoned a lot more deeply than the "re-industrialization" plans of the academics. And I doubt it was an accident that a panel of four women were the ones to present their vision to the conference.

—Laurie Cashdan

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women-worldwide

The seven-year-old international boycott of Nestle's products ended Oct. 4, after the company adopted international marketing standards on baby foods. The boycott began in reaction to the company's hard-sell promotional campaign of baby formula, which had been linked to malnutrition and death of infants in many Third World countries.

Asian women textile workers struck Kewal Bros., Birmingham, England last May when three workers were fired for union activity while the Transport & General Workers' Union was negotiating a pay raise. In August their pickets were supported by striking miners. They feel their struggle will affect conditions for the 20,000 Asian women textile workers in England. Send donations to: Kewal Bros. Strike Fund, c/o Shahid Udhem Singh Centre, 60 Soho Rd., Handsworth, Birmingham, England B 20.

—Information from Outwrite

On Oct. 9 in Detroit, 150 people held a protest vigil at the abandoned house where 13-year-old Tiffany Stewart was raped and murdered. The vigil, sponsored by ACORN, criticized Mayor Young's administration for failing to sell, repair, or demolish the many vacant houses there. Last year Detroit women had organized themselves to combat over 50 schoolgirl rapes in a four-month period.

German designer Karl Lagerfeld's description of his new fashion collection as "shaped to be raped" created a storm of protest at shows in Milan last month. Carla Fendi, one of five sisters who owns the label Lagerfeld designs for, described it as a "terrible misunderstanding," since, in Italy, "men may say of a woman, 'She is so beautiful I want to rape her,' without any connotation of violence, only of Latin admiration." Sexism, in any language, is sexism.

The National Coalition of American Nuns has come out against the National Conference of Catholic Bishops' current campaign to make abortion illegal, saying this would not stop abortion but "make safe abortions available only to the rich." They rejected the charge that being pro-choice always means being pro-abortion.

California's Prop. 41 cuts more human needs

Los Angeles, Cal. — Of all the "austerity" measures being proposed for voter ratification here on Nov. 6, none is more controversial or insidious than Proposition 41, authored by Republican Assemblyman Ross Johnson from Orange County. The initiative would place a statewide ceiling on funding for AFDC (Aid to Families with Dependent Children), including various employment and training programs, Medi-Cal and Family Planning.

California's allotment to the needy is presently near the top of the scale nationally (\$600 a month for a family of four, compared to \$498 in New York and a mere \$112 in Texas). Some analysts project that passage of Prop. 41 would cut assistance for an unemployed mother supporting two children from \$550 to \$360 per month or less, would reduce by 50% funds for workfare and job training, and cut family planning assistance by over 80%.

Supposedly, the blind, the disabled and the elderly would be exempt from these reductions — though they would suffer reductions in Medi-Cal along with everyone else. The bill's aim, in the author's own words, is to ensure that "healthy, young welfare recipients will have to go to work."

Well, I have news for Mr. Johnson. I am on welfare, and I was involved in a job search program. I specifically stress job search, because most job training programs have already been reduced or eliminated and after three months of intensive search, I've found many job "prospects," but no job.

Nor are the elderly and disabled convinced that their benefits will be spared. One elderly woman, a stroke patient I care for three hours a week said: "I'm no longer able to work since this stroke, and I have to depend on the services of my homemaker worker. Who knows? With the bureaucracy the way it is, Medi-Cal may find me 'healthy' enough to do without her services."

Because of public outcry against the potential negative impact of Prop. 41, Los Angeles has seen unprecedented organizing from community groups, lawmakers, and civil rights organizations, who are trying to mobilize recipients and get them to the polls. Most welfare recipients that I talk to, however, are not entirely convinced that a political solution would be permanent.

For myself, I see this newest attempt at "welfare reform" as just the latest in a series of attacks on poor people, reducing us to pieces of paper, and then shoving us aside. It has been public policy to force and condition people to be dependent, and then penalize them for being so.

—Angry mother on welfare

Immigrant workers face capitalist horrors

by John Marcotte

I recently met a Latin American who told me about her search for work when she arrived in New York last month. She was a self-employed dressmaker, working at home for many years, but she has had no work for the past several years; the poverty has become so bad in her home country that people don't even have money to get a dress or pants. But she figured with her skills she would find a job in New York and send money home so her brothers and their children could eat.

She bought the paper and started walking the whole garment district in Manhattan, answering the ads for sewing machine operators. Every place she went, the boss asked her how many years experience she had. Through a friend she'd say she could make any dress you want from scratch from only a drawing or sample. But each boss answered, "If you don't have at least seven or ten years working piece-work, you'll waste my time and yours." They wouldn't even let her try out for five minutes. This happened in job after job. After a while, she noticed she was running into the same groups of women coming out of the buildings she was going into, with the same want ads in their hands.

DISCIPLINE OF FACTORY CLOCK

She said, "That morning I learned that the skills I had as a dressmaker had nothing to do with working in a garment factory. I would have to learn to do the same operation over and over again, and much, much faster." That reminded me of a fellow worker, who used to be a sewing machine operator and made up to \$300 a week on piece-work, but she quit and took a minimum wage job. She was getting home so exhausted, her whole body hurting, her eyes ruined.

Isn't it exactly as Karl Marx showed in *Capital* 120 years ago, how all human skills are reduced "by the discipline of the factory clock" to one mass of congealed, abstract labor? And the horror of capitalist production, what makes the day drag so long, is that there is no such thing as an abstract laborer! All the creative mental and manual



Immigrant workers in New York sweatshop labor of this dressmaker is alienated from her, and the machine she once operated at home now operates her in the factory, as the former free play of her muscles gives way to the most stressful and painful repetition.

So this friend started to look for work outside the garment district, where there's less competition. At the first factory the boss "offered" to let her work free for two weeks, to "practice", and after that he couldn't pay her \$3.50 an hour but "would pay her something." At another factory, the boss wouldn't even try her out on piece-work if she didn't have two different sewing feet, a spindle and a spindle-holder for the machine—about \$40 of "tools".

DUAL FACTORY SYSTEM

She finally found a job in a sweatshop. She works from 7 a.m. to 4:30 p.m., with a short break for lunch. She has no time card. She has no Social Security deducted; she has no right to collect unemployment, disability or workers' compensation. She sews piece-work. She gets \$1.20 for each complete dress she makes. She has been making \$10 to \$12 a day for nine hours' work. Some of the fastest women make 20 dresses a day.

Some people at work call these "illegal factories" or "clandestine factories". New York has a dual factory system. One, legal, pays minimum wage. Immigrants consider themselves lucky to get one of those jobs. The other, illegal, has been growing by leaps and bounds, employing 100,000 or more workers in basements, garages, store fronts and lofts. Even union jobs are subcontracted to these illegal sweatshops.

WORKSHOP TALKS

(continued from page 1)

turned around and beat up those who wanted the company to bring Blacks in.

We had to struggle with other workers in the late '60s too, when we wanted the company to bring in women. When some of the other workers would say, "Women can't do as much as a man," I would turn it around and say to them: "This is what we want. If a woman can't do all this, then we're working too hard. If a woman can't lift all this, then the company is making us lift too much."

Living in this capitalist system affects us all, and affects our thinking. The human being means nothing under capitalism. I recently read an article about the General Electric Company's locomotive plant in Erie, Pa. It used to take 70 workers 16 days to build the 2,500 pound motor frame, but now that GE spent \$316 million on robots, five workers make the traction motor frame in 16 hours.

GE sees this as a technological miracle. It helped them get a \$200 million contract to sell 220 diesel-electric locomotives to China. The economists call this the key to a bright future. To me as a human being I don't see a miracle. Where is the bright future for the human being who can't work and has no way to earn a living?

No wonder Karl Marx called the economists the "prize fighters for capitalism." They have become so mentally blind that they see robots and not people. To me, as a worker, those who are supposed to be the thinkers are the ones who are backward in their thinking.

MINERS' SOLIDARITY

To me, development as a human being comes out of struggle. I heard a story about one of the striking miners from Britain who was here in the U.S. He visited the copper miners in Arizona who have been on strike for over a year, and are having a rough time and need funds themselves. After he talked with them, they took up a collection for the British miners and gave him \$96! Those people to me show what it means to be human.

Workers have to think about our struggles everywhere in the world. If labor were in control of production, we could produce in a human way for peoples' needs. These robots and these anti-human concessions contracts don't point to a bright future. They fit into the thinking of a Reagan who could take us to a nuclear holocaust.

Restaurant workers strike

San Francisco, Cal.—On Oct. 23 restaurant workers voted 603 to 31 to continue their strike which began Sept. 1. Defying the union-busting tactics of the two restaurant owners' groups, San Francisco's largest union, Local 2 of the Hotel and Restaurant Workers and Bartenders Union, has had 1200 members out for almost two months.

The millionaire owners of the Golden Gate Restaurant Owners Association (GGRA), which includes the world famous Fisherman's Wharf restaurants, have offered a "take-away" contract that not only would freeze wages, but establish a two-tier wage system that would pay new hires 7.5 to 21% less than current union members. Health, welfare and pension benefits would have been cut drastically or totally eliminated for many members. Essentially, the GGRA's "final offer" would result in the union voting itself out of existence.

ANGRY AT UNION LEADERSHIP

Strikers are upset at the union leadership for not preparing for this difficult struggle well in advance of the contract deadline. As one striker told *News & Letters*, "Our management was openly talking about busting the union two years ago. The owners had begun to intimidate and harass me before the walkout. I couldn't walk around the restaurant without being followed. When the boss thought that the union business agent was coming to call us out on strike, he would shut my station down for two hours and I'd have no tables. My pay is my tips. When they started hiring scabs they cut into my station by giving them three or four tables."

Confused and now angry at the leadership's strategy of shutting down only selected restaurants (less than half of the restaurants are out), one striker stated, "We should shut this city down. You don't strike by tiptoeing from one restaurant to another." Such frustration with the union leadership resulted in the election of a rank-and-file strike committee earlier this month. However, the local leadership has refused to allow the rank-and-file committee to function, and from the beginning "professionals" from the International have run the strike.

After two months on the picket line the lack of support from other workers is seen as a major weakness. Most members of Local 2 are hotel workers and, except for one letter asking for their support, the leadership has done nothing to reach out to them, which has added to the anger of the striking restaurant workers.

"NO AMNESTY TO SCABS"

As one worker expressed it, "No one talks wages on the line. Most everyone knows how serious it is and it makes it very painful to know that you are holding history at your fingertips and can't get any of the hotel workers to come out on your picket line, and you can't get any union support. The existing powers in the union are just like any other politicians. Elections are coming up and they have to make a good impression. They are holding back too much and they don't take chances."

Six restaurant owners are now hiring non-union scabs as "permanent" employees in an effort to intimidate the strikers. Union scabs who tried to vote on the contract were exposed and made to wear yellow "scab" tags and had to have a union escort to leave the hall safely. "No amnesty to scabs" has been mandated by the strikers. Clearly, the issues in this strike extend beyond the restaurant workers and San Francisco. "An injury to one is an injury to all."

—Strike supporter

GM workers will remember

Oklahoma City, Okla.—The UAW International sold us out again. The contract did pass. Out of 4808 votes, 3180 yes and 1628 no. There were at least 1000 workers, maybe more, at our meeting on the contract before the vote. The union had four microphones set up, and two to four workers were at them all the time. The meeting lasted for hours. Workers didn't like the contract.

One worker said, "This isn't job security. The UAW makes a big thing about the \$1 billion. That will only take care of 4000 workers for six or seven years." And like one worker said, GM has already said and reported in the newspaper that they plan to do away with one-third of the labor force, 100,000 workers, in the same six or seven years. A lot of workers said, "Why didn't we go out on strike on Sept. 14?"

But other workers felt they couldn't take a strike. One said, "I just came out of poverty. I don't need a strike. I went for two years without much of a job, with just enough to live on." There are a lot of young workers who came down here recently from Michigan and Gary, Ind. These workers have families, with up to four kids, and a strike would hurt them a lot. Most of them had to live on welfare before they came. One worker said, "If you go on welfare you have to sell everything and have nothing. Then you can get a little help."

I think, when all these give-backs are used up by the capitalists, and all their money put into the military, and then the next down time comes: workers will remember all this. Maybe then they will move.

—GM worker

Oscar Mayer workers defy union, plan strike action

Chicago, Ill.—Over 100 Oscar Mayer workers met on Oct. 28 in a school to consider their stance toward the company and the union, Local 100 of the United Food and Commercial Workers. They have been working for six months under a \$2.40-an-hour wage cut unilaterally imposed by the company. (See October N&L.)

At the same time, Oscar Mayer has attempted to force contract concessions at their other plants. Workers in Wisconsin, Iowa and Texas have voted to strike and plan to send pickets to other plants in the chain. Other locals have pledged not to cross picket lines, but the leadership of Local 100 has refused either to sanction not crossing the picket line or to answer the membership's questions about their legal rights.

"What I think is that all-out strike is the only way to resolve this thing," a worker told *News & Letters*. "Local 100 is an Oscar Mayer union; it always has been. Piotowski (secretary-treasurer) takes his orders from Oscar Mayer. We need new leadership and we need it today. I've been here 18 years. We are tired of this. We have some plans to change this situation so we can have a different kind of orga. ization. We will have to be stronger and more outspoken. Piotowski will either have to straighten up or get out."

Workers have travelled and talked throughout the Oscar Mayer chain, and people at the meeting heard reports on actions, including slowdowns, at other plants and a tape of union meetings in Wisconsin and Texas. The actions of workers here are considered crucial, because Oscar Mayer is threatening to shift production from other plants to Chicago. Over and over people stressed the importance of solidarity between workers in different plants.

"I'm glad that Madison (Wisconsin) voted to authorize a strike, but I feel they shouldn't have to go out alone. We will never win anything going out one by one. What we need is for all plants to go out on strike the same day. The no-strike business is ridiculous. The company doesn't keep its end of the bargain, so why should we?" asked a worker.

"The union doesn't want a strike. They encourage people not to strike," said another worker. "What I think is that the company broke the contract when they cut our pay, so if we strike it shouldn't make a difference. I know that if Madison puts a picket line here, we won't cross it."

Several speakers contrasted the way union meetings are conducted—a "disgrace" and "totally out of order"—with the openness of discussion at this meeting. The thoughts and actions of Oscar Mayer workers here and across the country are a repudiation of the company's "right" to conduct "business as usual" and a challenge to the union leadership.

—Former meatpacker

THEORY / PRACTICE

by Raya Dunayevskaya
author of *Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution*.



Editor's Note: The murder of Maurice Bishop, and the subsequent U.S. invasion and occupation of Grenada Oct. 19, 1983, far from being a momentary action, has raised the most far-reaching questions on the nature of revolution and counter-revolution not only in the Caribbean, but globally. It is for this reason that we are presenting brief excerpts from Raya Dunayevskaya's *Political-Philosophic Letter (PPL)* entitled "Counter-Revolution and Revolution: Grenada, the Caribbean Today, and the Challenge from 30 Years of Movements from Practice that were Themselves Forms of Theory" written shortly after the invasion. The entire PPL is included in a collection by News & Letters entitled *Grenada: Revolution, Counter-Revolution, Imperialist Invasion* and is available from News & Letters, 50 East Van Buren, Rm. 707, Chicago, Ill. 60605, for \$1.00 postage included.

The fact that the first shot of counter-revolution in Grenada on Oct. 19 was fired by the "revolutionaries" themselves, its Army, politically and militarily headed by Gen. Austin (plus Coard?), demands that we take a deeper look at the type of revolution that erupted in Grenada in 1979. It is impossible not to be moved by the last words spoken by the leader of that revolution, Maurice Bishop, as, in utter shock, he looked at the Army shooting into the masses who had just released him from house arrest: "My God, my God, they have turned the guns against the people."

That does not free us from facing the stark fact that the first shot of counter-revolution came from within the revolutionary Party-Army-State. That first shot opened the road for the imperialist U.S. invasion that, it is true, lay in wait from Day One of the revolution. This, however, in no way absolves the "Party" of its heinous crime. The fact that Castro — though an "internationalist" who spelled out his solidarity in concrete acts such as sending Grenada doctors and construction workers, teachers as well as military advisers — nevertheless failed to develop the ideas that were at stake, left the masses unprepared for ways to confront the divisions within the leadership that would have gory consequences on Oct. 19.

INSTEAD OF CASTRO focusing on a theory of revolution, he substituted and based himself on what he called the "principle of non-interference in internal affairs." He proceeded to praise Bishop for adhering to that "principle" by not asking for help in the leadership disputes — as if these were mere matters of "personality" and merely "subjective," rather than the result of the objective pull backward because the revolution itself was barren of a philosophy...

Naturally, the savage, unprovoked, long-prepared-for imperialist invasion and conquest of Grenada made it imperative to expose its "Pax Americana" nature and intensify all our activities to get US imperialism (with its East Caribbean stooges) out of Grenada.

In opposing the American imperialist invasion, and demanding the evacuation of all foreign troops from Grenada, we must not simply limit ourselves to actions of solidarity. Indeed, we must also not only criticize Gen. Austin and the whole military "Revolutionary Council," who are to be brought to account, but also look at the 1979 revolution, both positively and negatively. That becomes of the essence now, if we are ever to stop counter-revolutions from arising within revolutions...

There is no doubt that the fact that it took less than 12 hours for the 1979 bloodless revolution to overthrow the neo-colonialist regime headed by Eric Gairy and the newly-titled "Sir Paul Scoon as "Queen's representative" — the ceremonial Governor General — proved that it was indeed a spontaneous expression of the popular will of the Grenadian people. That over-riding truth has had such a sturdy and creative presence for four and a half years that even today, as the Behemoth U.S. invader and occupier keeps pouring vitriolic attacks on Prime Minister Bishop, the U.S. has to admit that the hatred of the Grenadian masses is directed, not at Maurice Bishop, but at his murderer, Gen. Hudson Austin.

Fortunately, we had the privilege of hearing the thoughts of Bishop as expressed by himself for a period of 10 days when he was in the U.S....

Theoretically, the most important of the statements Bishop delivered when he was in the U.S. May 31-June 10 related to the two points he raised in the interview with the *Village Voice*. One concerned the question of "consciousness" of workers: "We tried to tell the people to use their own consciousness." The other point, in contrast to this, was the question of the consciousness of the leaders which had no such ambiguity as the one relating to the workers.

WHILE WE DO NOT hear the thoughts of the workers, Bishop does trace the development of the leader-

Grenada: revolution and counter-revolution

ship's consciousness in the 1950s and 1960s:

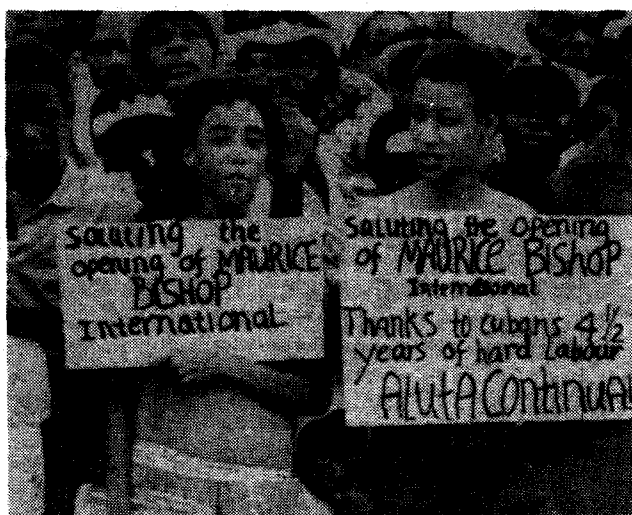
There have been periods when I was attracted to a lot of the cultural nationalist material, frankly Frantz Fanon, Malcolm, various people like that... I would say that the entire leadership of the party and the government came out of a black power tradition, all of us... I don't think we moved beyond that until the early 1970s...

Certainly by that time, outside of the cultural nationalist question, we were beginning to read a lot of the most classical socialist works, and beginning to move outside just the question of blackness, around to a materialist conception of the world.

Q: He's having an anniversary this year. (Laughter) The cursed name has not passed your lips. I think it begins with M.

A: (Laughter) I'm trying not to say his name.

Laughingly or otherwise, consciously or unconsciously, what came through from "trying not to say" the name of Marx was not the simple matter of "tactics" when visiting the imperialist land they rightly feared may be planning an invasion. Rather, it was first to become clear that critical week between Oct. 12 when the



Dissent expressed at the opening of Grenada's airport, one year after Reagan's invasion.

majority of the Central Committee voted to put Bishop under house arrest, and the savage, unconscionable, dastardly murder on the 19th of October as the masses struck for him and freed him from house arrest. That is what was inherent in what I referred to in the early part of this Letter, on what both he and Castro called "non-interference in internal matters" as a "principle," when what was actually involved, however, was a battle of ideas on the decisive question of Marx's Marxism, instead of acting as if Cuba or Russia are the Marxists. In this way revolutionary methodology — the dialectics of revolution — gets reduced to "conception of Leadership methods," and that is expressed as if a unified view permeated the entire leadership: "We feel that in many respects, Grenada is a true experiment in the whole theory and practice of socialism... If we succeed in this path... there are going to be a number of lessons for other small, developing island states coming after us."

It is nearly impossible to gauge the great shock Maurice Bishop must have experienced Oct. 19 as he became witness to the suddenly unbridgeable gulf of the Great Divide between leaders and ranks and within the leadership itself as the Party "turned the guns against the people" soon after they had freed him from house arrest. Soon his voice too was stilled by murder. It is precisely that moment that compels us to re-evaluate those three decades of history Maurice Bishop had analyzed as his own self-development as well as that of the leadership, comparing it to the movements from practice the world over.

THE OBJECTIVE AS WELL AS the subjective truth of these past 30 years spells out the birth of a new historic stage of human development — a movement from practice that is itself a form of theory. This took the form in 1950 of posing totally new questions when the U.S. miners, confronted with a new mode of production, Automation, asked: "What kind of labor should man do? Why should there be a total division between thinking and doing?" The following year it took another form in Grenada, when a former oil-worker, the young Eric Gairy (a very different person from the Gairy after he was in power) organized what he called the Grenada Mental and Manual Workers Union. In 1952 the movement from practice took spontaneous shape in Latin America in the Bolivian Revolution, where the miners and the peasants fought as one to rid the country of dictatorship. In 1953 it was seen in East Germany when, for the very first time from under totalitarian Communism, the workers took to the streets against both "work-norms" and political tyranny, as they pulled down the statues of Stalin and demanded "Bread and Freedom!"....

As against the tired Western intellectuals who designated the decade of the 1950s as the "end of ideology," that period was in fact the threshold to a whole new Third World and a whole new generation of revolution-

aries. By then, there was, indeed, no part of the world — from Africa to the U.S., from East Europe to Latin America — where the movements had not declared themselves to be Humanist. We should not forget that Castro, too, in "History Will Absolve Me," had declared Cuba's 1959 revolution to have been "Humanist." A great deal more profoundly, in 1961, Frantz Fanon developed a total philosophy of Humanism as both a world concept and a fact in his magnificent *Wretched of the Earth*.

The 1960s were certainly filled with activity, activity, activity. Theoretically, however, what really predominated was the search for short-cuts to revolution. Each attempt resulted in the transforming of a country's particular experience into a "universal." In the case of Mao — who, with the success of the 1949 Chinese Revolution, became the inspiration for all guerrilla fighters — his rhetoric about "continuous revolution" was truncated by: 1) its confinement within the framework of the Thought of Mao; and 2) the peasant army surrounding the cities, including its proletariat. In the case of Cuba, it was the concept of focismo plus "Leader Maximus."

Just as the empty rhetoric of the 1960s about picking up theory "en route" led only to defeats, so particularized "internationalism" proved to be no more than narrow nationalism, East and West. The high point in each case — whether China's "Cultural Revolution" or France's May, 1968 — turned out to be its actual demise and one more aborted revolution. The defeats of the 1960s did, however, make us all oppressively conscious of the lack of philosophy and created a new passion for philosophy. At the same time, the 1970s movement from theory failed to meet the challenge that arose from practice. The tragedy of Grenada — its counter-revolution emerging from within the revolutionary leadership itself — can help to illuminate that problematic if, at the same time, we dig into the newness of the 1970 revolts, and measure that against Marx's Marxism as a totality....

LET US LOOK at the new questions raised in the revolutions of the 1970s and how Marx's last decade illuminates them: 1) It was during the Portuguese Revolution of 1974 that *apartidarismo* (non-partyism) was raised. It was in his 1875 *Critique of the Gotha Program* that Marx, in a deeply philosophic way, had raised not only the question of form of organization but its relationship to the philosophy of revolution.

2) The question of Women's Liberation was raised not only as Idea whose time had come but as Movement, both in the U.S. and in Iran. (Indeed, Mondlane has put that question on the agenda in the Mozambican revolution even earlier.) Again, it was in his last decade that Marx had raised the question of women's rights in the primitive form of the Iroquois nation, even as he had practiced the concept of Woman as Reason from the earliest days of the First International.

3) When Maurice Bishop raised the question of internationalism he specified the Caribbean and stressed that what Grenada could contribute to the whole question of the theory and practice of revolution was to point the path "for all small countries coming after us." But it was precisely in that last decade that Marx was developing his principle of internationalism as in no way separated from the theory of "revolution in permanence."

Indeed, nothing is more urgent at this very moment than to raise the question of Dialogue, of Discussion, to a whole new height as a theoretical preparation for the dialectics of revolution itself.

Therein lies the rub. That is exactly what has been missing on the part of all practitioners of instant Marxism as they become masters of substitution and reduce a philosophy of revolution, a Marxist revolutionary methodology, to "leadership methods," whatever that means. Without a philosophic vision, much less listening to the voices from below, all the majority of the Central Committee in Grenada could come up with was being opposed to the alleged "one-man rule" of Bishop, whom they hurried to expel from the Party and put under house arrest — without any thought about the consequences, either from the masses whom Bishop had led since the 1979 Revolution, or from the imperialist enemy poised for invasion. Unfortunately, Bishop, who did enjoy the confidence of the masses and was, indeed, freed from house arrest by them, had not dug into the differing tendencies within those who held "a materialist conception of the world." He had not brought into the consciousness of the masses nor shared with international colleagues the disputes which were wreaking havoc in revolutionary Grenada....

There can be no successful revolution without an historic sense both of past and present, of a battle of ideas, a clearing of heads not for any academic purpose but with full realization that a serious Marxist discussion is needed as preparation for revolution and its deepening once the first act of overthrow of the old has been achieved. When, instead, revolutionary methodology is reduced to "leadership methods," individual or collective, the very basis not only of theory but of the revolution itself has been lost. That is what happened in Grenada.

EDITORIAL Anti-war youth vs. Reaganism

While the supposedly "decisive" Oct. 21 Presidential debate on "foreign policy" served only to dispel any illusion that there was something fundamentally different between the two contenders for the most powerful seat in the world today, the real debate was being acted out in the streets in a hostile host of anti-war, anti-nuke, anti-Reagan protests. Yet, the very media that has drowned us in a deluge of election-year "news" and "predictions" has rarely found more than an inch of "filler" space (when it has found any space at all) to record the multitude of persistent anti-war actions that have been taking place all across the land and all year long.

Consider the demonstrations that took place in just the last month alone. Timing their actions to coincide with the massive protests (one a human chain, 12 miles long) at West Germany's Fulda Gap, where NATO was holding the largest military exercises in its history, hundreds of peace, religious, anti-nuclear and labor groups in the U.S. organized protests at weapons facilities, military installations and nuclear labs that same week, between Sept. 22 and 24:

Over 5000, representing 120 different union, church and peace groups, demonstrated at Boston Common while hundreds of others blockaded the Draper Weapons Lab where research is conducted on Cruise, Pershing and Trident nuclear missiles. Hundreds more massed at Livermore Labs and set up a Peace Camp at the Alameda Naval Air Station in California. Another Peace Camp was established at a Naval Weapons Depot in Indiana; while a die-in was staged at the Federal Building in Dallas where the Defense Department and the IRS have offices. Fully 25 different cities saw protests that weekend alone.

HUMAN LINKS — CHICAGO TO GERMANY

Only a few weeks later in Chicago, a massive throng (estimated somewhere between 20 to 30 thousand and including everyone from high school cheerleaders to Vietnam veterans) filled Grant Park to overflowing despite a steady downpour for a five-hour rally, demanding an end to the U.S. war against the people of Central America, a nuclear freeze now, and an end to the Administration's attacks on labor, women, the Black masses and the poor. A week later Jesse Jackson took his Chicago rally message to Pier 1 in Brooklyn where another thousand protested the presence of a 40-year-old battleship now being fitted with nuclear warheads. In Detroit, 8000 joined hands in a human chain from the East Side armory to the West Side armory, all along Eight Mile Road.

It was the same weekend that saw tens of thousands of West Germans follow up their own earlier protest at Fulda Gap, this time attempting to form a human chain 126 miles long that would link — physically and symbolically — the unemployment office in the Ruhr steel city of Duisburg with Hunsrück, where ground-launched Cruise missiles are to be deployed at an American military installation.

There is no question that the demonstrations this year across the U.S. do not match in massiveness the greatest anti-war march in U.S. history that took place two years ago in New York City, on June 12, 1982. But that demonstration of three-quarters of a million people was no aberration. The varied composition of the marchers there, their internationalism and solidarity with freedom fighters throughout Europe and Africa and Latin America, the depth of their opposition to the totality of Reaganism — in economics as well as militarization, racism and sexism as well as foreign policy — is what has characterized the protests ever since.

WHICH YOUTH ARE HEARD?

Though too many of white America's youth do appear

Puerto Rico protests

On July 25, 1978, a police undercover agent took two young activists for Puerto Rican independence to the mountain top of Cerro Maravilla. There the two, Carlos Soto Arrivi, 18, and Arnoldo Dario Rosado, 24, were ambushed by waiting Puerto Rican police and shot to death. Since then, their death continues to raise many questions, provoking charges of cover-ups, Watergate-style hearings and demands for an independent prosecutor.

For five years, Governor Carlos Romero Barcelo's pro-statehood administration defended the police department's claim that the men were killed after attempting to sabotage a television relay station and ignoring police orders to surrender. However, witnesses to the shootings have come forward stating that the youth were killed after they had surrendered. And Senate president Miguel Hernandez Agosto has called for a full Senate investigation into the matter.

This case will not go away from the Puerto Rican conscience. In the 1980 election, it cost Barcelo's pro-statehood party the majority of seats in the Senate and this year it will cost him his office. The Puerto Rican people will only settle for the truth in the case of Cerro Maravilla.

—A Puerto Rican reader

ready to hop on the bandwagon to retrogression this election year, they do not represent the whole youth generation that the media is so anxious to consign to Reagan while it conveniently buries any news of the other America and turns the thousands of anti-Reagan, anti-war youth into "un-persons," American-style. That is the real measure of "freedom of the press" today, far more than the heated discussion now taking place over merely how many — and which chosen ones — will be allowed to accompany U.S. troops during the next surprise military invasion.

The deep anti-war feelings of the overwhelming majority of the people of the world cannot be edited out of history-in-the-making that easily. At a point when 83 percent of the population reveals that the nuclear bomb is their greatest fear; when a group of 23 Catholic bishops signs a statement opposing their own church hierarchy for "making abortion rather than nuclear war the foremost issue for Catholic voters"; when students at Brown University vote 1,044 to 687 to have cyanide pills stocked for use in event of nuclear war, in hopes of shocking their elders to recognize that the true suicide is not stopping the rush to nuclear war—it is clear that the election of Nov. 6 decides nothing.

The real struggles are just beginning.

Chile: eyewitness report



Demonstrators in Santiago in 1983

Editor's Note: Mass protests broke out again in Chile in September, marking the 11th anniversary of the U.S.-backed military coup that brought the Pinochet dictatorship to power. Opposition movements have called a 30-hour general strike for Oct. 30. As we go to press, the Pinochet government has arrested more than 400 and sent another 140 persons into exile in anticipation of the Oct. 30 actions. The following report was given by a Chilean who recently returned to the U.S.

I returned to Chile last year after eight years in exile. A few hundred people have been allowed in since the huge demonstrations have demanded that the exiles be permitted to come back, but thousands of people are still "listed," and one million Chileans live outside the country.

I went back to work and to be a part of my family again, but I felt like a stranger there. The military has destroyed the whole structure of the country as it developed during 150 years of independence. I left again because I could not find a job, after looking for eight months.

MASS OPPOSITION GROWING

The economy has been destroyed, with 40 percent of industry shut down, and workers unemployed for years. In some sectors, the unemployment rate is 70 percent. This is the result of Chile's being a laboratory for the "Chicago boys," theories of free market economics.

Chile today is a mixture of military strength, brutal repression, the people's struggle against the government and absolute poverty. The price of bread just went up 80% and milk 50%. There are 50,000 secret police, and they are now shooting people openly in the streets. In the September demonstrations, the moderate opposition—including men who took part in the 1973 coup—were beaten and jailed.

The government has no popular support; the Catholic Church reports that 90 percent of the people oppose it. The center of the opposition is in the shanty towns, where the unemployed workers live in belts of poverty surrounding the cities. Hundreds of thousands have been in the streets. There have also been many protests by the Indian population, whose land and rights are being taken away. The Church is divided. The students are continuously demonstrating. The feminist movement is growing, and women are working on all aspects of liberation, from the barricades in the shanty towns to child care centers.

In spite of the increased repression, the mass movement is opening more and more fronts, consolidating political organizations, and bringing forth new grassroots organizations throughout the country. Any solution that does not include those who are the most impoverished, will not succeed.

—Chilean Reader

Dennis Banks jailed but the movement continues

by Shainape Shcapwe

Detroit, Mich.—Dennis Banks was finally sentenced on Oct. 8, to spend three years in federal prison. He turned himself over to authorities after nine years of refusing to go to jail, ever since he was tried for "inciting to riot" in Custer, S.D. during a 1973 protest against the killing of a Lakota Indian, Wesley Bad Heart Bull, by three racist whites. The judge said Banks had explosives and weapons. But the truth is that his conviction had to do with suppressing the whole Indian movement in South Dakota at the time of the Wounded Knee occupation.

Banks lived in California for a while after his 1975 conviction, because Gov. Brown wouldn't allow him to be extradited or terrorized. When Brown wasn't re-elected, Banks went to New York, hoping to get the same treatment. But he didn't. He ended up confined to staying on the small Onondaga Reservation in upstate New York. There's a whole band of people there, including some of the people who put out Akwesasne Notes. The federal authorities agreed not to arrest him as long as he stayed there, and he never left.

It was very inhibiting there. I think that's why he came out. He needed to become involved in the movement again in a broader kind of way. It's easier to keep in touch with him now, even if he's in prison. He has so many people on his prison visitors list he can't see them all, and he's gotten a lot of mail. My family in North Dakota says that everyone is talking about it. He never should have been given three years in prison, but the South Dakota officials were interested in giving him the longest sentence they could, so there's some victory in "only" getting three years. Dennis' lawyers are planning to appeal the sentence.

Instead of fading away like a lot of people do when a movement goes underground, he has stayed in touch with people and close to the problems we are having. Rallying around him makes us all know that there is still a movement and it's strong.

The authorities were looking to be tough. They thought it was time to "stop those Indians". They thought that by getting rid of a leader the movement would just die. But the movement isn't dead. It doesn't need to have an official name or official leadership. The difference between now and ten years ago is that we know that by working in solidarity, even if we can't get things done within this system, we can get things done in spite of it.

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ANTI-WAR AND BLACK YOUTH OPPOSE REAGANISM

I am writing this on the eve of the election which I presume will re-elect Reagan. But I still want to write you about "What would four more years of Reagan, world outlaw, mean?", (Oct. N&L), because the way that it has analyzed the last four years of Reagan will help us learn how to fight him in the next four years.

First the lead grasps that every minute of Reagan's time in office has been preparation for war in every corner of the globe. Second, it shows that already at home the last four years have been ones of war against working people, Blacks and women.

But perhaps most important, because this is the essence of Reaganism and not alone Reagan, you talk of what structural changes our high tech economy has brought in the last decade—not only permanent unemployment, but a new middle-class of "yuppies" who want to be "in" on high-tech and think they can make it by turning a blind eye to the social inequities of our system and finding a place for themselves. Will this become a new "class" for our state-capitalist age or can we mount a new revolutionary beginning?

Observer
Chicago

They really have it in for youth who dare to oppose the insane drive for nuclear annihilation. Now a child psychiatrist from Harvard Medical School, Robert Coles, has suddenly decided to get "class conscious." He is going around quoting one blue collar worker who called the students at Brown University (the students who organized the anti-nuke vote on cyanide pills) a "bunch of spoiled rich kids." He is busy telling us that "the nuclear freeze movement has become all too tied up with middle-class privilege."

I'd say the one who needs a psychiatrist is this nut who thinks anybody would believe that only children of the affluent are afraid of nuclear war.

Furious
Chicago

In the Reagan-Mondale debate on foreign policy, Reagan seemed to talk about South Africa and Namibia like they were America's "backyard." What really is in Reagan's backyard is Black America. That's where he's planning to send troops, to protect "national security interests, in the event of rebellion." It's the only way they can think of to control unemployed Black youth.

Observer
Watts, Calif.

We can't ignore the polls that show Reagan's popularity, and we can't think that it is just a one-time thing. I get sick when I see that the youth 18-30 are supposedly the age group giving Reagan his biggest lead in the polls. To me that is crazy; it makes no sense. I think N&L sometimes is too optimistic about the youth of America. Many of the students I teach today are just out for themselves. They couldn't care less about autoworkers, or civil rights, or Nicaragua.

College teacher
New York

Almost 8,000 Michigan people joined hands at noon, Saturday, October 20, in Detroit's first "Survival Line." It was coordinated with a human chain the same day in Germany. Contingents from peace groups, religious organizations, and Committees in Solidarity with Central America stretched six miles in a linked chain along 8 Mile road. But many participants, especially young people, had come on their own.

I was disappointed to see so few Black people on the line, which bordered some of Detroit's Black neighborhoods. One young man later told me he had seen no publicity or organizing efforts in the Black community. It struck me as very ironic, because several popular songs high-school age Black and

white youth listen to are anti-nuke and anti-war.

Working Woman
Detroit

I appreciated the way the Editorial in the Oct. N&L described Black education, both in South Africa and in the U.S. There have been some meetings here in the community dealing with the education of Black youth. One teenager said that his brother dropped out in the tenth grade, not even knowing how to read. His father wants him to drop out too, so he can get a job.

Black worker
Los Angeles

The lead article in the Oct. N&L is a marvelous satiric critique of Reaganism. Domanski's revolutionary journalism makes serious use of satire to douse Reaganism in an acid bath of critique, from which it emerges exposed both in its Machiavellianism and in its absolute negation of the goals and aspirations of humanity in our common struggle for freedom. The glaring absence of any discussion of electoral politics in her call to uproot Reaganism drives home the stark reality that we have a lot to do beyond trying to elect a Mondale.

Subscriber
Southern California

REMEMBERING GRENADA

About 1500 people, mostly from the Left, came to a rally at Grand Army Plaza in Brooklyn Oct. 27 to express their opposition to the U.S.'s continuing occupation of Grenada and Reagan's wars in Central America. One of the most moving speakers was Corporal Griffin, a Black Muslim Marine who spent four months in a federal prison for refusing to fight his brothers in Lebanon and Grenada. A Haitian briefly spoke about how authorities in the U.S. are always asking for your green card. He said, "Whoever asked the Marines for their green cards when they began invading the Caribbean back in the early 1900s and ever since?"

There was also a lot of discussion about the INS arrest two days earlier of Dessima Williams, the Bishop government's representative to the OAS, as she spoke against the invasion at Howard University. The day before, she had given a press conference in New York City, urging people to come to the rally in Brooklyn. We found many people wanted a copy of the News and Letters pamphlet, *Grenada: Revolution, Counter-Revolution and Imperialist Invasion*. Everyone who came to the rally was opposed to U.S. imperialism, but they also wanted to hear some analysis of what had happened in Grenada before the invasion.

Marxist-Humanists
New York City



CAN WE BE
"AGENTS OF
OUR OWN
FREEDOM?"

I have been regularly struck with John Marcotte's columns, with the way he writes so accurately about the sweatshops and the day-to-day conditions of workers. In his last column he showed how the attitude of the bosses is to treat workers like slaves or like animals—and I thought the workers' response he described was brilliant. The way Marcotte ended the column showed that the question facing us isn't whether Reagan gets four more years, but whether we will become aware of freedom as our essence, become aware of ourselves as the agents of freedom.

Young carpenter
Kentucky

We met a varied group of people while selling N&L at the unemployment office. I was surprised to meet Cambo-

Readers' Views

dians and Vietnamese. One of the Vietnamese women who bought a paper told me about her family, and what they went through to get to Thailand. She told me many in other boats were simply shot by the Thais. Some young Black men bought the paper because the anti-Reagan headline was so prominent. We also met a worker who did all kinds of inhuman labor and seemed to feel proud he could take it and use pure will to survive. He had much to say about his experience working on a continuous miner. Going to the unemployment office was a real learning experience.

Graduate student
Salt Lake City, UT

The long strike of 50,000 hospital workers by District 1199 made me interested in other union battles. We recently saw a movie at St. Lukes Hospital on the Phelps-Dodge strike in Arizona. It showed the police with shotguns and dogs, the whole works. Our strike was made to look like a picnic in comparison. But next time it could be like that here, because the same fight is happening all over the country.

1199 Delegate
New York City

WOMEN
WORKERS
AS
WRITERS

Clara Jones' article on "Working Women's Untold Story" in the Oct. N&L really took me back to my days at Bata Shoe factory in Salem, Ind. There was no union at Bata when I worked there. When the workers finally wised up and voted for a union, the factory closed and moved out of the country. The reason they gave was that they "could not compete against the imports."

The conditions Clara Jones described at her factory today are much the same as they were at Bata ten years ago. We, too, had to get permission to go to the bathroom and the foreman would time us to see how long we took. Bata had no air conditioning except in the office and in the summer time it was not unusual to see women fainting and being carried out on a stretcher. They would immediately put another woman on her machine so as not to slow down production.

Eve Strong
Los Angeles

I was glad to see Angela Terrano write on women miners, especially her point that U.S. industry is "determined to keep women out of jobs that would make them far more independent." To me that is really key—especially to those who are always carrying on about saving the family. I'm convinced that part of the reason the right wing is so opposed to equal pay for equal work is that they know if women can ever earn enough money to be independent, they will leave a bad marriage.

That makes me think how right Marx was when he said that even though women being pulled into the factory with the advent of machinery was a "pestiferous source of corruption and slavery," it nevertheless could, "under the appropriate conditions turn into a source of humane development..." I don't think that women leaving bad marriages is all Marx had in mind, but it's true.

Women's Liberationist
Chicago

BRITISH MINERS, U.S. QUESTIONS

I am particularly inspired by the ongoing fight of the British miners, and the example it sets for workers in this

country and around the world... The miners are striking for the right to work, as opposed to striking for improved wages and conditions. It is hard to imagine someone striking for the right to work a dangerous, filthy job, but the alternatives force the miners to.

The unemployment crises in this country are approaching similar proportions, and most unions today have given up on better wages and conditions, focusing on job security instead. The sad reality is that what security is gained is always at the expense of new workers—two-tiered wage schemes, extended probation periods, part-time hours. Take the recent UAW deal with GM. Far from securing anyone's job, it actually accelerates the layoff at GM. What good is "retraining" when the jobs autoworkers are destined for pay one-third of what an autoworker makes today, if those jobs exist at all?

Union activist
Brunswick, Ohio

SOLIDARNOSC: NEED TO SPEAK OF DIFFERENCES

Polish political prisoners released under the "amnesty" program wasted no time in plunging into activity and discussion on the Polish movement. Several have already been imprisoned for participating in demonstrations.

Andrzej Gwiazda, in the first interview given after his release, stressed the future: "In the future it is very important not to mask the differences with 'unity' slogans, and not to present differences in outlooks as unworthy personal disagreements. The basis for solid cooperation is making precise the differences as well as that which is common."

It is a statement appropriate not just for the development of the Polish movement, but that of many others. The anniversary of the Grenada counter-revolution serves as a grim reminder of what happens when differences are "masked as unworthy personal disagreements."

Urszula Wislanka
California

CHARLES DENBY, HISTORIAN

I have just finished reading Charles Denby's *Indignant Heart* and I not only enjoyed it, I was very moved and affected by it. Many do not know the degradation and humiliation that was suffered by Blacks in America. It was Denby's book that offered a more down-to-earth story of what really occurred to our people. Blacks have come a very long way since slavery and its sadistic characteristics, but a book like this can make Black people stop and think of who they are, where they've come from and where they can go with the right assets.

Denby was a historian in his own right. The world needs more Black people like him to tell them who we Black people really are and what we can achieve.

Black student
Loyola U., Chicago

MILITARY RULE IN NIGERIA

The military situation in Nigeria since early this year has made conditions difficult for publication, so the *Vanguard* has been in limbo for some time. There is a decree against any publication that offends the government. Infringement earns one at least a year in jail. Another decree says any meeting of three considered political could lead to jail and confiscation of plant and all equipment of the owning body.

Things are rough, so we have to find a means of physical survival. There are modest efforts to resist nationally with the *Nigerian Labour Congress*. Thanks for the literature you sent us...

Workers' Vanguard
Ibadan, Nigeria

DUPRE, DUNAYEVSKAYA AND THE MEANING OF MARXISM

Dunayevskaya's critique of Dupré (Oct. N&L) starts with Dupré's high-points, that he is taking Marx's economics and showing that that is not only a critique of capitalist production, but also of history, ideology, and culture. Yet Dunayevskaya also shows that Dupré's strength here is at the same time his weakness, as he ends up subsuming this totality of Marx's philosophy under what he calls the "social." That is, he sees everything in terms of "social relations," but does not see at the heart of that the creative human activity for freedom.

I think that's how he can end up merging Engels' Origin of the Family with Marx's Marxism. Engels singles out "the world historic defeat of the female sex," whereas what Marx had stressed was that history showed continual "feminine ferment." It's only when intellectuals recognize what worker as Subject meant to Marx that they can fully avoid falling into the tendency of viewing Marxism as determined "economic laws."

Cal State student
Los Angeles

I've been reading William Blake and I think I see that the critique of rationalism found in Blake is not simple irrationalism, not at all a leap into the past. A lot of people today see the problem as one of doing away with reason altogether, going back to some kind of idealized tribal past. Look at the recent collection, Marxism and Native Americans. Most of the writers equate Marxism and European scientism, dialectics to formal logic. To this, they counterpose the values of Native American communities. And I don't think they see that Marxism is precisely about preserving and building on those values they celebrate. Marxism is about how to break out of the whole way of thinking that grew up with capitalism; but it is a way that passes through the concretes of history and daily life.

Ian Seale
Washington, D.C.

I attended a meeting on "The Meaning of Marxism" at Columbia University. The speaker, Duncan Halley, from

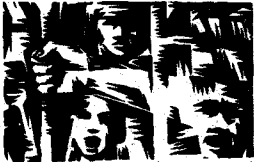
Britain, attempted to present this topic with no reference whatever to the rise of the Third World and its revolutions, or the development of Women's Liberation and its struggles. He began with the young Marx, citing two important early articles, but neglecting to mention his Economic-Philosophic Manuscripts—the 1844 Humanist Essays. Rather, his "dialectic" consisted of a concept of pre-capitalist scarcity being overcome with capitalism, for which Marx expressed "enthusiasm", and the coming to consciousness of the revolutionary "agencies", the working class, leading to socialism.

Taking the floor in discussion was a pleasure. A Japanese student, who had raised an interesting question of his own, came up after and bought Raya Dunayevskaya's recent pamphlet, "Marx's 'new Humanism' and the Dialectics of Women's Liberation in Primitive and Modern Societies."

Marxist-Humanist
New York

When I was reading Dunayevskaya's critique of Dupré, I was reminded of the quote from Marx: "It is by no means 'History' which uses man as a means to carry out its ends as if it were a person apart; rather History is nothing but the activity of man in pursuit of his ends." Dupré seems to have missed that.

Student of Marx
Colorado



REALITIES
OF LIFE
IN THE
PHILIPPINES

I used to go to high school near the Mendiola bridge in Manila. I never realized until recently why it was always watched closely by police. Seven people were killed during a clash with the military there on Sept. 21, 1984, during a march on the Presidential Palace nearby. Thousands of people have been killed in 12 years of military terrorism.

Aquino's killing was a big mistake, because instead of suppressing the in-

creasing rebellions and weakening the opposition, it called attention to the conditions of society. Manila workers earn the lowest wages in Asia. Poor people live in squatter areas, in wooden shacks without running water. The shacks are patched with cardboard. Imelda, Marcos' wife, built housing projects for the "poor", but the rent was so high it went to the middle class.

Marcos has his whole family in the government. His son is governor of Ilocos Norte province, and before that it was his sister. People always see Imelda Marcos and all her "glamour" and jewels while the country is starving.

Filipina student
Chicago

FREE MILA D. AGUILAR!

On Aug. 6, 1984, Mila Aguilar, poet, former journalist and teacher at the Univ. of the Philippines, was arrested along with two others. Initially charged with subversion, all three had charges dismissed by a Quezon City court on Aug. 13. But then it was announced that all three were the subject of a presidential detention action. Mila Aguilar is still being held incommunicado. She is being detained in a cell without windows. Mila Aguilar was forced to go underground in 1972 when martial law was declared, and continued her struggle for a full decade in that situation.

Aguilar's life is in danger. Cables and letters protesting the punishment of solitary confinement and demanding the immediate release of Mila D. Aguilar should be sent to: Pres. Ferdinand Marcos, Manila, Philippines; Ambassador Stephen Bosworth, U.S. Embassy, Manila. For more information, write:

Committee to Free Mila Aguilar
5A Durham St.
Somerville, MA 02143

FROM READERS: WHY YOU SHOULD SUBSCRIBE TO N&L

The socialists at Oberlin have this ridiculous attitude that academia is the only place in the U.S. where socialism has any relevance. When I brought up my opinion that they should all go out and work for at least two years in a job unrelated to college after they graduated, they were shocked.

I spent quite a few hours on the

UFCW meatcutters picket line in the Krogers strike here. I think my discussions with the workers were more valuable than 100 hours of discussions on abstract theory. One of my attractions to N&L is that a deliberate attempt is made to combine theory with struggle to balance the two, and to make theory more relevant to us all by injecting it into the struggles.

Painter
Ohio

I read the Aug.-Sept. issue of N&L. I would like to write for such a paper. It's very well organized. Also, I find it pluralistic, though not at the base, the philosophy. You know how some papers—even leftist—you just wouldn't want to write for because of their orientation? Or just because they're a mess? I appreciate the way your paper seems to try to seek out new people. I think that's important for this country.

Latin American Woman
N.Y.U. Student

The two headlines on the front page of the Oct. N&L, "Will labor gain a mind of its own?" and "What would four more years of Reagan, world out-law, mean?" acted like a magnet when I distributed N&L at the unemployment office. Even those who had been working in management, and came to the unemployment office with their ties still around their necks, showed interest.

When an ex-foreman would come, I would say out loud, "Will labor gain a mind of its own, both mental and manual?" Each would stop dead and take the paper to see for themselves. One ex-foreman from a recently closed paper factory said, "I am against Marxism." I asked him, What did he have against freedom? Marxism has nothing to do with the non-freedom of the peoples of state-capitalist Russia.

When he finally bought the paper, I thought about the barrier between mental and manual labor being the last barrier to our freedom. It made me feel good that I had helped in breaking down that barrier.

A worker who knows his class
California

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Philippine masses mount new protests

(continued from page 1)

Two years ago in June, 1982, some 10,000 women textile workers went out on strike when the Japan-based Interasia laid off workers and then sought to speed up production for those remaining. Marcos' police could not contain the strike and Interasia was forced to give in when the 10,000 struck.

In 1984 unemployment in the Philippines is officially 23% and inflation is approaching 40%. Real wages are half of what they had been in 1978, already impoverished people in 1978.

FILIPINA WOMEN'S LIBERATIONISTS

The newest revolutionary movement on the scene is that of Filipina women's liberation. The International Women's Day, March, 1984, GABRIELA (General Assembly Binding Women for Reform, Integrity, Equality, Leadership and Action) was born as an umbrella organization for 63 women's groups.

Women who had been activists in the 1970s in MAK-IBAKA (Free Movement of Filipina Women) and then had been assigned by the underground Left to other "more pressing priorities of the national democratic struggle," surfaced as major movement leaders in the 1980s. Two of them are Nelia Sancho and Mila Aguilar. Aguilar was captured on Aug. 6 after a decade underground, while she was apparently organizing university strikes in Manila, and is being held incommunicado by Marcos. Sancho stated after years in prison and working among poor peasants: "We see the need to be active on specifically women's issues, to define a distinct program which will permit women to play a greater role in the national struggle." Today women hold mass demonstrations in the cities and declare "a woman's place is in the struggle."

The major guerrilla force is the New Peoples' Army which may have as many as 20,000 fighters in the countryside and controls some 20% of the villages, forcing landlords and capitalists to pay them taxes. They have also forced some landlords to lower rents. The guerrilla movement is composed of radical Catholics, ex-student activists and peasant youth and has grown in response to Marcos' dictatorial rule. However, it began as a Maoist breakaway student movement from the Communist Party in the 1960s and retains an overall Stalinist ideology far removed from the Marxism of Marx.

That that Marxism is being actively debated within the Philippines can be seen in the very sharp debate on the nature of Marx's Marxism at the Marx centennial lectures at the Third World Center last year in Quezon City, the transcript of which has been published (*Marxism in the Philippines*, 1984). After hearing a vulgar Marxist presentation on Filipino Marxism by Francisco Nemenzo, a speaker from the floor challenged him very sharply. Nemenzo's opponent contrasted his bowing to the concept of a "vanguard party" with Marx's own "really humanist thrust toward non-elitism" and then hit out: "There is a flaw in your argument about the women's liberation movement being a disservice to the revolutionary movement in the world." Nemenzo could only respond that, after all, the "class struggle" was the determinant and women's liberation "has done great damage to the unity of revolutionary forces in the West."

Opposed to all of these revolutionary groups — women, peasants, youth, workers — stands the collapsing edifice of the Marcos regime. Rotten to the core and with an ever-narrowing base of support, like the Shah and Somoza before him, Marcos lashes out with murderous destructive force to the very end. All but his closest collaborators have deserted him, or soon will do so. Blood-soaked General Ver, his cousin and former chauffeur-bodyguard, has nowhere else to go. West Point-educated General Fidel Ramos, Ver's replacement and a man the U.S. seems to hope can save the regime, is deeply implicated in the brutalities of martial law, although supposedly not as corrupt as Marcos or Ver. But he is a first cousin of Marcos!

The whole edifice of ten years of martial law—of land-grabbing by the wealthy families, of "salvaging" (death squad type killings) of thousands of dissidents, of expropriating even other landowning families like the Lopez's and the Aquino's, of palaces built and million-dollar weddings for daughters staged by Imelda Marcos while the masses starved—all of this is coming to an end, and soon.

THE POWER OF U.S. IMPERIALISM

But behind Marcos stands an even more powerful opponent of human liberation: U.S. imperialism under the leadership of the arch-reactionary Ronald Reagan. In his final debate with Mondale, Reagan threatened that he would never permit what he termed "a large Communist movement to take over the Philippines," his way of describing the entire opposition.

As soon as he assumed the Presidency, Reagan ordered total support to dictator Marcos, sweeping aside the mild protests over human rights during the Carter-Mondale administration. By June, 1981, the following had happened: Both Haig and Bush had visited the Philippines; opposition leaders in the U.S. had been harassed by the FBI; Marcos agents were implicated in the murder of two anti-

Marcos Filipino labor activists in Seattle, Gene Viernes and Silme Domingo of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU); Reagan was talking of a U.S.-Philippines extradition treaty.

By September, 1982, Marcos got from Reagan what even Nixon had denied him: an official White House visit. To get around Congressional opposition to aid for Marcos, Reagan gave him a \$400 million, 80% rent increase for the U.S. military bases. There are 70,000 Americans in the Philippines, most of them military personnel and their dependents. The huge Subic Bay and Clark naval and air bases are a mark of the degree to which the 1946 independence the U.S. granted has remained limited. The U.S. has the right to "patrol" virtually anywhere they wish "in security activities." The U.S. has unlimited right to attack anyone from these bases, where the military stores nuclear weapons, thus making the Philippines, in the words of oppositionists, a "clear magnet" for nuclear attack in case of war between the U.S. and Russia.

U.S. economic imperialism also continues unabated. Besides "free enterprise" zones like Bataan, there is agribusiness. Dole and Del Monte control 99% of Philippine fruit production. Del Monte pays rent of 30¢/acre/year for land in Mindanao which yields them \$1200/acre/year in pineapples. Plenty is siphoned off to Marcos' cronies as well.

Opposed to this "U.S.-Marcos dictatorship" stand the Filipino people at home and abroad. Here in the U.S. they have organized opposition at the risk of deportation and even death. Major labor unions like the ILWU have supported anti-Marcos actions. Most recently, the Congressional Black Caucus Foundation warmly embraced the cause of Filipino liberation.

In the Philippines itself the growing opposition to Marcos has become so broad and deep, touching almost every segment of the population, that what is on the agenda is not alone the overthrow of Marcos but genuine social revolution that involves class, women's liberation, indigenous people—in short a movement that changes the very foundation of Philippine society. That is what Reagan and his ilk are truly afraid of in the Philippines, not statist Communism, but a full uprooting by a social revolution.

Notes from a journal

Production up; pay down

by Clara Jones

I am working right now as an assembler. In the last factory I worked in I worked almost all the jobs. I worked in the soldering department and was the only woman worker in that department. The factory would not pay me for my work in this department because I was a woman. I and the men that I worked with were mad and we told the bosses how we felt. After that I was put out of that department. They wanted the work, but they did not want to pay for it. The factory had several departments that had more women than men.

I worked in a place where a very hot oven was baking parts, and I worked in a packing department where the doors were left open in winter for trucks and the workers were cold. I even had a job once where I had to clean the bosses' office and toilet.

In the shop where I am working now, a production report has come down in which the bosses are telling the workers we must make more parts. I can't make any more parts. I am depressed and tired and I feel very nervous. Production is always going up, but not my pay. Because of growing taxes my pay is smaller as the years go by. I want so much to burn the production report and tell the bosses to go to hell. I cannot do this by myself. But if every worker in the plant did it, this would be masses in motion telling how we feel about their production.

Work is hard, but before I had my first job I felt my life was a worse hell. I was poor and looking for work. The money I make now is little, but I can have all the food I want. It is not fair that all people in the world can't have all the food they want. I remember when I was out of work and on welfare. I was in need of everything. It was hard to pay the bills for food and rent, and never to go out to see a movie or have any kind of fun. All I could do was look the best I could for work, and look at TV. I was very depressed. I could eat meat only two or three times a month. To live in need of food all the time is hell.

I've been reading a lot about working women organizers like Clara Lemlich and Emma Goldman and Mother Jones. It is so easy to see Mother Jones' passionate love for freedom. She was an organizer for the United Mine Workers and went from one strike-bound camp to another, raising hell. I liked what she said in one of her speeches about having the guts to go out and fight and win. She organized the wives of miners to form a group of women harassing scabs. They even wrote songs about her organizing.

Yours for bread and freedom and roses too.

Charles Denby, Editor

News & Letters 1955 - 1983



I have been thinking about the whole question of the Black dimension in the U.S. and how it is integral to the total idea of philosophy and revolution. Both thought and action came out of the history of the Black revolt, whether it was Marx looking at it in his day, the time of the Civil War, or today, especially in the civil rights struggles of the past 20 years, as recorded by News & Letters Committees.

JUST HOW VICIOUS and almost overwhelming the battle for a new world is hit me again with great force when the reports came out on the horrible murder of Steven Biko, the young leader of the Black Consciousness Movement in South Africa...

But even here, the revolutionary opposite comes through very sharply. Because nobody outside of South Africa had even heard of Steve Biko, and now the whole world knows about him. It reminded me of the quote from Wendell Phillips I used in the beginning of my life story: "Every true word spoken for suffering humanity, is so much done for the Negro bending under the weight of American bondage." The same idea is more real today than ever before, and goes around the world immediately.

It's what could be called the "shock of recognition" — when strangers from different countries react so much in the same way to ideas that they feel like they have always known each other. I know I felt this way toward Steve Biko, and know he felt the same way about Frantz Fanon, who he quoted on one of his last interviews...

What both Fanon and Biko are saying is that the struggle for freedom has no national boundaries, and everywhere that you have a battle for human liberty helps the worldwide movement for freedom.

THE IDEAS AND ACTIONS coming out of the Black revolt in the U.S. and Africa are often sharper and easier to see than those of the working classes in every country, but they are all moving in the same direction.

I consider my life story as part of the worldwide struggle for freedom. As a Black from South U.S.A. and a Black auto production worker in Detroit, my experience has proved to me that history is the record of the fight of all oppressed people in everything they have thought and done to try to get human freedom in this world. I'm looking forward to that new world, and I firmly believe it is within reach, because so many others all over the world are reaching so hard with me.

From Charles Denby's *Indignant Heart: A Black Worker's Journal* which can be ordered from News and Letters. See literature ad on page 7.

Two News & Letters publications

When Archives are not Past,
but are Living

The Direct Relation of Marxist-Humanist
Archives to Marx's Humanism

by Michael Connolly

National Co-organizer, News & Letters Committees

Archives is "embryo and process," of what it means to "hear Marx thinking," when you, in a very different age, have to work out new problems he could only see in outline as they first appeared. The movement suffered from not having Marx's archives... The Raya Dunayevskaya Collection — our Archives — remains to this day the only one with a requirement that it be made available to all who wish to study it, with no restrictions or "proof of scholarly intentions" required. It is now available on microfilm in over 30 libraries across the country, and several overseas.

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BLACK WORLD

(continued from page 1)

cline in Black-owned land in the South.

In 1915, Lenin had observed the dual character of the plantation legacy in his analysis of "New Data on the Laws Governing the Development of Capitalism in Agriculture in the U.S." On the one hand, Lenin noted that the American bourgeoisie "having 'freed' the Negroes, it took good care, under 'free', republican-democratic capitalism, to restore everything possible, and do everything possible and impossible for the most shameless and despicable oppression of the Negroes... One can easily imagine the complex of legal and social relationships that corresponds to this disgraceful fact..." At the same time, Lenin saw that the highpoint reached by 1910 in the Black ownership of some 17 million acres of land, mostly in the South, demonstrated that the "Negro urge to emancipation from the 'plantation owners' half a century after the victory over the slave-owners is still marked by an exceptional intensity."

The next period of struggle was the 1930s. In 1934, when the FHA was created to assist farmers hit by the Depression, Black and white farmers formed the Southern Tenant Farmers Union to fight the government's state-capitalist subsidizing of large-scale corporate farming at the expense of the small family farmers, especially Black.

The economic crisis hitting Black farmers today affects them in two ways. First, because Black landholdings have been traditionally smaller than white (128 to 428 acre average, respectively), Black farmers have no defense against the kind of capital-intensive, highly mechanized and government-subsidized large-scale farming that has developed over the last decade.

Secondly, despite their disproportionate need, Black farmers receive less than 2.5% of the total amount loaned through the FHA credit program.

THE HUMAN TOLL AND RESISTANCE

Today, the human toll that this "shameless and despicable oppression" takes can also be seen in the latest findings by rural doctors who have diagnosed "Third World hunger" among Black and white in the South. Referring to the "master-slave" administration of the U.S. Dept. of Agriculture food-stamp program, Dr. Aaron Shirley, a Jackson, Mississippi pediatrician, concluded: "The tenant farmer knows he doesn't ask questions of the overseer, and it's the same with food stamps. When they deny you and you know you're entitled, you don't argue. I would say hundreds and hundreds are denied and, in the process, dehumanized."

Nevertheless, it is within the South that we have seen the greatest expressions of Black mass resistance in the 1980s, from continuous revolt in Miami to the political protests and organization of Black farmers. In March of 1981 Black farmers from Mississippi, Arkansas and Tennessee held a 21-day sit-in at a Tennessee county FHA office to protest that agency's long history of racism in the granting of loans to Black farmers.

Today, the idea of a national farm revolt by Black and white family farmers is spreading. In the context of the present conditions facing small family farmers under the Reagan Administration, the crisis over Black-owned land will, in the words Karl Marx wrote more than 100 years ago, "make the Negroes and the farmers of the West, who already grumble very strongly, the allied troops of the workers..."

We Are Bosses Ourselves

The unique originality of We Are Bosses Ourselves is not only evident in its combining of academic studies with oral presentations by Aboriginal women, and the way it is beautifully illustrated with photographs of the women's meetings. What needs to be singled out as very original, because it presents us with a totally new sense of objectivity, is the relationship of Aboriginal women intellectuals to the Aboriginal women who came from all over rural and urban Australia to meet and tell their story.

—Lou Turner, "Black World" N&L

Available for \$12.95 directly from Humanities Press, Atlantic Highlands, N.J. 07716 or through News & Letters.

Letter from Europe

Workers' action vs. international capital

by Margaret Ellingham

Milan, Italy—The 1980s have ushered in really fundamental changes in the productive process: robotics for organization of the working force, while science and technology is revolutionizing the form of capital investments. In the meantime, the capitalist system with its enormous multinational companies, with its international financial institutions and banks, and with the complex relations that it has established with the state-capitalist countries of Eastern Europe, has made capitalist control of investments, primary production and commerce truly international. (China and East Asia remain still a bit at the margins, but all seems to indicate that China is simply sitting on the fence to see what type of capitalism it wants to jump onto.)

The scientific and technological organization of work does not only mean that people themselves have to work as if they were robots, but it is also being used to divide the working class. Highly specialized workers are paid more, but they are equally exploited by the technological level of the machines they use, while less specialized workers are degraded and earn less because they have to compete on the labor market in this situation of increasing unemployment. This naturally creates resentment between the different categories.

"THE COST OF LABOR"

Not only that, but the multinational companies are making workers' wages internationally competitive. This policy of cutting wages and putting workers in competition with each other is justified by almost incomprehensible statistics on the "cost of labor" — the difference in salaries, social benefits, taxes, etc. between one country and another that do not take at all into consideration the social and cultural traditions of the various countries and the different economic necessities that these traditions have developed. An English trade unionist, involved in a dispute with a Belgian multinational that was trying to cut back the wages of the workers in its English branch, cut through all the statistics when he said "It's a bloody good job that you guys don't have your home office in Hong Kong; otherwise you would be here offering us bowls of rice."

And there is the tremendous problem of unemployment. While in the industrialized countries workers are being expelled from the factories and offices, in the less and under-developed countries agricultural workers are swarming to the cities in search of work. As we know this is creating tremendous social tension that goes from racism to drug addiction and to so many other things. Can the capitalist system reabsorb this potential working class without making fundamental, perhaps

revolutionary, changes within the system?

The people are protesting. The absolutely chaotic political situation that exists in all of the Third World countries shows that there is protest in those areas, but in West and East Europe also as well as in North America, the workers are protesting. There have been strikes of German metal-mechanical workers for a 35-hour week at equal pay with the aim of lower unemployment. The violent strikes of the British miners and the strikes of transport workers on land, sea and air have created a real drama in West Europe.

A REVOLUTIONARY SITUATION?

Now one asks, is this a revolutionary situation or is it one in which the social integration of the people under a scientifically and technologically organized hierarchy will save the capitalist system? I would dare to say that it is a revolutionary situation and much more so than it was in the days of Marx.

In Marx's time the agricultural workers were being expelled from the land forcing the people to immigrate to the cities where small factories were being established. Through the hunger and continual competition between capitalists, the accumulation of industrial capital continued to grow, and thus the need for always more workers in the factories. Today we see that the workers are being expelled from the factories. Now, one must ask if the scientific and technological organization of production can absorb these workers as industry absorbed the unemployed agricultural workers a century ago.

There is no doubt that the consequence of international capitalism is that it is leading the whole world toward the creation of "one nation, with one government, one code of laws, one national class interest, one frontier and one customs tariff."

This is really a moment in which all of the peoples oppressed by international capitalism should support each other in order to free the human race from the oppressive nature of capitalism and try to create a new human economic and social organization. Practical solutions have not yet been found, but surely it is the moment to search for them.

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Who We Are and What We Stand For

News and Letters Committees, an organization of Marxist-Humanists, stands for the abolition of capitalism, whether in its private property form as in the U.S., or its state property form as in Russia or China. We stand for the development of a new human society based on the principles of Marx's Humanism as recreated for our day.

News & Letters was created so that the voices of revolt from below could be heard not separated from the articulation of a philosophy of liberation. A Black production worker, Charles Denby, author of *Indignant Heart: A Black Worker's Journal*, became editor of the paper. Raya Dunayevskaya, the Chairwoman of the National Editorial Board and National Chairwoman of the Committees, is the author of *Marxism and Freedom, Philosophy and Revolution* and *Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution*, which spell out the philosophic ground of Marx's Humanism internationally as *American Civilization on Trial* concretizes it on the American scene and shows the two-way road between the U.S. and Africa.

Where *Marxism and Freedom*, whose structure was grounded in the movement from practice throughout the 200 years from 1776 to Today, discloses Marx's "new Humanism," both internationally and in its American roots, *Philosophy and Revolution*, in recreating Marx's philosophic roots both in the Hegelian dialectic and in the actual revolutionary movements of his day, articulated these forces of revolution as Reason — Labor, Black, Youth, Women — of our day. By tracing and paralleling this age's 30-year movement from practice to theory with our own theoretical development for the same three decades, Marxist-Humanism in the U.S. has met the challenge of the "new moments" in the last decade of Marx's life by disclosing in them a trail to the 1980s. It is this trail, these paths of revolution — be it in the birth of a whole new generation of revolutionaries, including the transformation of Women's Liberation as an idea whose time has come into a Movement or the emergence of a whole new Third World — that form the content of *Rosa Luxemburg, Women's*

Liberation and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution.

This work challenges post-Marx Marxists to return to Marx's Marxism. At a time when the nuclear world is threatened with the extinction of civilization itself it becomes imperative not only to reject what is, but to reveal the revolutionary Humanist future inherent in the present.

News & Letters was founded in 1955, the year of the Detroit wildcats against Automation and the Montgomery Bus Boycott against segregation — activities which signalled a new movement from practice which was itself a form of theory. Vol. 1, No. 1, came off the press on the second anniversary of the June 17, 1953 East German revolt against Russian state-capitalism masquerading as Communism, in order to express our solidarity with freedom fighters abroad as well as at home. Because 1953 was also the year when we worked out the revolutionary dialectics of Marxism in its original form of "a new Humanism," as well as individuality "purified of all that interferes with its universalism, i.e., with freedom itself," we organized ourselves in Committees rather than any elitist party "to lead". The development of Marxist-Humanism in the U.S., 1941 to Today is recorded in the documents and on microfilm available to all under the title, *The Raya Dunayevskaya Collection*, on deposit at the Labor History Archives of Wayne State University.

In opposing the capitalistic, racist, sexist, exploitative society, we participate in all class and freedom struggles, nationally and internationally. As our *Constitution* states: "It is our aim... to promote the firmest unity among workers, Blacks and other minorities, women, youth and those intellectuals who have broken with the ruling bureaucracy of both capital and labor." We do not separate the mass activities from the activity of thinking. Anyone who is a participant in these freedom struggles for totally new relations and a fundamentally new way of life, and who believes in these principles, is invited to join us. Send for a copy of the *Constitution* of News and Letters Committees.

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BLACK-RED VIEW

by John Alan

This October Mario Savio stood, once again, on the steps of Sproul Hall to address 4,000 mostly white students at the University of California, Berkeley (UCB). Twenty years ago many of those students who gathered to hear Savio were very young or yet un-born when he suddenly became the most prominent leader of the Free Speech Movement (FSM)—a student movement that set the stage for national and worldwide student movements that challenged the purpose and the very foundation of bourgeois education and the society that it served.

A feeling of anticipation ran through the crowd, as every face was turned toward Sproul Hall. Savio spoke about the FSM and the kind of organization it was; he denounced U.S. involvement in Nicaragua and in El Salvador, and urged students to oppose it. In the course of his speech, Savio noted that the FSM was "an attempt to bring about a unity of the student struggle with that of the Black Civil Rights struggle in the South."

Savio did not elaborate upon this statement, neither did other veterans of the FSM. Jack Weinberg, whose arrest for his refusal to remove himself and a CORE (Congress of Racial Equality) literature table from Sproul Plaza marked the beginning of the FSM, saw the relationship between the Black Civil Rights Movement and the FSM as one of "borrowing". He said in an interview prior to his speaking in Sproul Plaza that the FSM got its inspiration from the Civil Rights Movement and that those who were activists in the Civil Rights Movement were at the cutting edge of the Free Speech Movement. "They basically had taken the techniques and tactics and political style of the Civil Rights Movement and applied them to the situation in Berkeley."

FSM AND NEW KIND OF EDUCATION

Two decades ago, when students were embattled with the University authorities, there was a far deeper understanding of the dialectical relationship that existed between the FSM and the Black Civil Rights Movement than this current opinion of Jack Weinberg. At that time Mario Savio understood that the Civil Rights Movement had caused the white students to perceive their reality as "pseudo-students" in a university that was dominated by the ideology and the practice of vast corporations and the government. And white student involvement in the Black struggle had shown them that "it was both the irrationality of society that denied to the Negroes the life of men and the irrationality of the University that denies to youth the life of a student..." that were the root cause of the rebellion at UCB in 1964.

Savio's understanding, that the rebellion at UCB was a unity of the humanism of the Black struggle for free-

Free Speech Movement then and now

dom with the humanism of the students to be real students, through the mediation of the white students' participation in the Civil Rights Movement, was probably the great leap in cognition that came from the FSM. Yet during the week long celebration of the FSM's 20th anniversary, when every minute of the FSM's activity was discussed in more than a half dozen panels, no attention was paid to this crucial breakthrough in "white student consciousness" that went beyond free speech to the point of demanding that the University and education be separated from playing the role as producers and wholesalers of knowledge to the government, corporations and the military, that is, to the statified military economy.

Twenty years ago, UCB students rejected this role as the purpose of education and recognized it as the source of their alienation. Over those twenty years, the University has never backed away from its role as a servant of the statified military economy, in fact, it has expanded that role.

BLACK LIBERATION AND THE FSM

The willingness of the 20th Anniversary Project committee to hide the fundamental challenge that the FSM raised about the nature of education in the American society as a living part of the present didn't just stop there; it spilled over into its attitude toward the Black liberation movement. Its relationship to the FSM and its centrality to all freedom struggles in the United States were never taken up seriously in any of the panels.

Thus, the 20th anniversary celebration of the FSM lost an opportunity to bring to a new generation of students those fundamental revolutionary qualities that made the FSM and the Black Civil Rights Movement so crucial a new beginning in American thought.

Racism at U.S. Auto

Detroit, Mich.—One of the biggest problems at U.S. Auto Radiator is lead poisoning. At Plant 1 the ovens give off smoke, and lead is also in the air from the torches. The dipping area is very high in lead.

The company's way of solving the problem of high lead levels in the blood makes the problem bigger. One warehouse worker was forced to switch jobs with a worker in the plant with high lead. The way the warehouse worker felt was that they poisoned one worker, and now they're going to poison him too. The union president said he would stop the move, but three weeks later, the man's still not back.

The whole question of lead is not separate from racism in the plant. High seniority Black workers are being treated worse than other Black workers, even though all are harassed. They are trying to get the ones with more seniority out of the way before the contract is up next year, either by firing them or getting them to "fire themselves" by making them so mad they leave.

Some of the Black workers have been talking about lead and how workers have been moved around. One Black worker with high seniority has a lead level of 40, which is over the government safety limit. Even when you're under the limit you still get sick. So when you go over their standards it's really bad. They test the level of lead in our blood every six months, and every time this worker's lead gets low they put him back in Plant 1. They don't let it stay low. He goes back and forth between Plants 1 and 2, where the problem is more with dangerous machines than lead.

The harassment against Black women is increasing. Last week another woman was called in and harassed about production. And two of the Black women were just moved again to soldering. The moves were just harassment because they didn't keep them there.

—U.S. Auto Radiator worker

British miners' struggle: in life...

Nottingham, England — The 1984 Miners' strike has from the beginning challenged Thatcherism to the core, and it may bring her regime to an end. The involvement of youth and women has transformed a movement about saving jobs into a rejection of alienated and fragmented social relations.

In Nottingham, where the official union never fully backed the strike, the rank-and-file set up their own organization. The young miners kept the strike going, while they maintain that if it wasn't for the women—their unique networks of support groups and their determination to stay out and win—there would not be a strike in Notts.

It is the younger miners who make up the bulk of the flying pickets and are most active. Their enthusiasm has surprised a lot of the older miners who thought the principles of worker solidarity and not crossing picket lines were dying out.

Young miners have joined the picket lines outside the court where the Newham 7 (seven Asian youths accused of conspiracy) are being tried. They have joined the anti-war demonstration "Stop The City," where 470 youths were arrested on Sept. 27. They joined the Troops Out delegation to Belfast, where Sean Downs was murdered. "The only thing different between Northern Ireland and Nottingham is that the police haven't got guns, visible guns that is," a young miner said.

The strike has also transformed the children's lives. At school they argue about the strike and battle it out with the teachers who try to make them take their badges off. At home, women go out picketing and are off speaking in London whilst the men stay at home and do the childcare. They've never done any public speaking before, "but it's easier when you believe in what you're saying," they say.

The women's support groups are where the decisions are made and carried out. As a Yorkshire woman said, "When they wouldn't let us go picketing we all got together and played hell with the union...I've told them, 'If you'd let women go picketing in the beginning you'd have got through to the scabs long ago.'"

The women are clear that after the strike is over they are not going back to the old ways. "Since this strike has been on we've done everything the men have, we've done more, we've done kitchens, speaking, rallying, picketing, the only thing we haven't done is go down pit and we intend to do that when the strike is over."

—Nigel Quinten

...and in books

A Miner's Life, by David Douglass and Joel Krieger, Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1983.

A Miner's Life conveys, as far as printed words can, what it actually feels like to work down a coal mine, specifically, nationalized coal mines in the north of England.

The risk begins as the men are winched down the

mineshaft in the "cage". In the Markham Main disaster, the brakes failed on the winder and the "cage" crashed to the bottom, 13 miners died, others were maimed for life.

Work at the coalface means crawling in seams usually about 3 feet high but sometimes as narrow as 12 inches. Miners face the old dangers of rockfall and fire damp (methane gas), together with new hazards associated with automatic coal-cutting machines: especially the risk of the haulage chain snapping and whiplashing across the face, injuring anyone in its way.

The hazards are magnified by management officials who overlook safety regulations in the drive to get more output. There is constant pressure to use less material for roof supports. The system of productivity bonuses introduced in 1978 has also led some miners to take shortcuts on safety to push up their earnings.

The high-speed cutting machines create thick clouds of dust. Thousands of dust particles cut the membranes of the lung, causing scars. This is the origin of pneumoconiosis (black lung), the greatest killer of mineworkers. For official compensation to come into effect, a panel of medical functionaries must be satisfied by X-ray evidence that a certain percentage of the lung surface is blackened. This leads to men who have been told that they "don't have enough dust" for compensation staying down in the mine, even though they are coughing and spitting and fighting for breath.

The book scans briefly over the recent history of the British miners' struggle, focusing on the turning point of 1969, when an unofficial strike movement, organized through a nation-wide network of local "miners' panels", successfully took on both the Coal Board and union officialdom — winning a higher wage rise than ever before, as well as sweeping away the union rule that required a two-thirds ballot majority before a national strike.

This resurgence of self-activity opened the way for the great strike victories of 1972 and 1974. One must be sceptical of the authors' view that the advance of the "left" inside the Labour Party reflected the success of the miners' struggles. On the contrary, after workers' power at the point of production went into a decline, following that high point of 1974, many radicals turned to the hollow substitute of winning control of the Labour Party apparatus.

This account makes it clear that the British miners' determined 1984 strike against pit closures does not mean they have any desire to go on toiling in the same old way. "We go into the pits because that's the only place, because that's where you earn your living. Because there is no alternative. If the alternative is rotting or starving, you've got to go to the pit. When they closed the pits we weren't bothered about that. It was the destruction of the community, and the destruction of our livelihood, that we objected to."

—Richard Bunting

"A Soldier's Story"

by Eugene Ford

"A Soldier's Story" is a movie which shows the separation between the thinking of a spit-and-polish Black sergeant and his Black troops, which leads to the murder of the sergeant and the investigation that follows by a Black captain sent South from Washington, D.C. to catch the killer.

The Black troops' attitude to their existence within a racist United States Army in the 1940s is illuminated through their role as entertaining baseball players and menial laborers for the white officers. They question why they aren't instead fighting against Hitler's fascism, as they felt their role as soldiers should be the same as white troops.

This is further intensified by the racist attitude of the white officers to the Black servicemen, and in turn brings out the hate and contempt of their Black sergeant towards his own people, especially Southern Blacks whom he sees as "backward" and the reason whites treat all Blacks with racist disrespect and hatred.

The sergeant's hate for whites is not so obvious at first, but he himself shoots at some white guards. He then turns around and sets up and imprisons a Mississippi Black for the attempted murder. This imprisonment leads to the suicide death of the Mississippi Black who could not withstand the prison confinement. This widens the gap that exists between the sergeant and his troops unleashing a Black explosion which leaves the sergeant dead on a deserted rural road.

This relationship exists today where established Black leadership and organizations are far removed from the conscious struggle of unemployed Black youth, from Miami to Watts. What is needed is new relations that incorporate changing this racist capitalist system. The established Black leaders too often follow the lead of white society and are too far removed from Black reality. They treat Black and poor as an invisible army without thought, until it is too late and the explosion is on their front doorstep, as in "A Soldier's Story."

YOUTH

S. African youth in revolt

by Ida Fuller

The world has been impressed by the persistence, continuity, and duration of the recent student revolts in South Africa; a persistence not just of action but of Black Consciousness ideas which were not killed by repression after 1976. The school boycotts, which preceded and followed the boycotts of the new South African constitution, continue to this day. They have involved hundreds of thousands of students of all ages and fundamentally attacked the apartheid system of education which aims to control students' minds and spends nine times more on the education of white students than that of Blacks. The students have further directed their attack against continual arrests, corporal punishment, and sexual harassment and have spontaneously spread their boycotts to many regions of the country.

In Soweto, the site of the 1976 revolts, the boycotts this year have been most continuous and have involved many primary school children. They have forced the apartheid government to recognize their Student Representative Councils, if only in a limited way.

At the University of Transkei, so strong have been the boycotts that the government was forced to release 250 jailed students. When the students still refused to attend classes, the university administration expelled 2000 students and resorted to closing the schools until 1985.

At the University of Western Cape, students who have been boycotting classes since May stormed and occupied the university administration building, demanding the immediate resignation of a registrar who had helped police in the persecution of students.

Even at some white English-speaking universities, students boycotted classes for three days to participate in campaigns urging the "colored" population not to vote for the new constitution. At least 3000 white draft age youth have fled the country and the "colored"

Study and Struggle

youth are resisting the forced military conscription—a measure of the new constitution which applies to them.

THE 1976 SOWETO REBELLION

To understand how the revolts can be so deep and persistent today, we have to look back at the 1976 Soweto Revolt and the new stage which the Black Consciousness Movement represented. It was in June of 1976 when 10,000 junior high school students spontaneously boycotted schools and organized the Soweto Students' Representative Council, protesting against the imposition of Afrikaans (the oppressor's language) on Black schools.

This was a revolt of youth to gain a mind of their own and their slogan proclaimed, "No education for slavery." With its high degree of consciousness and organization, the revolt soon spread to other regions. A year later, nearly 300,000 Black and "colored" youth were boycotting classes.

The students transformed their schools into forums for discussion on Black Consciousness. They created the very new concept of consultation with workers, to call for a strike. Indeed the movement reached a turning point when 750,000 Black and "colored" workers went on a three-day General Strike—the greatest in South African history. This was the most serious call for the emancipation of labor which attacked the apartheid system at its roots.

HUMANISM OF BLACK CONSCIOUSNESS

From the very founding of the Black Consciousness Movement (South African Students' Organization, SASO) in 1969, Steve Biko, (see "Steve Biko Speaks for Himself," *News & Letters*, November, 1977) its founder, had proclaimed that the struggle against apartheid is not fought on "oversimplified premises," not one of integration within the "established set of norms and codes" but a "new direction and depth in thought" because "the most potent weapon in the hands of the oppressor is the mind of the oppressed."

Biko saw the 1976 Soweto revolts as the proof of Black Consciousness ideas among the young generation. "This is what has gotten through to the young people. They realize that we are not dealing with mere bread and butter issues." He defined the vision of Black Consciousness as the quest for a "true Humanity" placing the human being first "not as a means" for technological progress, "not as an extension of a broom," as "another lever to a machine, but as 'the determination of the Black to rise and attain the envisaged self.'" That is why he emphasized that "in being so critical of the economic self-interest in the Third World on the part of American Capitalism, I at the same time have no illusions about Russia." He considered the greatest contribution of Black Consciousness to be in the "field of human relationships." To stress that the possibility for change did not have an external source, but came from within the struggling human being, SASO proclaimed as its slogan: "Black man (and woman), you are on your own."

Just as the South African masses refused to accept the new government constitution by setting their own ground of freedom, we in the U.S. can not accept Reagan's ground by believing that he has won the struggle over the minds of men. The Black Consciousness Movement represented the Humanism and depth of ideas that can arise from under the most repressive apartheid system.

Youth in Revolt

In the biggest turnout in several years, for a student election at Brown University, students voted 1,044 to 687 to urge the school's health service to stock suicide pills for use in case of nuclear war. The idea, said one supporter, was "to put the word 'suicide' with 'nuclear holocaust.'" Far from being a vote for suicide, the campaign spawned a group called Students Against Nuclear Suicide, which is already planning a rally. A similar referendum is to be voted on at the U. of Colorado.

At least 125 youths of the oppressed Tamil minority were detained Oct. 5 in Point Pedro, Sri Lanka. Also being held are 60 of 500 Tamil youths arrested in a similar police sweep in August. The rest were released only after a protest march by 500 women, most of whom had sons among the detainees.

Students at the Tennessee State University, a 97 percent Black college, were outraged when a Nashville federal court judge ordered that the university "can not maintain its Black identity" meaning that having a "Black faculty and a Black president" is "a situation that has got to change." The judge ordered the university to have a majority white student body within a decade and suggested the discontinuation of its "high school remediation program" in a state where most colleges are overwhelmingly white. While the federal court calls this "deracialization," it is the most blatant expression of racism.

Yale: student-worker unity

At New Haven, Connecticut, the seventh poorest city in the U.S. and site of Yale, an ivy league school, a powerful solidarity is being forged between workers and students. On October 27, 450 students were arrested in a demonstration in support of the 2,400 striking clerical, maintenance and technical workers most of whom are women. Students blocked the university administration offices for an hour before they were forcefully taken away to the city police station. As a worker said, "Yale did not dream that a struggle like this could develop in the epoch of Ronald Reagan".

Earlier in the month, 190 workers who had been picketing in front of the university president's home, were arrested, but the picketing continues. Sixteen hundred members of local 34 have been on strike since September 25, when the Yale Corporation refused to negotiate a new contract for this young, mostly women, and rank and file organized union of typists, hospital, restaurant and hotel workers.

The union has been fighting university discrimination against women and minority workers. It has demanded a 26 percent wage increase, job security and pension funds to include cost of living adjustments. All 1800 university maintenance workers have also gone on strike to avoid crossing picket lines.

Campus rallies are now singing union songs like "The Modern Union Maid", students have staged library sit-ins, moved classes to off-campus locations to respect workers' picket lines, and just recently sued the university president, Bartlett Giamatti, vice president Michael Finnerty and treasurer John Buckman.

Yale witnessed a similar strike of maintenance workers in 1971, but the recent worker-student solidarity is new. While the university president defines a university as the "business" of putting out "products", a woman student arrested by the police declared: "Education no longer continues in the classrooms. Yale university is in the streets today."

—Student observer

Protest poverty education



Chicago, Ill.—Several hundred mostly Black and Hispanic students, along with their parents and teachers held a rally to protest the education crisis in Chicago. The rally was sponsored by a Chicago high school student group, "Students in Action" (SIA). Speakers, including a fourth grader, discussed the possibility of a teachers strike against the Chicago Board of Education's unwillingness to negotiate a new contract. (The teachers demand a pay increase, a continuation of last year's contract, and oppose new payroll deductions for medical insurance.)

Students at the rally stated they were not taking sides, but emphasized they were not against the teachers' right to strike. But Students in Action have their own demands. They raised the poverty conditions of schools and made a list of problems that students will face during a shutdown: problems in obtaining their already meager college financial aid, on summer college programs and applications for summer jobs.

The crisis in the Chicago schools is not caused by the teachers' contract, nor is the crisis limited to the city of Chicago—it is nationwide. The Reagan administration's policies have consistently eroded educational programs and have heightened the crisis. Recently the Supreme Court took back \$20 million allocated to Chicago's voluntary school desegregation program. Nationwide, the Reagan years have seen a reduction of National Direct Student Loans to many Black colleges by Secretary of Education, T.H. Bell. Where 50% of the Black student population in 1971 were receiving loans, in 1982 only 36% of the Black students were receiving them.

What I see is the Reagan Administration so determined to gear education directly to the new capitalist stage of production that we are ending up with a two-tiered system of education: a small elite is given a comprehensive education, and the masses of people, including most Blacks, Hispanics and women are given very little education, and face the prospect of chasing after very few jobs. That is what the Chicago students need answers to and why they are forming groups like Students in Action.

—Diane Lee

FSM 20th anniversary

Berkeley, Ca.—The tremendous response here to the week long activities around the 20th anniversary of the Free Speech Movement (FSM) surprised everyone. Four thousand people, forming one of the biggest rallies ever on Berkeley campus, came to hear former FSM leaders, but mainly to hear Mario Savio speak at a noon rally on Tuesday, Oct. 2.

Though he now focuses on Central America, calling Nicaragua "the Mississippi of today," Savio emphasized the movement's roots in the Black South and moment of "deep solidarity" between Black and white. His reaction to youth who told him he is such an inspiration to them was to say Bob Moses was the one person he would single out as an inspiration to him.

At a Tuesday evening panel, "The Story and Meaning of the FSM," the speakers did bring to life the energy and original spirit of that moment to a crowd that filled every seat and available floor space in the campus' largest auditorium with many left in overflow rooms where talks were piped in. Savio emphasized the FSM's practice of democracy which he said usually meant "incorporating every significant objection into the direction of the movement."

From the floor at the Tuesday night panel I contrasted the openness of the FSM, described as its strength, with the events in Grenada where differences in the leadership were hidden from the people, creating the first opening to the counter-revolution from within that popular revolution. Savio responded that it was "too serious" to take up briefly and that the question of how to preserve democracy in the movement should itself be the focus of a discussion.

What made this such an unusual event was that it was not blind activity but of necessity a discussion on the direction of the freedom movement. In that sense, can this 20th anniversary of the FSM indicate a new beginning for the movement?

—Ron Brokmeyer

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OUR LIFE AND TIMES

by Kevin A. Barry and Mary Holmes

While NATO commanders staged war games in the largest exercise since World War II, thousands of anti-war demonstrators came to the Fulda Gap near the East German border. Throughout the last week in September, demonstrators took part in direct actions including:

At Wildflecken, protestors sat down to blockade U.S. Army maneuver grounds and a Howitzer firing range.

Two hundred demonstrators cut through a fence at a NATO arms depot in Grebenheim where chemical weapons are stored.

Protestors got inside an air defense outpost near the East German border and painted anti-war slogans on three Hawk missiles while several hundred others entered an Army training base.

During the week a U.S. general complained in an unusual statement to West German authorities about crimes against property by "anarchists and criminals." A slogan directed against this general and others in the NATO command was "Don't defend us to death." The week culminated in a "human net" formed as thousands held hands in a chain joining the town of Fulda with the U.S. military bases in the area.

China's economic plans

The Chinese Communist Party has just released plans for wide-ranging changes in the industrial economy, the most headline-grabbing of which revolve around the marketplace. State enterprises are directed to engage in price competition with each other till "only the best survive."

This is not a matter of "returning to capitalism" — China's 1956 Constitution declared the country to be state-capitalist, and that is what it remains. The question is: who pays for this economic restructuring? Plant shutdowns plus factories' new official authority to fire workers who did have job security mean that workers will first pay with increased unemployment, despite the absence of unemployment insurance.

Plans also include increasing the wage gap between different jobs, especially pay for mental and manual work. China's leaders have read, in a professional capacity, enough Marx to know he fought to end the very division between mental and manual labor by which capitalism reduces human beings to a few thinkers and many "hands." But the logic of their system demands that they call their most urgent task the promotion of thousands of a new generation of managers.

The state will also be ending a number of subsidies on basic consumer goods in what it calls an "irrational" price system. Recalling how many times Polish workers organized against "rational" price increases at their expense, it makes sense that China has suppressed any workers' support for Poland's Solidarity. It will be worth

German anti-missile, anti-racism protests

The protest continued three weeks later, using the same tactic but with a different focus linking growing West German militarization to unemployment and cuts in human social services. On Oct. 20, 150,000 anti-war activists came out to form another human chain, this time joining an unemployment office in the Ruhr steel town of Duisburg with Hunsrück, where Cruise missiles are scheduled for deployment at U.S. bases.

While the press called this not as massive a turnout as leaders had expected, this lower turnout may reflect activists shifting over to tactics of non-violent disruption of the war machine rather than a dwindling of support for the movement. After all, the demonstrations of millions in 1982 and 1983 did not prevent the Euromissiles from arriving. In addition, all wings of the peace movement were giving their attention to another crucial question: defending revolutionary Nicaragua against Reagan's massive, unrelenting and vicious economic and military attacks against that country. A demonstration to support Nicaragua was planned for Nov. 3, on the eve of U.S. and Nicaraguan elections.

On the domestic front, part of the movement has been confronting West German racism. The government of Helmut Kohl, which has welcomed the U.S. missiles,

has been harassing foreign workers.

To obtain permanent residence, foreigners must now be "certified" fluent in German and should not be wanted for "crimes" in their countries of origin.

The largest number of these 4.5 million workers are from Turkey, Italy, Yugoslavia, Greece, Portugal, Spain and North Africa. A new plan is to stop foreign workers from bringing in children over the age of six.

Conservative deputy mayor of Berlin Heinrich Lummer supports such a regulation: "Our main problem is the big number of foreigners in West Berlin. Just imagine, 250,000 or 12% of West Berlin's population, are foreigners." Other repressive tactics pose as "generous" — for example, offering several thousand dollars cash to foreign workers "voluntarily" returning.

In September and October nationwide demonstrations by German youth were held in support of the rights of foreign workers and residents. This "March Against Racism and Anti-Foreigner Politics" was sponsored by Turkish, Kurdish, Greek, Moroccan and Iranian groups, as well as the Greens, and Left and feminist groups. Over 20,000 participated across the country in marches culminating in Cologne on Oct. 13.

Info thanks to Arbeiterkampf

watching how Chinese workers resist paying in so many ways for Deng Xiaoping's plans.

Azania revolt deepens

The award of the 1984 Nobel Peace Prize to Bishop Desmond Tutu, a prominent Black leader, was a blow to the apartheid regime. Tutu immediately hit out also against Ronald Reagan: "In my view the Reagan administration has assisted in making the South African government more intransigent. I am certain that if Mr. Reagan is re-elected, you won't see the South African government crying." In fact, that very week, the U.S. had once again "abstained" on a UN resolution condemning South African racism.

At the same time Tutu was being honored, 7,000 South African police and military troops invaded and sealed off the Black township of Sebokeng, a main center of the recent Black uprisings. Police searched house to house for arms and political literature while soldiers stood outside; 120,000 Blacks were interrogated, and over 350 arrested. The government show of force since August, including more than 80 Blacks they have murdered, has been met by continuing Black resistance. This has not crushed the Azanian student boycott, for one, which has been ongoing for six months and in recent weeks numbered 150,000 to 200,000 students.

When authorities tried to reopen schools in Atteridgeville earlier this month, less than a third of the students showed up the first day, and by the second day, five schools stood empty. In

Soweto, hundreds of youth attacked high schools when they were reopened.

The government attempt to counter the political influence of the Black Consciousness Movement's Student Representative Councils has been totally unsuccessful. Instead a new stage has emerged with the powerful unity forged by students and workers in a 3-day general strike in the first week of November.

Poland's underground

The brutal death squad-type disappearance and murder of Rev. Jerzy Popieluszko, a priest identified with Solidarnosc, has outraged Poland and the world. Whether orchestrated from the top or "spontaneous," the murder is a sign of the frustration of the totalitarian apparatus at the persistence and determination of the opposition in the nearly three years since martial law drove Solidarnosc underground in 1981.

Today this underground publishes more than 250 periodicals, and has a wide-ranging network of cultural and educational activities. As intellectuals and known factory activists were arrested in 1981, a whole new layer of worker leaders arose to take their places. These new activists are committed to continuing the wide-ranging debates begun in 1980-81 over how to dismantle or reform the system.

There is a remarkable degree of tolerance of opposing points of view, and even people risking prison to distribute literature with which they disagree. While hardly having answered the questions facing Poland, the underground is continuing to debate, in itself a continuing victory over the one-party state.

Peace talks in El Salvador



When thousands flocked to the guerrilla-held town of La Palma to witness the peace talks between the guerrilla leaders and the government, all talked of peace and aspirations for peace. To U.S.-backed President Duarte, "peace" meant guerrillas laying down their arms and agreeing to participate in elections, presumably supervised and policed by his own military.

However, a local guerrilla commander summed up in a few words the quite different concept of peace held by the Salvadorean masses: "What people want is peace. They're full of elections. We can't resolve this with elections. For the peace the masses want is not just an end to the guerrilla war, but an end to violent repression by the army and the death squads."

That violence has killed thousands in the peasant, student, labor and women's movements, including even Archbishop Oscar Romero. Thus, the "Archbishop Oscar Romero Mothers' Committee" of mothers of "disappeared" people demonstrated for peace in La Palma on the day Duarte arrived.

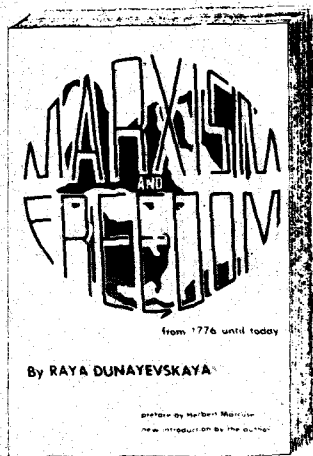
Is some new betrayal in store for the Salvadorean people by Duarte, as in 1980, when talk of elections was combined with mass murder of all voices of legal opposition? Or was it a "photo opportunity" to help Reagan's campaign? Or did it in fact mean that the rulers are ready to make some concessions to the masses on the basic issues such as land and human rights, and trade union, press and political freedom?

Egypt: sit-in cuts prices

When workers at the state-owned Misr textile factory in Kafr el Dawwa, Egypt, discovered the Mubarak government had deducted an extra 3% from their paychecks for pension funds, they refused to pick up their pay or leave the plant after the Saturday shift, September 30. The next day workers joined angry townspeople in protesting government-mandated price increases for subsidized staples of bread, pasta and cooking fat. Two to three thousand people joined the demonstrations. Police turned on the march with tear gas and guns, and at least three people were killed and 26 injured. Immediately, Pres. Mubarak ordered prices restored to the earlier levels.

The unrest was the biggest food riot since the 1977 nation-wide protests when Anwar el-Sadat tried to do away with government food subsidies. In that year, 79 people were killed, and more than \$1 billion in property was destroyed, including Mubarak's house.

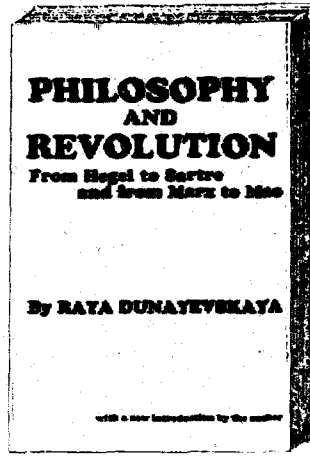
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Labor's real struggle still ahead



by Felix Martin, Labor Editor

When GM South Gate closed in 1982, I was forced to retire. To supplement my retirement so I could live, I took a part-time job with a school district as a janitor. The scale is \$14 an hour, but I fell into the two-tier wage system, so I get \$5.95 an hour and no benefits. Since I first wrote about this two-tier system during the McDonnell-Douglas strike last spring, it has become the central issue in strike after strike.

Just a few months ago the retail clerks in the major supermarket chains in Los Angeles accepted a contract allowing for a two-tier system in a few areas. Already management is applying it all over the place. Not only are workers at the check stands being replaced by new-hires at half their wage, but even the bookkeepers are being laid off. The lowest paid, the box boys (who earn a maximum of \$5.50 an hour), are being laid-off and replaced with new-hires at minimum wage. As one worker told me, "No one thought management would push this thing so far and so fast."

CUT WAGES AND DIVIDE WORKERS

The reason this is being pushed so fast is that the capitalists know the "economic recovery" is a sham. They know the only way to raise profits is to cut wages. At the Fuller Company in Compton, Calif., a new contract was recently signed, and the union leader came out and claimed credit for working out such a "good deal" for the workers.

I talked to a foreman from Fuller who said the company ordered him not to say anything to the workers about the contract, because if they find out the truth they will be mad as hell. The "good deal" allows for a two-tier wage system with new-hires coming in at \$5.50 an hour, compared to the \$14 an hour of union scale. In six months the new-hires can make it to \$6 an hour. I asked him when can they reach union scale. He said, "Never."

The union leadership's capitulation to the two-tier system is also making it easier for capitalists to divide younger from older workers. GEMCO

(continued on page 3)

Black World

Of Haitian life, labor and revolt



by Lou Turner

*Those who invented neither gunpowder nor compass
those who tamed neither steam nor electricity/those
who explored neither sea nor sky/but those who know
the humblest corners of the land of suffering/those
whose only journeys have been uprootings...*

—Aime Cesaire (Return to My Native Land)

Uprooting the wretched reality which is Haiti will not be today or tomorrow, but it is a process that has begun. Thus, as American capitalism was "discovering" Haiti as a safe, tax exempt haven for operating 300 of the lowest wage (\$2.65 a day!) assembly plants found anywhere in the world, presumably free of social unrest, the ruling Duvalier "corruptocracy" was rocked by four days of mass revolt this past May.

Though the press dismissed the events of May as "food riots," eyewitnesses described them as nothing less than "a people's revolt." It was a people's revolt that, naturally, was suppressed brutally by the military. Nevertheless, it was one sparked by the deepest strata of society, poor Haitian women, and which drew in the broad masses of Haiti's urban poor in the coastal towns of Gonaives and Cap-Haitien who took to the streets shouting "Down with hunger! Down with misery! Down with Duvalier!" as they destroyed the houses of Duvalier's hated secret police, the Tonton Macoute.

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Black dimension remains pivotal

Strikes open battle against Reaganism

by John Marcotte

No sooner were the votes safely in on election night than the cynical Reagan administration chose that very moment to "leak" the fantasy story of Russian MIGs on their way to Nicaragua. That was but the latest taste of Reagan's war on the minds of the American people — to show tiny Nicaragua as the supposed aggressor against the mighty U.S., which has never for a moment accepted the Nicaraguan people's throwing off of the hated U.S.-Somoza dictatorship.

Dominican workers living in the U.S., who have not forgotten the 1965 U.S. invasion of their land, and who as well suffer from Reaganism as sweatshop workers, are vehemently anti-Reagan. One said, "Reagan won because he spent the last six months making people think the economy was better. This man likes to boss around other countries, and now that the election is over he'll try to grab up some more, like Nicaragua."

NO MANDATE FOR WAR

The idea that Reagan will start a war is almost universal among Black workers as well. "I don't feel Reagan has any mandate to do anything he pleases, and I hope he doesn't think he does," said a Black worker, the mother of one son in the Navy and another draft-age son.

The outstanding feature of this election, for anyone looking at continued opposition to Reagan, was the overwhelming 90% rejection of Reaganism by Black vot-

ers, who once again demonstrated that the Black masses are the vanguard of the American Revolution. One reason many other Blacks and poor people didn't vote at all may be because they remember that it took a Democratic-controlled Congress to pass most of Reagan's earlier budget cuts, showing that Reaganism, far from being the private preserve of the Republican Party, is the ideology of the new stage of computerized production.

Reaganism's huge military expenditures, paid for on credit, have set the stage for an economic crisis that will not only lead to no boom. It could very well be bust. Indeed, the threat not only of a slowed U.S. economy, but of a renewed world recession in 1985, is so urgent that even Reagan's own advisers have thrown out his forecasts for growth. And with the election safely over, his economists have discovered that last quarter growth was not 2.9% but only 1.7%!

A white production worker summed up Reaganism this way: "Reagan's got the cowboy philosophy. It's hooray for me and the hell with you. But no matter who would have won the election, the economy's going to come crashing down in these next four years."

We are faced with a budget deficit of \$210 billion and rising, while Reagan's former chairman of the Council of Economic Advisers, Martin Feldstein, predicts a \$250 billion deficit by 1989 and a 15% tax increase just to pay the high interest on that debt.

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Pinochet's Chile: revolt, repression, revolt



A protest in Santiago against the government of Pinochet and the torture of dissidents

Editor's Note: Once again Chile has erupted, and General Pinochet, the murderer of thousands, has imposed a state of siege. Reports tell of thousands of arrests and torture, as well as of mass resistance. Below we print one report received directly from Chile.

Oct. 29—The day before the first general strike against the Pinochet dictatorship. After 11 years of terrible repression and impoverishment of the population. After a year and a half of mass protests, first monthly, then daily, in the cities and the shantytowns that surround them, principally by the poor and unemployed, more and more involving nearly the whole country. Since strikes are illegal, since there are so many unemployed to take your place if you are fired, since you will never find another job with 35% unemployment, since prices are rising—will those with jobs dare to risk them?

After months of indecision on the part of the known opposition groups—and months of calls for it from the mass-based "popular" organizations—the general strike has been set by the Popular Democratic Movement (MDP) and Socialist Block groupings, but disowned by the centrist and rightist opposition groups. Pinochet has made clear he will not compromise absolute military dictatorship with any demands for change, not even going through the motions of discussing "democracy" with any opposition group.

THE INVASION OF RENCA

No one knows what will happen the next morning. Workers do not tell even those working next to them

what they will do.

Renca, a working class neighborhood in northern Santiago, is full of discussions all day about the next day's protest activities. Since political meetings are outlawed, people go in and out of the apartment of well-known community activists to hear the plans. Late at night the secret police (CNI) come to the door. They take away three who have committed no crime, not even under the laws of dictatorship. Their organizing activity is mostly with children and young people in cultural workshops and summer camps. Of course, these days in Chile, all gatherings are political ones. The three are taken off to a CNI torture center.

That night the CNI sweeps the city, arresting hundreds of people. Some are charged with crimes. Others are simply sent into internal exile for their political pasts. The three do not appear on any lists of prisoners. It is the most dangerous time, right after arrest, for the disappeared to be killed.

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ON THE INSIDE

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Revolutionary women in Chicago's history

by Azar

Walking With Women Through Chicago History, ed. Babette Inglehart, Salsedo Press, Chicago, 1981. \$4.95.

Chicago is a city rich in revolutionary history. The 1880s and 1890s for example were a period when the paths of so many women activists and thinkers crossed in Chicago: Lucy Parsons, Emma Goldman, Mother Jones, Eleanor Marx, Ida B. Wells, are but a few of the women who fought for the demands of poor, working-class, Black and immigrant women and for a new society.

Walking With Women Through Chicago History gives us a glimpse of the magnificent history of this city, and in doing so brings out women so often left hidden. The authors take us on four walking tours of Chicago, where the nearly 180 years of Chicago women's history is revisited.

FROM MOTHER JONES TO LUCY PARSONS TO IDA B. WELLS

In the downtown Loop area, we meet Mother Jones, known as "the most dangerous woman in America" once she became active with both miners and textile workers' unions.

On the West Side we hear about the history of Hull House, founded in 1889 by Jane Addams and Ellen Gates Starr, which became home to hundreds of immigrant and poor working women as well as a meeting place for women on strike. North on Halsted, we learn of the four-and-a-half month long strike of 40,000 women garment workers in 1910.

On Prairie Avenue we hear briefly of Lucy Parsons, the Black-Mexican anarchist, as well as Emma Goldman.

In Hyde Park we meet the Black feminist and journalist Ida B. Wells, editor of *Free Speech* in Memphis, who founded the first Black women's club in Chicago in 1894. Finally, in Hyde Park the strands of Black as well as white and Indian women's struggles, and indeed, revolution, come together in two murals painted by Astrid Fuller, called "Women's Struggle" and the "Underground Railroad."

It is, however, no simple task to get this revolutionary image of Chicago's history at a first reading of *Walking with Women Through Chicago History*. You should be ready to go beyond the titles and subtitles which focus much of the time on business women, on education or finances, and in a few instances on politics. No category is created out of the Black dimension in Chicago, the revolutionary, anti-war and international impact of this city, the Haymarket events, and the participation of Emma Goldman, not to mention Eleanor Marx's visit to Chicago.

WHERE ARE WOMEN AS THINKERS?

What is most sorely missed in this work, which has a bearing on our time, is the development as a category of women as thinkers, as theoreticians, as philosophers, which requires us, therefore, to look back at history not alone as narrative but interpretive. Such a perspective becomes especially crucial today, when in our struggles against Reaganomics and for a new society, the contribution of women as revolutionary thinkers and activists can help give a new direction to the movement. Take for example the category of Black women, who have seldom been recognized as thinkers. Two such women who are discussed in this work are Lucy Parsons and Ida B. Wells.

Lucy Parsons was involved in many turning points in the history of this country as a working-class woman and as a revolutionary feminist—in

Karen Norman Defense

Detroit, Mich.—About 120 people, mostly women, gathered Nov. 16 at a benefit concert (called "Rape: More than a women's issue") for the Karen Norman Defense Fund. Karen Norman is a 19-year-old Wayne State University student who has three young children. She was raped May 5, 1984 by Lamont Powell, whom she killed while resisting his attack. The Wayne County Prosecutor has charged her with first degree murder, citing evidence that she knew her attacker; that he was stabbed 47 times; and that he was found naked and drunk. They disregard the fact that she called police herself to report the death, and are apparently asking her to prove she was raped. Her trial is scheduled to begin Dec. 10.

The benefit was sponsored by Wayne State Women's Monthly (a cultural feminist group) and the Karen Norman Defense Committee. One speaker for the Defense Committee was Mary Thomas, Karen Norman's grandmother, who pointed out that "a principle is at stake whether you can defend yourself against an attacker and not land in jail." Her defense attorney, Marjorie Cohen, said Norman "was victimized when she was raped, and now she is being victimized by the legal system."

The defense committee has asked supporters to fill Judge Beverly Jaspers' courtroom beginning on Dec. 10. Contributions (\$20,000 will be needed) can be sent to: Karen Norman Defense Committee, PO Box 3312, Highland Park, MI 48203.

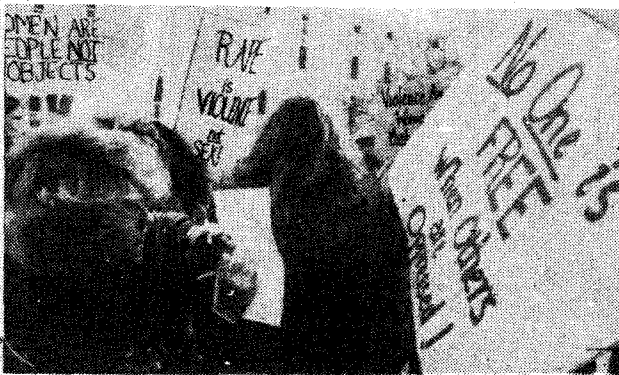
the 1877 General Strike, the struggle for the 8-hour-day, the formation of the IWW and the Communist Party.

In the 1890s Lucy Parsons lashed out against abstract anarchists who were abandoning the question of "ending the wage slavery of human beings" and instead were reducing the struggle against private ownership to one of the institution of "free love"! She opened the pages of *Firebrand* to working class women who complained bitterly of sexual freedom of husbands when they had to deal with VD, unwanted pregnancies and being left alone with no support for the children.

Ida B. Wells was able to combine her unique and life-long anti-lynching struggles with the struggles against imperialism and her fight for women's rights. In her trips to Europe and throughout the U. S. she showed how the lynching of the Black was aimed at "getting rid of the Negroes who were acquiring wealth and property, thus trying to keep the race terrorized." She showed how the white man killed and raped the Black and refused to recognize any human relationship between the races. Wells fought bourgeois leaders such as Booker T. Washington, and never failed to criticize the women's movement, including the prominent Susan B. Anthony, for their refusal to deal with racism.

Today, when once again hunger and poverty have become Chicago's attributes, can we begin to combine *Walking with Women Through Chicago History* with study groups relating to Black, working-class and anti-war issues, never separating ourselves from the question of working out a full vision of what kind of a society we as women's liberationists want to build?

Rape protest at CMU



Both students and faculty took part in a "Shatter the Silence" rally at Central Michigan University (CMU), Nov. 14, to support victims of sexual assault. A CMU graduate, who is prosecuting a former president of Sigma Phi Epsilon fraternity for rape, was harassed Oct. 28 by at least 50 fraternity members who banged on windows of the sorority house in which she was staying, while chanting obscenities naming her. The tires of her car were also slashed. Charging that to some in this fraternity "rape is sport," the assistant prosecutor cited five other women in the past two years who had accused Sigma Phi members of rape and were then intimidated into dropping charges. CMU has suspended the fraternity from campus for at least three years.



women-worldwide

Clarence Pendleton Jr., Pres. Reagan's chairman of the Civil Rights Commission, said Nov. 16 (with Linda Chavez, staff director, at his side) that "comparable worth is the looniest idea since Looney Tunes came on the screen." The concept of comparable worth deals with sex segregation in the kinds of jobs men and women hold and the fact that women's wages average about 60% of men's. Pendleton stated that if salaries were "forced" higher in traditionally female jobs, employers would replace workers with machines.

Japanese housewives, from the small Tokyo suburb of Zushi, are leading a protest against a government plan to build (and pay for) a 900-unit apartment complex for American families stationed at the naval base at nearby Yokosuka on a section of a wooded wildlife preserve. The women's opposition forced the resignation of Zushi's three-term mayor, who supported the project, and made this construction a central issue in the next election.

Dr. Henry Morgenthau was acquitted of conspiring to run an abortion clinic by the Ontario Supreme Court Nov. 9, in a case stemming from his 14-year fight to liberalize Canada's abortion laws (See N&L, Nov. 1975). Canadian feminists, though pleased at the verdict, point out that abortion is still illegal in Canada unless performed at an accredited hospital following approval by a panel of physicians. This "approval" process has caused delays averaging 8 weeks, thus increasing the danger of the procedure.

Chilean woman speaks on women in Nicaragua

London—I recently heard a Chilean woman who had just returned from Nicaragua. She said that women are active in all areas of the struggle there, from organizing day care, literacy, health care and communal allotment campaigns, to fighting in the army. Women from the ages of eight to 60 are organized in vigilante groups checking out contra activities.

AMNLAE, the women's section of the Sandinista party, has three reserve battalions. She said the women are highly combative but still oppressed. AMNLAE is not an autonomous organization. The speaker described how there is a personal viewpoint and an AMNLAE viewpoint which often contradict. She described how at one local meeting, the AMNLAE women seemed to be talking on a different level to the peasant women whose real day-to-day problems weren't taken seriously.

When asked why abortion is still illegal, the AMNLAE representative said, "We don't like to talk about this. It is a divisive element. We think women should try to prevent unwanted pregnancies." When this was challenged with the fact that women as young as 11 are getting pregnant and that many women are dying from back street abortions, the questioner was told she had "a Western view of questioning on women."

Most women still work in the home, as street vendors (self-employed), as domestics or as part-time workers, where the new laws concerning paid pregnancy leave, equal pay and social security benefits do not apply. Domestic workers were not included in a recent redistribution of wages among workers. When trade union delegates were asked about this, they said, "Not yet!"

In the countryside, men don't allow women to work with them on the farming cooperatives. They give women impossible tasks to "prove" that it's not women's work although there are now a minority of co-ops organized by women. The rate of battered women has increased by 11% in the last year.

Despite all this inequality, the Nicaraguan revolution has made some radical steps forward, such as men now having to contribute towards the upkeep of their children and the fact that women are now training for all kinds of professional skills and have set up a new legal office to deal with complaints from women.

However, it's not enough to have great new laws if there are no concrete methods to enforce them. New forms of human relationships will have to involve the thoughts and activities of all, especially women.

—London feminist

Notes from a journal

A working woman's life

by Clara Jones

This week I am forced to work Saturday. It means I have only one day for me. I feel work has stolen a large part of my life. I feel sad that I can only read a little at a time. I am discovering that the more I read and write and learn, the larger my need becomes for more knowledge. I wish I had long hours to sit and read. Instead I have long hours to work for the company.

Today I was late for work. I didn't hear the alarm clock. I needed more rest. Six days is too long to work. I feel very unhappy with my life because I haven't been able to do all that I want in fighting for freedom.

My father worked in a plant before me, an auto plant. He retired after more than 30 years of prison. As a little girl I remember asking my mother, When is dad coming home. He worked long hours, too much overtime. And yet with all this work, job security is something a worker never has. I liked the sign the Black worker carried — Jobs for Now and the Future — picketing an auto plant.

I feel very disappointed with one of my friends and sorry for her at the same time because school is first in her life. She is a nice person, but she must learn that fighting for freedom is more important than education in school. It is the education of freedom.

My sister has an education and she is working in a fast food restaurant. That takes no education. This is because of capitalism. My sister has the education to be a teacher of history. She tried to get a job teaching school, but was unable to find one.

At my plant women work harder than men, and if I take a good look at all of women's history, women have always worked harder than men. And most of the life of women is work. I was reading about the revolutionary life of Emma Goldman and what she wrote on the topic of birth control and abortion. In her day the most widely practiced birth control procedure was abortion. Poor women often attempted to abort themselves in the early 1900s. This may also be true for today. Look at working poor women who do not have the money to pay for an abortion themselves.

I have learned that letters are a good way to talk about ideas and about my life. I am very grateful to have so many good friends to be able to write to.

Detroit: women workers continue struggle

U.S. Auto Radiator revolt

Detroit, Mich.—Many people in Plant One at U.S. Auto Radiator took matters into their own hands Friday, Nov. 9. They refused to work while there were dangerous smoke and fumes inside the plant. We had smoke problems throughout the week, but Friday was the worst.

At about 7:30, not long after starting, you started feeling the stinging in your nose and a nasty taste in your mouth. You can't see the fumes. But you can see gray smoke in the air, and it seemed to be going into the VC core assembly area. The automatic face dip had stopped, and the moment it did, smoke started coming out of it. The air compressor was broken, too. Without the air compressor, the smoke can't get out.

Almost all of the people in the department stopped working. They began crowding into the women's bathroom to get away from the smoke. Women were sitting on sinks and in the stalls. One of the production leaders came into the bathroom and said the smoke had cleared and the foreman wanted us back to work. Some people stayed in the bathroom and said to hell with her.

When it started to clear and some people went back to their work stations, the fumes were still stinking. So the people that were not in the bathroom didn't do any work. Instead, they were talking with each other about how they felt. Finally, the company told us to go home.

They let the department that revolted the loudest go. You could really feel the solidarity. Nobody would work. Some people stayed on the job, but even they stood around and talked about what they think about the bosses. The company didn't do anything about the smoke until we revolted!

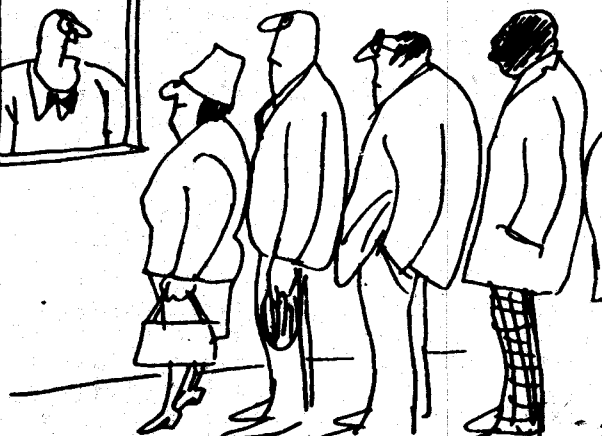
We still lost out, because we only got paid for four hours on Friday. It was the company's fault that the working conditions were as bad as they were. The workers came to work eight hours on Friday. But the con-

tract only guarantees you four hours' pay when you are sent home for something that went wrong that was the company's fault. The union said it got us that four hours and we shouldn't complain. —Woman worker

UNEMPLOYMENT
INSURANCE



"Go home, I tell you.
The recession is over"



Unemployment office blues

Detroit, Mich.—The first time I experienced unemployment was a few weeks ago after I was unjustly fired from my job in a hospital. When I went and picked up papers at the unemployment office, the lines were so long. I took them home and filled out all those forms, and I was still angry about being fired.

When I went back, the instructor who was telling us how to fill out forms said quite a few people in the office had been laid off. She went so fast. She said she hoped they were done by lunch. Then she said everyone had to stand in line 18. It was a double line, and it was down all the way to the door.

I stood in line about an hour. My legs were aching. I couldn't go out. I was afraid I'd lose my space. When I got to the window, the woman checked everything out and said I had to wait in another line. I waited in that line for 45 minutes more. Then another woman asked a lot of questions — what was my rate of pay, why am I unemployed now?

I said I was terminated, and I told her the language on my termination notice. So then she handed me a booklet with the disqualifications that would deny me money. I thought if I saw that supervisor that fired me, I'd hit her.

There were so many people there, some fired, some laid off. Some of these were hospital employees. Others were Chevrolet employees laid off during the GM strike in Canada. Some people brought their lunch. Others brought stools. It was like a bus terminal.

Some people said it was their eighth time coming down, and they haven't gotten a check yet. You don't know if you'll eat today, tomorrow or the next day. That's why there's so much anxiety. The whole time I was there, I was thinking about what people go through. But I'm going to fight all the way, and maybe I'll stir something up down there.

—Black woman hospital worker

Picket line at Libby

Chicago, Ill.—Three hundred workers struck the Libby Company on Nov. 11. The company had already cut the workers' wages \$1.65 per hour and eliminated three paid holidays when the union contract expired in early September.

Other concessions demanded by the company include shorter breaks, less paid vacation time, elimination of paid time for changing clothes, and cutbacks in the pension plan and medical insurance. Seniority rights would be severely weakened under the company's proposals.

The workers are members of United Food and Commercial Workers Local 247-P, which has been negotiating with the company since last spring. Libby is owned by Nestle's, and the strikers believe that the parent company in New York is one of the corporate giants determined to cut the standard of living of workers in the food processing industry. One picketer said, "The companies expect us to work for wages like in poor countries. But we can't live on that."

"The big money people are taking over and want us to work for nothing," said a striker. "Reagan is so anti-union it stinks. He's helping the companies, and the companies think they can do whatever they want with the workers."

Strikers say Libby has threatened to close the plant if concessions aren't granted, but the picketers all agree that other workers have lost their jobs even after going along with other companies' demands for cut-backs. "If they're going to close the plant, they will. You don't decide to close a plant in three days." Another striker said, "What we need to do is shut the country down for a week like they did in Poland." —Strike Supporter

A restaurant story

Chicago, Ill.—I have worked in many restaurants, where I started as a dishwasher and moved up to cook. I have now been working for restaurants for some ten years. I really enjoy cooking, but I find it harder and harder to work for restaurants.

Conditions became really bad at the large hotel chain where I last worked. People had not received raises in three to five years. The restaurant was being sold. Management were getting fired, and employees were forced to take up the slack, which caused a lot of disorganization. This in turn brought on a lot of stress and anxiety among workers, which continued to grow like a cancer.

After the chef was fired, a few workers got together with him and some of the other people who were terminated. It was suggested that union support would probably be their best bet, so that idea was acted upon. One person who helped start this idea became the organizer. Thirty-one union cards were signed in order to go into petition.

As soon as the company was notified that they might recognize this union, the organizer was fired. I then took on part of the job as assistant to the organizer, because I was still employed there, and I felt I should stay there if our fight was to continue. When the company found out that I was in support of the union, they zeroed in on me. The boss had private meetings with me daily and constantly tried to probe my mind. When he realized that I was still talking to people, they cut my hours.

The boss hired a very expensive lawyer whom they paid thousands of dollars to fight the union. He was known as a professional union buster. The kitchen outgoing phone lines were disconnected. The boss started rumors against employees between other employees. All of the company heads became Mr. Nice Guys overnight and promised the world. The election was postponed, because the government ran out of money at the time. Snitches were given employee-of-the-month raises and promotions.

We continued to fight, although we were losing more of our supporters. The company won because of more sneaky tactics. We only ended up with a vote of five people on our side. I don't feel like we lost, though, just because we lost the vote. We didn't get into this to win or lose a union election, but to do what we thought was right. I'd do it again.

—Kitchen worker

Chicago teachers strike

Chicago, Ill.—The Chicago teachers' strike on Dec. 3 was inevitable. In spite of bargaining sessions that began last May and continue under mediation, the Board of Education has refused to change its position that employees must pay part of their medical benefits and have their salaries cut.

The union has made recommendations where cuts can be made and where money can be saved without cutting back teachers' benefits and salaries. But this Board, under the direction of the School Finance Authority, has joined the ranks of union busters all across the nation.

The public must be made aware of what is really going on between the Chicago Board and the new power to make policy, the School Finance Authority. The Finance Authority was created out of the '79 crisis which left the school system bank usiness and banking institutions, which lent \$600 million to the schools at an astronomical interest rate.

To help finance these interest payments and the inflated salaries for top administrators at the Board, union-busting law firms were brought in to think of new ways to cut the budget from the employees' pockets. The immediate result of this fiasco was the loss of 8,000 jobs.

It's a miracle teachers have any time or motivation for teaching at all. At the same time that salaries and benefits are cut, classrooms are overcrowded. Books and supplies are scarce. Teachers are forced to use restrictive reading and learning programs imposed on them by the Board.

We are told by corporate and government leaders to prepare our young for those jobs where thinking is of no value. They feel only the "elite" should concern itself with thought so that it may lead us in the direction the ruling class feels is in its own best interest. The rest of us should be content with learning the skills necessary to respond to the needs of automation and computers.

The public must get behind the teachers and support their cause. Together they can rid the system of the Finance Authority, and rid the system of wasteful policies that pay consultants for improvements they don't intend to implement and learning systems which stifle creativity and real learning, as well as law firms for advice on how to make cuts from schools and teachers where the money is truly needed. Otherwise we will find that not only have we mortgaged away the financial resources for education, but in the process we have mortgaged away the minds of our youth and the youth of generations to come.

—Chicago teacher

WORKSHOP TALKS

(continued from page 1)

stores have been on strike for weeks in Los Angeles, and the union says it is willing to accept a two-tier system. Younger workers have been crossing the picket lines in droves, and the strike is now in jeopardy. Many of these younger workers see the union as just some bureaucracy they pay dues to, just like the government. They don't feel part of the union, and the union has never talked to them about what a strike really means.

At one time, all new-hires in a plant got their job instruction from a union committeeman. After World War II that job was taken over by the foreman. Nowadays the foreman will put the new worker on the worst job, while before the committeeman would show the new-hire how to get away with doing as little work as possible. That way solidarity got built up from the first day.

REVOLT MUST BE TOTAL

The only way workers can put a stop to these concessions that divide them is to take control of production, this time for good. In the 1936-37 sit-down strikes in auto that is exactly what workers did. But as soon as we got our first contract, we began to lose control of production to management and the union leadership. Ever since then every contract has contained one sell-out after another.

The young workers are the ones to watch, because with Reaganism they can't live off their wages. The economic situation gets worse and worse with each of these cuts and concessions, and if Reagan keeps it up, he will have a revolt on his hands. This time the revolt will have to be total. Workers will have to take control of production for good. Only then can we beat back the divisions, introduced by such gimmicks as the two-tier wage system. The real struggle is still ahead.

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Nicaraguans united against U.S. threat

by Mary Holmes

The U.S. election returns were just coming in when Reagan aides "leaked" the rumor that a Russian ship on its way to Nicaragua was thought to be carrying MIG fighters. Three days later, the carefully crafted "rumor" was totally discredited. But in the meantime, Reagan had begun setting out his second-term outlaw military plans for Nicaragua.

Reagan officials were quick to draw parallels between the Russian ship non-event and the period preceding the Cuban missile crisis in 1962—omitting the subsequent U.S.-Russia confrontation which brought the world to the nuclear brink. They also publicly raised the possibility of blockading Nicaragua to stop a supposed river of Russian arms—again, omitting the fact that that is an act of war. Reagan's No. 1 rocket-rattler, Secretary of Defense Casper Weinberger, fulminated on the need to prevent Nicaragua from becoming "a second Cuba." Through all this, no serious objection to direct U.S. military strikes against Nicaragua came from the new Congress, from which Reagan intends to extract renewed financial backing for contra mercenaries in 1985.

CIA COVER-UP

With the election campaign out of the way, Reagan moved to sweep under the rug the contras' CIA manual for subversion against Nicaragua, calling it "much ado about nothing." The CIA "investigated" itself and reported back to the President, not surprisingly, that it found "no violation" of the U.S. law making it criminal to advocate assassination of foreign officials. The latest cover-up of Reagan's outlaw acts hinged on redefining the word "neutralize" to mean anything but assassination.

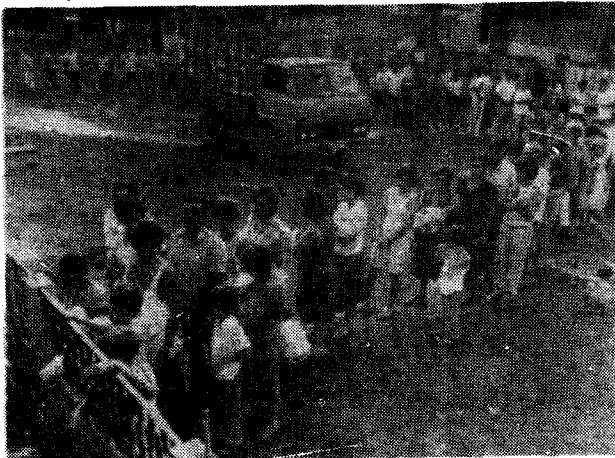
The week after the elections, Reagan's soft-spoken and forked-tongued Secretary of State George Shultz attended a meeting of the Organization of American States (OAS) in Brazil. He showed contempt for the audience as he called the burgeoning U.S. arms buildup in El Salvador, Honduras and Costa Rica a Latin American "security shield" against Nicaraguan "aggression." Two days later, those three countries, at the U.S.'s behest, introduced new amendments to the Contadora proposals. These changes would allow U.S. military maneuvers to continue and delay the withdrawal of military advisors in Central America. The Reagan administration had refused to consider (and in any case, never intended to accept as binding) the Contadora proposals which Nicaragua was ready to sign in September.

The day before Shultz's OAS appearance, Weinberger had set the stage (on TV's "Meet The Press") by reviving the Monroe Doctrine as the basis "for many decades" of U.S. policy for protecting the hemisphere's integrity. Far from that, Latin Americans know better than anyone that the Monroe Doctrine has always sig-

naled the go-ahead for U.S. imperialist intrusions into their lands. Reagan's legal prizefighters are now busily invoking "collective self-defense" under the Rio Treaty to counter Nicaragua's claims against U.S. intervention in mining their harbors. A scant two years ago, Reagan effectively violated that treaty when he backed Thatcher's war in the Malvinas. Whether or not Reagan intends overt U.S. military actions against Nicaragua anytime soon, all this prepares "justification" for such outlaw moves.

U.S. MILITARY BUILDUP

While Reagan was launching his post-election "policy" crusaders against Nicaragua, the U.S. Navy was staging "Comptuex 1-85," a combined military exercise in the Caribbean and West Atlantic involving the U.S. Second Fleet with carrier-based fighters and bombers, along with units of the 82nd and 101st airborne divisions. Last month 100 military personnel arrived in Honduras with the specific mission of reinforcing newly-built airstrips. U.S. spy planes have deliberately broken the sound barrier in flights over Nicaragua to make their presence known.



Nicaraguans line up to vote in Managua

On its part, Nicaragua was smart enough to hold its elections before those in the U.S. Despite Reagan's efforts to sabotage and discredit them, the elections have given a lift to Nicaragua's international support. About 80% turned out to vote. The Sandinistas won close to 65%. The core of their vote came from the youth. It is the Nicaraguan youth who have been among the most passionate in embracing the revolution that got rid of the hated U.S.-backed Somoza, and they in no way intend to go back to such a past of U.S. domination.

This, too, cannot be discounted even as Ronald Reagan, world outlaw, publicly contemplates direct military actions against Nicaragua, not excluding invasion. Such an invasion, however, will not be another Grenada.

Pinochet's Chile: revolt, repression, revolt

(continued from page 1)

Oct. 30—The general strike is more successful than anyone imagined. Half the work force spontaneously, collectively, does not go to work. The other half goes but does not work; they sit in or slow down or have mass meetings instead. The bus drivers strike, helping people to stay out. Ninety percent of the students boycott school. There are few teachers there anyway.

The general strike reaches everywhere, not just the major cities. The island city of Castro, in the south, is so small that everyone there is related. To have a confrontation is fratricide, and it has not previously joined the days of protest. Today, the entire city goes on strike.

In the shantytowns and in the middle of Santiago, there are demonstrations and battles with the police. The youth persist in confronting the police physically. They use stones, since they have no guns and even slingshots are illegal.

Oct. 31 and Nov. 1—The demonstrations continue. In spite of a curfew. In spite of continuous police invasions of poor neighborhoods, where they ransack houses, arrest and shoot people. The government announces ten dead in the protests, but there are undoubtedly more among the disappeared.

A child is killed in a demonstration in Arica in the north. During the funeral procession, the people attack a police car. When the police send reinforcements, the people go and attack the police station.

The family of two of the arrested go for help to the Catholic Church's human rights group, the Vicariate of Solidarity, where the women are well-known for their community work. They get a lawyer who brings a writ of habeas corpus. Telegrams of inquiry have arrived to Pinochet from people in the U.S.

Miraculously, the three arrested in Renca are produced in court. They have been horribly tortured, physically and psychologically, but they are alive and leave the torture center after three days. Most people stay longer, and many die there. The three are taken to jails, still not charged with any crime. People from the neighborhood bring their family scraps of wool and books to

give them.

Nov. 6—Pinochet imposes a new state of siege, the most severe of his 11 years in power. Can it be an accident that this happens the day Reagan is re-elected? Hundreds more people are arrested in the next few days, including union leaders and all the opposition groups' leaders, except the moderate Democratic Alliance. Some 600 people are sent to internal exile in the remote city of Pisagua.

Censorship becomes total. The radio plays music instead of news. People are shot for being out after curfew and shot before curfew for being out at all.

Now there is no requirement that anyone ever be charged with a crime to be held in prison or exile.

People in Renca draw up a statement demanding the release of those arrested. They sign it with an "R", the symbol of resistance, and deliver it to the police station.

Nov. 10—The armed forces attack the squatter shantytown called Silva Henriquez in southern Santiago and arrest every male over the age of 15, about 3000 people. Apparently, having already arrested all the known political opposition he can find, Pinochet plans to arrest the entire nation. After all, it is the masses who are revolting against him.

Silva Henriquez was created over a year ago, when homeless people organized a "toma" of public land and put up their own tent-and-shack city. They said then that they were organized so that they could never be ousted by the police; it would take the military. Pinochet sends the air force in helicopters. Days later, hundreds are still detained.

The three from Renca have still received no medical attention for the severe injuries caused by their torture. The lawyer says that the international telegrams saved their lives, but the pressure must continue.

Nov. 15—Army and air force troopers arrive in tanks and sweep La Victoria, another working-class area of Santiago. Thousands more are arrested. They are now held in soccer stadiums, just as they were during the 1973 coup when thousands were killed.

Meanwhile, several days of national protest and another general strike have been called for the end of the month.

Reagan's policies opposed

Washington, D.C.—Less than 48 hours after Ronald Reagan's "historic landslide," over 300 people marched and rallied in Washington, D.C., to mourn the dead in Central America and the Caribbean and to put the administration on notice that millions of Americans will not accept more U.S. intervention in the region.

The march was led by women dressed in black, with their faces painted white, carrying staves which they struck rhythmically on the ground. One of them explained that in medieval Europe, women would march from town to town in times of plague to warn others of approaching danger. Now, she said, it's Nicaragua and El Salvador that are threatened. The women were followed by activists from local peace and anti-intervention groups, bearing signs and symbolic coffins to represent the victims of war and repression.

Despite Reagan's claims that the country is solidly behind his aggressive policies, passers-by were definitely on our side. Drivers honked, flashed their lights and waved; pedestrians were equally friendly. One Latino restaurant worker, still in kitchen uniform and snatching a quick break from work, gave marchers a wave and a smile and quietly but firmly said, "Viva Sandino!"

At the rally, the mood changed from mourning to determination. The rally's purpose was not to bury fallen comrades, but to bury U.S. intervention. Speakers linked the continuing crisis in Central America with last year's invasion of Grenada and the ongoing attack on Blacks, women, Hispanics and other victims of Reaganomics and Reaganpolitics.

Loud and angry cheers greeted the assertion that Nicaragua would not be an easy victim for a new round of U.S. aggression, since both Nicaraguans and North Americans were prepared to resist. As one demonstrator summed it up, "We needed this. After Reagan won in 1980, too many of us fell into a state of numb despair. It is different this time. We are getting ready to fight back."

—Ian Seale

Protest Grenada invasion

Salt Lake City, Ut.—The local Central America Solidarity Coalition showed a film, "Grenada: The Future Coming Towards Us," to protest Reagan's armed invasion of the island one year ago. The film, which was released on the very day of the invasion, showed us a radiant revolutionary people whose enthusiasm is apparently boundless. But I could also see something of the duality in the revolution that would provide the pretext for the invasion.

Bernard Coard is in the film. He credits the "government" with introducing and "mass producing" new products. He sounded like a corporate executive determined to make his company (read government) successful. Following the film a speaker exposed the lies about protecting medical students, and there was a discussion.

The audience raised the issue of the coup which killed Bishop and opened the way for the U.S. invasion. Some tried to blame it on the CIA, while others emphasized the disarming of the militia by the Coard-Austin clique.

Only Marxist-Humanists asked that all probe into the lack of philosophic principles that allowed the "leadership" to conceal their internal dispute—which led to Maurice Bishop's murder—from the Grenadian people for over a year. The tragic separation of philosophy and organization is what "disarmed" the people and left Grenada open to U.S. imperialism's invasion.

In this sense the events in Grenada continue to challenge us as activists to gain a mind of our own, not only against Reaganism, but against every obstacle to freedom.

—Ted Hill

In Brief...

Philippines—The latest Marcos outrages included the assassination of two prominent regime opponents, journalist Alexander Orcullo and Mayor Cesar Climaco of Zamboaga, a large city in Mindanao. These events have only spurred on the mass opposition to Marcos.

New Caledonia—French settler-backed parties succeeded in winning recent elections and postponing independence at least until 1989. The indigenous Kanak people comprise 45% of the population. Inspired by a similar movement in the 1970s in the New Hebrides islands, they have formed a militant Kanak Socialist Liberation Front (FLNKS), and are moving on their own toward independence. They organized a near-total boycott of the election and blocked roads and occupied government installations. This struggle has a long tradition, and as early as the 1870s French communist leader Louise Michel had backed the indigenous people's revolt when even fellow political exiles had opposed their movement. We doubt that Mitterrand will follow suit.

Spain—Thousands of shipyard workers struck and fought police to protest government plans for mass layoffs of 17,000 of the 42,000-member shipyard work force over the next two years. The social democratic Gonzalez government has so far refused to enact even welfare state measures to alleviate the situation.

THEORY / PRACTICE

by Raya Dunayevskaya



This month I am turning over "Theory/Practice" to my colleague Kevin Anderson. — Raya Dunayevskaya

Professor Norman Levine's work, *Dialogue within the Dialectic*,* is an attempt critically to examine Marx, Hegel, Lenin and Mao. Levine is the type of thinker-activist who tries not to separate a deep interest in revolutionary dialectics from political activity. Thus for the Marx Centennial he organized an interesting conference held in April, 1983 at the University of Maryland, Baltimore County.

Professor Levine's book raises important questions for the 1980s: What is the relationship of Hegelian subjectivity to Marxist dialectics? What separated Marx's concept of dialectic from that of Engels? What were the contributions of Lenin and Mao to revolutionary dialectics? The book also contains quotes from and discussion of material never before in English from Marx's *Capital*, Vols. II and III. Unfortunately, Professor Levine's analysis does not, in the opinion of this writer, measure up to the seriousness of the questions he has raised.

ENGELS vs. MARX ON CAPITAL AND DIALECTICS

Levine's most serious contribution is his presentation of textual variants from *Capital*, volumes II and III,¹ based on Marx's original manuscripts. Unfortunately Levine does not leave it there, but precedes this very useful and concrete discussion with his own quite problematic overview. He tells us that Engels' main error was not in changing or deleting the Marx texts, but rather in general in giving us too much "bulk," by combining various manuscripts into lengthy chapters. In the process, Levine himself is all too ready to "edit" Marx, in place of letting Marx speak for himself.

Levine writes: "Engels exploded a two-volume Marxian *Das Kapital* (Marx's original estimate of the book's length - *Kapitel* - into a three-volume Engelsian *Das Kapital*..." (201) Levine is, of course, correct when he calls for publication of the whole, but his central argument seems to point toward an even more revised text than the Engelsian one, such as the one presented by Rubel in his greatly truncated French edition of volumes II and III. Levine's endless footnotes here and elsewhere betray an attitude of references for references' sake, instead of distinguishing his own view (if he truly has an independent view), and making himself neutral. Why for example is there no serious reference to Dunayevskaya, who was the first to translate Lenin's *Philosophic Notebooks* into English in 1948 and who had ever since the 1950s written on the relationship of Marx as well as Lenin to Hegel?

Levine's discussion of Engels versus Marx on dialectics traverses the familiar ground of Engels' evolutionism and scientism, and his view of dialectics as merely fluidity. Yet Levine is surely "original" in being so anxious to disconnect Marx from Engels (and to connect Marx to Mao) that he implies that Engels invented the idea of Hegel's "negation of the negation" as a central part of the Marxian dialectic. After mentioning that Engels used "negation of the negation," Levine writes a few lines later that "Marx took totally different Hegelian categories" (168), among which he lists "form-content," "negation" and "contradiction." On the very next page, Levine quotes the famous passage from the climax to *Capital*, volume I, where Marx writes:

"The capitalist mode of appropriation, the result of the capitalist mode of production, produces capitalist private property. This is the just negation of individual private property, as founded on the labor of the proprietor. But capitalist production begets, with the inexorability of a law of nature, its own negation." (169) Not only has Levine, in a type of typographical error found on virtually every page, substituted the word "just" for Marx's word, "first," but he also stops the passage at this point. Marx continues: "this is the negation of the negation."

This double error, one typographical and the other deliberate, cuts out Marx on the negation of the negation. This was the very passage where many anti-Hegelian radicals—from Duhring to Althusser to Rubel—have attacked Marx. And it was a passage where, in *Anti-Duhring*, Engels quoted it in full and then devoted a 14-page chapter to a defense of Marx's use of Hegel's concept of negation of the negation. While Engels' discussion was,

Norman Levine's study of dialectics: a critique

to be sure, overly mechanistic, Engels did not — like the Russian Stalinists, or Mao, or Levine — deny the centrality of negation of the negation to Marxist dialectics.²

In 1984, Levine presents himself as a humanist and a Hegelian Marxist, writing: "...there was no break between Marx and Hegelian humanism, but rather a modulation." (144) But what is this "modulation?" He tells us several times that "Marx borrowed the Hegelian idea of causality" (167), which is certainly true, but he makes three errors. One, he limits Marx to "borrowing" rather than "re-creation" of Hegel's dialectic.³

Second, it is no accident that his stress on "causality" very nearly not only substitutes causality for "negation of the negation" as a category, but also ignores the whole movement for freedom in Hegelian dialectics which made as great a Marxist philosopher and practitioner of revolution as Lenin plunge into Hegel's "Doctrine of the Notion," including "Absolute freedom" in his *Philosophical Notebooks*.

There, as he approached Hegel's Absolute Idea at the end of the *Science of Logic*, Lenin quotes Hegel: "Accordingly in this result cognition is restored and united with the practical Idea; the actuality found as given is at the same time determined as the realized absolute end; but whereas in questing cognition this actuality appeared merely as an objective world without the subjectivity of the Notion, here it appears as an objective world whose inner ground and actual persistence is the Notion. This is the Absolute Idea."⁴ At that point, in addition to taking down the above, Lenin wrote in his own summary: "The result of activity is the test of subjective cognition and the criterion of OBJECTIVITY WHICH TRULY IS."⁵

Third, Levine gives us a limited, nearly Kantian, view of even what he does stress, causality. Levine discusses causality as presented in Hegel's *Science of Logic* in the book of Essence, where Levine sums up Hegel as follows: "The cause was reflected in the effect, but the effect was also reflected back in the cause, so the cause persisted...Causality, for Hegel, meant the creation of the conditions of possibility." (142) Levine thus describes Hegel's non-deterministic concept of cause and effect at the level of Hegel's Doctrine of Essence.

But Hegel's discussion of causality continues in the final book of the *Science of Logic*, on Notion or Subjective Logic, where Hegel reintroduces the problem of causality at a higher level. Levine ignores this. At this stage, far from "blind" causes and effects, Hegel writes of "the Notion that as such already has a concrete existence as cause, as the absolute concrete unity that is free in the face of objectivity and its external determinability." (*Science of Logic*, 748) Here Hegel brings freedom and self-conscious human subjectivity into his notion of causality, where earlier he had stressed the open-endedness between cause and effect.

For Levine, the result is a truncated view of Hegelian and Marxian dialectics as a merely open-ended and anti-deterministic view of causality. A bit later (156) Levine attempts a schematization of Marx's dialectic into an "epistemology," a "method of inquiry," and so forth. This soon falls flat, however, when he discusses the first chapter of *Capital*, volume I, on commodities which he claims is merely a baring of "the inner, unseen, the essential relations of capitalism." (165)

He once again leaves it completely at the level of "Essence," and skips entirely over the determinant for the whole — the section on "fetishism of commodities" and Marx's concept there of "freely associated labor" stripping the fetishism off commodities in a new society — which is both the Essence and the Notion for the first chapter of *Capital*, but which involves much more as well. To this day, it has been the central question around which the Hegel-Marx relationship in Marx's *Capital* has been debated by Marxists and non-Marxists alike: from Lukacs in the 1920s, to the "Frankfurt School" in the 1940s; to Sartre in the 1950s, not to mention the three books of Dunayevskaya, beginning in 1958.

While attacking Engels endlessly and repetitiously as
(continued on page 10)



Oscar Mayer: No pay cut! No harassment!

Editor's Note: Oscar Mayer unilaterally cut workers' pay from \$10.69 to \$8.25. (See October N&L.) The cutback was taken first to arbitration and then to court. Both times the workers won, but Oscar Mayer has refused to give the workers their money and has continued the appeal process. The workers have refused to be limited to court procedures and have begun their own campaign, both to put pressure on the union to demand the money from Oscar Mayer and to talk to their fellow workers in the Chicago plant and in plants in Madison, Wis., Davenport, Iowa, Los Angeles, Calif. and Texas. (See November N&L.) Below Oscar Mayer workers discuss not only the cutbacks, but Oscar Mayer's continuing harassment and their own organizing to fight back.

Chicago, Ill.—We are organizing. We had a meeting in Rockford where workers from Oscar Mayer in Madison, Davenport and California as well as Chicago met. We are communicating with each other. This communication started after the company started cutting our pay in April. Workers went up to Madison to talk to workers there. When they got to the Madison local, the union leadership wasn't going to let the Chicago workers in, but the workers inside found out and invited the workers in. A full report of what was happening in Chicago was given, and Chicago workers found out what was happening in Madison. That was how it started.

Now there are chain letters coming from Nashville to Texas to California to Chicago and to Davenport. The chain has grown so much that workers from the different plants call each other if anything happens. We forced our local to have a Sunday meeting where we were able to take the floor.

WHAT HAPPENED TO SENIORITY?

Oscar Mayer has been taking workers with lots of seniority and transferring them from department to department and from shift to shift. We don't have plant-wide seniority, but only "job rights," which means that you might be in a classification with only four other people. Even if you have 20 years in the plant, a person with two weeks can have more job seniority, and Oscar Mayer has been reclassifying jobs, changing the lines, changing everyone's job titles.

One woman now works third shift cleanup and has 11 years in the plant, while another woman, who has only four weeks, has a better position. And the harassment is directed at specific workers, for instance, at workers with as much as 30 to 35 years seniority. They are trying to get them to retire. One worker with 32 years' seniority has just been accused of taking a package of meat and disciplined. The company put him out of the plant and even has a notice with his picture to not let him back in. There should be some sort of guidelines to get rid of this harassment. The union leaders are so weak, they do nothing.

One worker who had 35 years seniority ended up having the rate changed on him. They told him that he was not keeping up with the new rate and gave him a warning. It's the first warning slip he has had since he's been there.

The other kind of harassment comes to those who the company thinks are leaders in protesting the pay cutback. They have transferred one woman to third shift from second shift. And they transferred another woman to first shift. They are doing this to workers just for talking. They are so afraid of what workers are saying. You are supposed to be able to maintain your shift rights. It's in the contract. They end up telling you of the shift change late in the working day, when it is too late for you to be able to straighten out the contract violation. You have to just show up and file a grievance.

LIFTING 100-POUND SACKS OF MEAT

The woman who is the personnel interviewer is the one who has been in charge of a lot of this harassment. She shifts workers around. She always keeps a job open on the docks — one where you have to lift 100-pound sacks of raw meat from time to time—a job that takes two men to do. But she will end up assigning someone she is trying to harass to that job working alone! She tried to get an older woman over 60 to take a dock job.

And it seems that Black women workers in particular are often subjected to harassment. She has some lousy jobs for them. Sometimes it seems like she changes the rules in the plant at whim.

But Oscar Mayer is changing things more than at whim. They are bringing in new machines. There were four lines doing slicing with three workers on each line. Now there are going to be only two lines using new machines, with two lines being eliminated. And it is not only two lines instead of four, but each line will have only one slicer and one pick-up person. So eight people will be eliminated. Early next year two more conventional lines will be eliminated, and close to a dozen more people will be gone.

This is why communication between workers at different plants and between workers in the Chicago plant is so important. It can make the difference in how we fight Oscar Mayer.

—Oscar Mayer workers

**Dialogue within the Dialectic*, Boston: Allen and Unwin, 1984, 416 pp., \$37.50 hardcover

1. For a critique of Engels' editing of Volume I, see my "The 'Unknown' Marx's *Capital*, Vol. I: The French Edition of 1872-75, 100 Years Later," *Review of Radical Political Economics*, Vol. 15:4, 1983.

2. See Raya Dunayevskaya, *Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution*, N.J.: Humanities, 1982, for a fully dialectical presentation of the contrast between Marx and Engels.

3. On this point, see Dunayevskaya, *Philosophy and Revolution* N.J.: Humanities, 1982, orig. 1973, pp. 90-94.

4. Hegel's *Science of Logic*, trans. by A.V. Miller, N.J.: Humanities Press, 1969, p. 823.

5. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 38, p. 219. See also the first English translation by Raya Dunayevskaya in *Marxism and Freedom*, N.Y.: Twayne, 1958, pp. 326-355, not included in later editions.

AFTER THE ELECTION: OPPOSITION TO REAGANISM

Your Editorial "Anti-war youth vs. Reaganism," written before the election, is even more powerful after. I wish its title could have been expanded to include "What is freedom of the press?", because what you show is that there is a genuine, continuing opposition to Reaganism, including a significant segment of the youth, and yet our so-called free press says almost nothing about it. A "free press" is in danger of losing its reason for being when it accepts the ideas of those in power so easily. To me the concept of a free press only means something if it is tied to writing about the ideas and actions of freedom. And those do abound in the age of Reaganism even if our free press chooses not to find them.

Observer
Chicago

We are hearing a lot now about how the young people on the campuses are conservative and voted for Reagan. But I had a magnificent conversation with a 13-year-old schoolgirl who was telling me how bored she is with the whole system of learning, that it has no relation to today's world. When I started talking to her about dialectics and revolution, she was hanging on to every word I said. We were standing talking in the classroom after school, and she said to me, "Are you a teacher?" "No, I'm the janitor," I said. I hate to think of what this system will do to all her curiosity and creativity.

Marxist-Humanist janitor
California

After the election, I don't want to hear another word from the politicians who think they are "feminist leaders" about the "gender gap." There wasn't even a gender crack, as far as I can see. There are a lot of women out there who are not my sisters—not if they voted for Reagan. First NOW put all its efforts into ERA, and that was defeated. Then they put all their work into the Democratic Party. When are they going to remember that women's liberation is about a much larger vision of changing this whole society and all its relationships? That is what gave our movement energy in the first place.

Women's liberationist
Chicago

Reagan may have won "four more years," but he will have no easy time in trying to fulfill his war plans against the peoples of Central America. Four days after the election, 1,000 people came out to demonstrate in Los Angeles against Reagan's latest threats to Nicaragua. This demonstration was called on one day's notice, with no leaflets or posters, but word spreading rapidly through CISPES chapters, schools and churches.

The passion and anger of people were clear, and there were new young activists who barely remembered the Vietnam War holding signs saying "No More Vietnams." Not all of America's youth has been won over by Reagan's "Father Knows Best" smile.

Revolutionary
Los Angeles

In Detroit Reagan did not get the Black vote. Mondale got 78% of the Detroit vote. Detroit is a city that is mostly unemployed, and those that are working are not so happy with Reagan either. After the election I took a good look at N&L from 1980. It says a lot about today. Reagan and Carter were together in their drive to war. Carter decided to go ahead with the \$60 billion MX missile. Carter brought back draft registration. You can really see how we got in this fix.

In the Dec. 1980 N&L there is a story on the "attack on Black America" after the Reagan election. This is what is happening now again. Reagan is rolling back the clock for youth. He has claimed that the minimum wage causes unemployment, and he is out to make Black and Latino youth work for less

than the minimum. I think the fundamental reason this is happening is that we live in a racist society. I am reading the works of Sarah Moore Grimke because she fought both racism and sexism...

Woman autoworker
Detroit

Students may seem "asleep" today, but what alternative do they have under Reagan? In this capitalist system you've got to study so you can go out and make that money; either that or you've got to have a revolution to overthrow capitalism. That's what I'd like to see—a revolution. I can't see dedicating your whole life to making money.

Black student
Univ. of Illinois-Chicago

The election showed that Black is the revolutionary color, when 91% of all Black voters voted against Reagan. A Black delivery man where I work said to me after the election, "You and I are in for trouble." He proceeded to tell me about the incident in Cicero, Ill., where they stoned the house of a newly-moved-in Black family and forced them out. He talked also about the murder of Eleanor Bumpurs by NYC cops. The fact that he spoke of these events in the context of Reagan's re-election speaks volumes.

White working woman
Queens, N.Y.

In the two weeks after Reagan's re-election, New York has seen thousands of people come out to protest war, racism and Reaganism. Several hundred people turned up on short notice at two protests against the threatened invasion of Nicaragua. On Nov. 17 in the Bronx, a demonstration protested the murder of Eleanor Bumpurs, a 67-year-old Black woman, by police evicting her from her apartment. On Nov. 18 some 600 women marched through mid-Manhattan to declare that nuclear weapons, militarism, racism and corporate exploitation of women is "Not in Our Name." The next day, many of the feminists participated in civil disobedience at the Stock Exchange. We are sure that New Yorkers are not going to take Reaganism quietly.

Marxist-Humanist
New York

PHILIPPINES: "SEASON OF THUNDER"



After reading the article on the Philippines in N&L, I went to a film, "Season of Thunder," on tribal resistance to the Marcos dictatorship. The film focused on the Igorot peoples of Northern Luzon who succeeded in halting a massive Marcos development project. The plan envisioned several huge hydroelectric complexes which would provide cheap power to Manila with its "free enterprise zones," while flooding the national minorities off their ancestral lands. In these zones, workers, especially young women, are exploited without even the "right" to strike, which, however, hasn't deterred them from striking anyway. Barry's article shows that, but the film doesn't.

In fact, it was this new and profound activity of Filipina women which the film glaringly glossed over. It focused on Filipinas around American military bases as victims, mainly prostitutes. I felt compelled to introduce another con-

cept of woman, one which demands urgent thinking about, and practicing, new human relations before, during and after the revolution.

Activist
New York

Thanks to Kevin A. Barry for his article on the Philippines (Nov. N&L). Nowhere else outside of Latin America is a part of the world so much under the patronage of U.S. imperialism. They say "we freed you" to the Filipino people, and all the while the repression continues. Barry's report of the speaker from the floor (at the Marx centenary conference in the Philippines) who challenged the narrowness of what passes for Marxism was exciting. Can we know more about this incident?

While Barry didn't take up the indigenous Filipino movements, I thought he was very sharp in his critique of Maoism. The massive urban labor revolts show that we are not talking just about guerrilla war, but about a genuine social revolution.

Graduate student
CUNY, New York City

CHARLES DENBY, WORKER-EDITOR

Although it was at first sad to see Charles Denby's picture (Nov. N&L), it was a fantastic feeling to have his words come alive again in the paper. Denby as Marxist-Humanist speaks to us in this way, not for reminiscence's sake, but to change the world today.

I think what Denby said about Steven Biko's murder speaks to John Alan's column on the FSM and Black Civil Rights Movement and to Ida Fuller's on Azanian students' and workers' struggles. This is a very concrete way not only to hold onto the struggles and thoughts of Denby, but if we are conscious of it and open-minded, it will help give us direction every day.

Angela Terrano
New York

LABOR: GAINING A MIND OF ITS OWN

I'm not a coal miner or an auto worker, but when I heard Andy Phillips give a talk on the history of the coal miners, it brought out a part of my own history. Hearing their activity in the 1949-50 General Strike reminded me of preparations for the Russian Revolution in my youth. In 1916 in Odessa, we had to put up leaflets at night, and anybody who got caught risked being hanged. I am happy to contribute financially toward the costs of printing your new pamphlet on *The Coal Miners General Strike of 1949-50 and the Birth of Marxist-Humanism in the U.S.*

Long-time socialist
Detroit

I distributed N&L at the unemployment office, meeting unemployed Kenecott workers. One told me straight off: "I lost my job because of Ronald Reagan. He just sat on the copper import restriction legislation. Now it's rough as I found I could earn after taxes \$185, but that's one dollar less than unemployment's \$186. My wife and I, figured together, had \$135 left at the end of the month after paying the basic expenses for the house, etc. So we applied to welfare for assistance to make sure our kids had food, clothes. But they told us we made too much."

There are a lot of these guys at the unemployment office. The sense I got when talking to them was "Eighteen years on the line and it's graveyard shift or nothing" and "I hate to work under the table but I can't make it otherwise."

N&L paper dealer
Salt Lake City

'AFRO-ASIAN REVOLUTIONS'

I am reading the new edition of the *Afro-Asian Revolutions* pamphlet with a friend from North Africa. She found it "really beautiful." We paused for a discussion on the question of Lenin's break in his way of thinking when we read in the new introduction: "The Communist world, parading its state-capitalism as 'Marxist-Leninism,' still serves as a pole of attraction for some revolutionaries in the Third World."

Her friends in North Africa call themselves Marxist-Leninists. Many are young students who have been expelled from college for their political beliefs and who are unable to get exit visas because they refuse to do military service. Recently there has been a split in the group. One side takes Lenin as their excuse for bureaucratizing the organization; the other wants to work more closely with the peasants...

Subscriber
London, England

A few words on a pamphlet I've read recently—the new edition of *Afro-Asian Revolutions*. Twenty-five years since the first edition have not blurred the vision or scope of its analysis. The projection of masses in motion against oppression and bureaucrats (whether good or bad-intentioned), as opposites, is as clear as day. It struck me that even Trotsky, a great revolutionary, couldn't understand masses in motion with his bastardization of Marx's "revolution in permanence" into the theory of permanent revolution. Trotsky's *Permanent Revolution*, which I read two years ago, attempts to defend his theory against Stalin's accusations of "underestimation of the peasantry. I wholeheartedly agree that he did underestimate them, but I'm not agreeing with Stalin. He slaughtered them. To him they were just "combatants."

Activist
Covington, Kentucky

I was talking to a Chrysler Jefferson worker who described how a walkout began at the plant. A worker who had diarrhea asked the foreman for permission to go to a doctor, and was refused. The argument turned into a shoving match and the worker was fired, but nothing happened to the foreman. The whole department walked out and the whole plant was shut down. Chrysler seems to have made its recovery on the backs and illness of its workers. How far removed are we from the rosy dawn of capitalist accumulation?

Ex-auto worker
Detroit

I went to see two films, "Poletown Lives" and "The Business of America" at a labor history conference. Workers and unemployed belonged there so they could study the films. The movie on Poletown is like what the American Indians went through when the white man stole their land. The Cadillac workers who work at the Clark St. plant and who are supposed to move to the Poletown plant have no job security. They took concessions and still some are out of work. It is a lie that the Poletown plant will employ the number of people they claimed it would. They used that to force people to move so they could build the plant. The second film showed negotiations to try to save another plant and made the workers out to be only concerned with money. But all they have to do is show the kind of machines that are in the plant and you know that there is an untold story about health and safety.

UAW worker
Detroit

MARXIST-HUMANISM IN DEBATE AND DISCUSSION

I heard Eric Hobsbawm speak on "Socialism and Democracy in the Contemporary World: the European Scene." About 350 filled the auditorium at CUNY Grad Center. I won't summarize the lecture, but it will give you an indication of its direction when you know he proclaimed that Jaruzelski was the best the Polish workers could hope for under the "circumstances," and that many New Yorkers may not know it, but they would rather live in Leningrad.

This wasn't nearly so shocking as the fact that not a murmur of protest was to be heard in this room full of professors and grad students. The chairman called it a "courageous lecture." I was able to take the floor, saying that Marx's Humanism meant a specific kind of democracy that develops in revolution. Today that includes women's liberation and the new passions and new forces of the Third World (which he never mentioned). It demands a new relationship of theory to practice, as was seen in Poland with Solidarnosc.

Which state-capitalist monstrosity you prefer to live in (when they're on the verge of mutual annihilation) has nothing to do with either socialism or democracy.

Marxist-Humanist
New York

* * *

Our classes here on "Marxist-Humanist Perspectives and the Dialectics of Revolution" sent us back to our 1969 Perspectives thesis, which pointed to the youth not fooled by science in their opposition to the government. This is when science and government were making a media event of the first man walking on the moon. The thesis singled out the youth opposing then-governor Reagan "who ordered the helicopters to gas the youth at Berkeley who fought for so simple a matter as a People's Park."

One of those youth, Mike Meo, was left holding the body of a demonstrator killed in a police assault on People's Park. He was a student of science and turned, along with Charles Aronson, to translate some of Marx's unknown-Mathematical Manuscripts which the

Russians sat on for over three decades. Meo felt the translation would reveal something new about Marx because the manuscripts are such a stark contrast to the Russian's vulgar materialist view of science. He was really glad to hear about all the new discussion we've started on these manuscripts which so far have been mostly ignored.

Ron Brokmeyer
Oakland, Calif.

* * *

Even though I can't be present in person for the classes on "Marxist-Humanist Perspectives and the Dialectics of Revolution," I am trying to do the suggested readings. In reading the 1956 Perspectives thesis, I really noticed the elucidation of Marx's concept of labor. With my "fuzzy left" background, I was well aware of the concept of labor as human activity, not just dead economic category. But I stopped there. What I saw this time around was that labor is not just "human activity" in general, in the abstract, but a specific kind of human activity. I had been missing the concreteness of dialectics while looking one-sidedly at movement and relationships...

Former "New Leftist"
Washington, D.C.

WOMEN'S
LIBERATION
AND THE
BISHOPS

I appreciated the two recent articles by Terry Moon on women organizing for the "disappeared" and on women against the Catholic bishops. The bishops sure didn't mind speaking out on the abortion issue before the election, though they felt poverty was too sensitive and had to be held back until after Nov. 6. You are right that it is only because of the Women's Liberation Movement that the Church is concerned about "credibility."

But then I wonder how much more is needed from the WLM to confront worsening attacks on women after Reagan's "mandate." Sometimes it feels like the

world is turning into one of those horrible surrealistic music videos kids watch on TV. Violence is normal everywhere. Just today I heard about two more bombs in a Maryland abortion clinic. I welcome your articles as a much needed politicalization. You have to be concrete about the new forms of events so you can figure out how to combat them.

Feminist
Detroit

* * *

I wanted to point out to readers that a footnote was left off my column, "Women, Not Bishops, Decide on Abortion," in the last issue. The footnote was to thank the Women's Liberation newspaper, *Off Our Backs*, October 1984, for their coverage of the international conference, "Population Control: No — Women Decide."

Terry Moon
Chicago

FOOD: A POLITICAL WEAPON

Food, indeed, is a political weapon — Thatcher's crocodile tears for the Ethiopians will not cover the fact that she is implicated in the deaths of millions as she has used those deaths to score political points and starve those peoples into submission. So-called aid is a political weapon. Not only is it too little, too late, but it has many strings attached. Millions starve the world over whilst it is profitable to let food rot in the "food mountains" of the European Economic Community. This present world order is not only "degenerate," it has a passion for death and starvation. It must be annihilated.

Activist
Great Britain

CHINA'S STATE-CAPITALISM

At least there's a little tragicomic relief in the news, in the form of a new plan for the Chinese economy. From boiler suits to business suits in just ten years. You look at the development of state-capitalism in China since 1949, and you really understand what Marx meant by "the first time as tragedy, the second as farce"! The logic was there from the beginning: you start with the capitalist factory, and sooner or later

you end up with the limousines and the guys in top hats.

Observer
Virginia

A PHILOSOPHY OF STRUGGLE

N&L, I have found, is a unique publication that brings together the voices of workers and intellectuals in a common plea, in a united struggle for peace, freedom and human justice as Marx envisioned it. I'm proud to be even a small part of this organization, and I thank you for the work you have done so far. N&L understands the Marxist-Humanist philosophy of joint struggle among workers, intellectuals and farmers for a truly free, socialist society. It calls out for input from all these forces and does not just posit a naive and essentially authoritarian philosophy of vanguardism. For this I am grateful.

Subscriber
Jersey City, New Jersey

SOUTH AFRICA: AN APPEAL

Earlier this year South Africa's first "coloured" television announcer was taken to the Klerksdorp hospital after being seriously injured in a car crash. Apparently because of his prominence, he was taken first to the hospital's white section. However, he was then carried to the section reserved for Indians, and finally to the "coloured" area, as hospital officials haggled over his racial classification. While they were haggling, the patient died. By South African law, even blood for transfusions must be labeled by race. The infant mortality rate in some areas is as high as 30%. African miners who are dismissed and sent "home" to the bantustans. The International Defense and Aid Fund for Southern Africa, in addition to providing legal defense for political prisoners, helps their dependents with money for food, shelter and medicine. We desperately need your help!

International Defense and Aid
Fund for Southern Africa
PO Box 17
Cambridge, MA 02238

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EDITORIAL African famine: capitalism's man-made disaster

Now that one hundred and fifty million African people are threatened with starvation, now that five million African children face death, now that five million more face permanent damage to their health, only now has the West suddenly "discovered" Africa once again and begun "pouring" relief aid into some of the 24 countries that have massive food shortages.

The crocodile tears of "democracies' leaders" proclaim their sorrow as our TV sets reveal the horror of famine. But it is precisely these leaders today and capitalism's leaders in the days of African colonialism that have perpetuated famine upon famine, that of 1984 being potentially the most horrendous.

AFRICA, SERVANT OF THE WEST?

Today's famine is no more a "natural" disaster than was the Irish potato famine more than a century ago which, as Marx so powerfully demonstrated, was not only due to potato blight, but was a deliberate policy to rid the land of Irish peasantry.

Today's man-made disaster in Africa has resulted from the deliberate policy of capitalism to reduce Africa to servants of the West, servants who supply one or another commodity — here cotton, there cocoa — for the West's consumption. Meanwhile production of cereals and other subsistence food for the African masses, well, that can just stagnate. Sub-Saharan Africa is the only region in the world where food production per capita has declined over the last two decades. It is no accident, it is a result of the economic strait-jacket into which capitalism has forced all underdeveloped countries.

It has been no different when the dominant power has been the state-capitalism of Russia. Ethiopia, the country suffering most from today's famine, has had ten years of a so-called Marxist regime, backed by Russia. Russia has invested literally billions of dollars in Ethiopia, not to develop agriculture or an industrial base, but to supply armaments to prop up the central government as it carries on a war against its own people.

Protest racial violence

Chicago, Ill. — On Nov. 7 the Spencer Goffer family became the target of a "Reagan victory celebration" — a six hour mob attack in a white Chicago enclave known as "The Island." Two weeks later, two more families were attacked with firebombs. The Sanders family on Chicago's Southwest side was forced to flee their home three weeks after moving into a predominantly-white neighborhood when a firebomb was hurled through their dining room window. At the end of that week, a Chilean family's home, located in "The Island," was fire-bombed.

Thus far, there have been no arrests stemming from any of the FBI or local police investigations of the attacks. In the Goffer case eyewitnesses reported that several cops from the bordering community of Cicero directed the mob attack against the Black family's apartment on Roosevelt Road.

In the absence of police and FBI action in the case, organized protests in the South Austin Black community have emerged. On Nov. 10 Black community groups on 24-hour notice staged a protest march and picket line in front of the boarded-up apartment of the Goffer family on Roosevelt Road.

West Side residents again expressed their opposition at a Black South Austin church on Nov. 24. The following are some of the voices we heard on that day of protest:

"I'm thinking of a young man on the South Side called Ben Wilson. (Wilson, thought to be best high school basketball player in the nation, was gunned down senselessly by another Black youth following a minor altercation Nov. 20—Ed.) We need to give a thought to him today. The situation today is worse than we think. There is no liberty for the poor."

"This is not the kind of incident that people can sit back and do nothing. This reminds me of when white hooded men rose up in the South and when Hitler rose up and became part of the mainstream. To not do anything is like standing still, and will lead us back to the lynch rope and the holocaust."

"I am Chilean. I was imprisoned for a year and a half in my own country because I struggled against a regime that oppresses people of the working class. This is the reason that so many Latin Americans are in this country."

"It is a question of the ideology that the U.S. inculcates in the American people. And it is what the U.S. spreads in other parts of the world where people of color live. There wouldn't be that kind of thing if there wasn't the exploitation of those countries by the U.S. for the valuable resources there."

Black Chicago continues to organize itself, not only against the external racist attacks, but against both the rampant police brutality and the Black-on-Black gang violence that has turned the Black community into an armed garrison state. —LT

Russia's obscene performance in Ethiopia can only be matched by the vulgarity of the West's leader, Ronald Reagan. Indications of mass starvation in Ethiopia, which have been known for years, brought no action on the part of the Reagan Administration which had already preached "food as a weapon." The potential overthrow of the Ethiopian government took precedence over sending food aid, until recently. Witness how Reagan was all too willing to hold \$60 million in food aid hostage for two months, trying to get Congress to pass military aid to continue the U.S. war on Central America's peoples.

CYCLE OF WAR AND FAMINE

As if these policies, West and East, were not enough, when the superpowers and smaller powers do pay any attention to Africa, other than the potential for gobbling up commodities and more commodities, it is as one more battleground for war. Can it be any accident that the three countries which are the most famine devastated — Ethiopia, Chad and Mozambique — are countries where war, in which superpowers intervene directly or indirectly, is the true reality of life?

In Ethiopia, there is not only the fight of the Eritrean people, but other struggles for self-determination are occurring in the provinces of Gonda,

Tigre and Wallo. In Mozambique, where more than 100,000 have died in Tete province from the drought, the South African-supported Mozambique Resistance Movement has waged a war upon the Mozambican people, causing widespread suffering and a new refugee population. In Chad, the decade-long struggle for power has involved not only differing factions within Chad, but the intrusion of Libyan troops (with Russia's blessing) and French troops (with the U.S.'s blessing).

More than three years ago, in the News and Letters Committees Perspective Report of September, 1981, we warned of the impending disaster in a section entitled "On the Way to the Holocaust: Capitalist-Imperialist Alliances and World Hunger." We asked then, "What are any of the powers doing about world hunger?" The answer, now as it was then, is in reality nothing! Yes they are, finally, after a world outcry, sending in relief. But they are as ready as ever to start one more cycle of war and famine.

The mass starvation must stop. But it can only be stopped by uprooting and destroying capitalism, private and state, which continues to plunder the masses of this world. A fetishism of profit and power can only wreak famine and destruction upon humanity.

BLACK-RED VIEW What Black vote revealed

by John Alan

A lot of the post-election so-called analysis dealt with the "racial polarization" of how the electorate voted: 90% of the Black vote going to Mondale and Reagan getting the majority of the white vote. This seemed to be a surprise to some of the electronic media pundits, who had long been informed by their pollsters about the voting trend. CBS's Bill Moyers became rather testy when Jesse Jackson couldn't give a reason why there was a racial polarization in voting, that is, why did so many whites who had considered themselves Democrats vote for the Republican Reagan. The not too subtle implication here is: is this a white backlash that grew from the idea that Blacks could play a decisive role in electing the President of the United States?

RACE IN AMERICAN POLITICS

For over 200 years race has played a powerful role in American politics. There is no doubt that Reagan has skillfully used the race issue to get elected. Without mentioning Blacks, he has indicated that laws and so-called social programs that protect Blacks from the sharpest edges of racism represent catering to a "special interest group." This is a falsehood that has no shame.

Black America didn't have to wait for the Presidential election to discover the "racial polarization" in this country. We could cite numerous examples of it long before the election. One example would be the bitter racial election in Chicago two years ago, at which time large numbers of Chicago's white Democrats opted to support an unknown white Republican candidate, in lieu of supporting the Black Democratic candidate Harold Washington, for strictly racial reasons.

Neither Mondale nor the other front-runners in the Democratic party were too happy when Jesse Jackson made Black a political element in the primary. They saw the fragile seams of the Democratic party being ripped asunder. On the other hand, Reagan ignored Black people, yet remained acutely aware of their political and social presence. He didn't get his picture taken with "Mr. T," Michael Jackson and Black sports personalities because he loved to hang around with them.

However, in order to marshal any meaningful opposition to four more years of Reaganism, we have to look at the current wave of racism, not in the narrow sense of its immediate manifestation, but in the total sense, as a manifestation of the absolute crisis of capitalism. It is a crisis that Reagan has sold as a recovery, one which has the same rate of unemployment that the recession had, with millions of people in poverty.

"STATE OF BLACK AMERICA, 1984"

At the beginning of this year, John E. Jacob, President of the Urban League, reported that the system and the so-called recovery weren't working for the majority of Black Americans. He wrote in *The State of Black America 1984* that the picture of Blacks holding jobs that they didn't have before, having little trouble with voting, getting elected to political offices, etc., is not the true picture of the state in which the majority of Blacks live. Underneath this picture, "a third of its (Black America's) people are below the poverty line. Half of the children live in poverty and have a 50% chance of growing up underprivileged, undereducated and underemployed. A third of the adults looking for work can't find it, and 2 out of 3 of its teenagers are in the same boat. Its average income is 58% of white America."

Jacob has presented substantially the same picture that the Catholic Bishops have painted in their recent draft letter on the polarization of poverty and wealth in the United States, only in the

situation of Blacks the extremes are much worse. But neither the Bishops nor Jacob have chosen to pursue this growing polarization of race and class to its origin in the gargantuan growth of technology and its concentration in war production, creating a permanent army of unemployed. Automation of production, over the years, has produced the so-called hard core Black unemployed and the euphemistically designated "underclass" of the Black ghettos. Thus for over a decade there has been no real or absolute increase in the Black living standard.

As grim as these statistics are, they shall not prevent Black masses from organizing to change these conditions. The Black movement has recently taken the form of the Miami revolts, of political support first to Jackson and later to Mondale. Earlier it had the form of militant action in coalition with labor and with other disinherited groups. We can not know the precise form of activity it will take in the future, but clearly the movement of Black people for freedom will not stop.

Racism in the air

By Eugene Ford

Los Angeles, Cal.—The racist climate that helped sweep Reagan to power has led to a rise in racist incidents against Blacks in the Los Angeles area, the latest occurring in Fontana, a steel town east of Los Angeles.

In early October Sazon Davis, a Fontana resident, was walking home from the grocery store when three white youths drove up and started calling him n----. A verbal confrontation followed, with two whites jumping out of their car, one hitting Davis. Davis then ran into a vacant lot and threw a rock at the pursuing whites. When the whites caught up with him, they hit him, broke his neck, and dislocated his spinal cord. Davis is now permanently disabled.

Despite Fontana's history of racist attacks against Blacks, the District Attorney there refused to prosecute the white youth for their crime. He said, "It is not a crime to call someone a n----," and ruled that the whites acted in self-defense. Black organizations across Los Angeles, including the NAACP, are furious at this and are demanding justice for Sazon Davis.

The fact that this occurred shortly before Reagan's election is no accident. Four years ago a Black telephone company worker in Fontana was shot and permanently disabled by a white man who said that he was shooting crows. That, too, was called an accident by the District Attorney.

Fontana is known as the center of KKK activity in California. Some think that one of the whites who beat Davis is connected with the Klan. In recent years the KKK has tried to terrorize Blacks in Fontana with cross burnings and verbal abuse.

Reagan's drive for re-election has given the green light for racists to step up their attacks. Just as they intensified before his election four years ago, so they intensified before and after his election today. Many racist whites feel they can say and do openly what they were after all along—driving Blacks out of "their" communities.

This society tells you to go and prosper, that you can go and get out of the ghetto, but once a Black person gets out of the ghetto and moves into middle-class America, the racism still confronts you, only even more openly. This system makes it harder and harder for Blacks to live as full human beings.

Strikes signal workers' battle against Reagan's war on labor

(continued from page 1)

The "promise of hi-tech" has gotten us only our first hi-tech president, elected using \$1.1 million worth of computers with 26 operators and analysts to tell him what to say at each moment of his campaign. What hi-tech has not done is solve the fundamental crisis of the falling rate of profit, as more and more millions have to be spent on automated factories to put just one living worker — the only source of new value and, hence, capitalist profit — to work.

HI-TECH DEAD

Here is what hi-tech means for the worker: In Fremont, Calif., Apple Computer has just opened a new factory that is supposed to be the "flagship" of hi-tech manufacturing in the U.S. But in this factory, which cost \$20 million and will produce one Macintosh computer every 27 seconds, 90% of the assembly is done by machine and only 90 workers will be needed per shift. And they will have to keep up with the one-per-twenty-seven-seconds speed set by the machines!

But if that isn't bad enough, in Saginaw, Mich., General Motors is investing \$52 million to develop the ultimate capitalist dream: a factory that can

work an eight-hour shift with no production workers at all.

The reality of Reaganism is not only its Plan of trying to solve this fundamental crisis of the economy through hi-tech pipe dreams, vicious labor concessions and union busting and, ultimately, through constant preparation for the next war. The reality is also that Reaganism has given birth to its opposite, the constant strikes and other labor and Black resistance to it. That



"You ain't seen nothing yet!"

reality of the human forces of anti-Reaganism has been virtually blacked out by the press, as the media have been so easily sucked into kowtowing to Reaganism as they make virtual "unpersons" of the opposition. Thus:

- Six thousand four hundred workers at the General Dynamics Corporation in Fort Worth, Tex., have gone out on strike after an overwhelming 4,936 to 108 rejection of the concessions contract this rich military contractor of the F-16 jet fighter wanted to force on them. These members of the International Association of Machinists and Aerospace Workers are determined that Reaganism and its scabs will not beat them down, and have held militant picket lines to keep the scabs out, as they fight police and fire hoses to make sure Reaganism won't win this battle.

- The growing anger and disgust of U.S. workers can also be seen in the actions of Black and Arab workers at U.S. Auto Radiator in Detroit, who recently stopped production over working conditions. (See story page 3.)

- In New York, 800 workers at Alarm Device Manufacturing Co. (Ademco, a division of multinational Pitway Corp.) on Long Island have just won a strike that forced the company to give up all its concession demands, the principal one of which was the demand for unlimited subcontracting. The Long Island workers, members of District 65 United Auto Workers, had the support of the unions representing the European workers, and on the first morning of the strike had gone in carloads to Philadelphia, Boston and points west to get support at other Pitway plants. In Puerto Rico the Pitway workers made sure no struck work was transferred to their plant, as did Pitway workers in Aurora, Ill., and teamsters who refused to cross the Ademco picket lines.

FACING FACTS

Though we keep our eyes on such opposition to Reaganism, we at the same time cannot hide from his electoral win.

We have to face soberly the fact that much of the youth vote did go to Reagan. It in no sense has meant the disappearance of the anti-war, anti-nuke movement. But it does mean the growth of Yuppies who feel they have a stake in the Reagan economy. But even this group is not automatic supporter of Reaganomics as can be shown at upper-class Yale University where the strike of clerical workers has inspired many of these supposed conservative students to militant support of the struggle. (See story page 11.)

Nor can we forget that the so-called "gender gap" was almost non-existent, as an actual majority of women voted for Reagan. The women's movement can in no sense be reduced to electoral politics either by the media, or by politicians, women or men. It needs to find new pathways forward.

And perhaps the starkest reality we need to face is that a substantial section of the working class put aside its class sense in a vote based on a narrow idea of patriotism, of the jingoist "America is back" and of a separation from Black America.

The point for us now is to find new points of departure to get beyond this defeat and work to overthrow Reaganism. No matter how much tinsel and hoopla Reagan tries to foist upon the American people and in fact the world, it cannot hide the persistence of a Sec-

ond America, an America in opposition to everything Reaganism represents.

The Black Dimension is in the forefront of the opposition, and objective conditions can add to this Second America the dimensions of labor, youth and women. This deep opposition to Reaganism can be built if the vision we put forth is not limited to the alternative of the Democrats and their ilk, but instead works out a conception of total change, an uprooting of the social conditions of racism, of sexism, of class exploitation and imperialism, which Reagan and Reaganism embody.

'Country' — bitter harvest

A firestorm is raging through the U.S. countryside that has been smoldering for years, but is now ravaging the heart of American agriculture—the family farm. While Reagan, the modern day Nero, fiddles his happy-talk tune of economic recovery and Agriculture Secretary Block proclaims that "farmers are living better than ever," the administration is feeding the flames that are destroying what had been the most productive sector of the American economy.

The movie "Country" reveals the economic and personal crisis of the Ivys, a farm family in Iowa who are threatened with the loss of their farm. The movie successfully captures the spirit of traditional farm life and the immersion of personal identity into the land that has made farming a way of life and not just a business, but that has also made the loss of the farm a personal as well as an economic tragedy.

WORKING FOR THE BANK

The farm family in the movie may appear to many to be rich, having 200 acres with an asset value of over \$400,000. But the size of that farm is less than half the national average; it produced a poverty level income of only \$9,000 for the Ivy family of four; it is almost too small to survive, and that \$400,000 in assets are in reality owned by the bank.

Farmers have become debt-ridden because of the need to borrow against their equity in the land and to mortgage their fall crops in order to cover their operating costs, as net farm income dropped to the lowest level in this century. As the movie reveals, good farmers who are producing record crops have to sell their grain at prices that are below the cost of production.

Meanwhile, the value of land has declined by 23% nationwide since 1981 and by another 5.5% in Iowa and other states between July and September alone. The resultant credit squeeze on farmers is fatal. If a 250-acre farm valued at \$500,000 in 1981 has declined in value to about \$375,000 today, the maximum loan amount at 80% of value would have dropped \$100,000. The Reagan Administration, acting through the Farmers Home Administration (FHA), and numerous banks are calling in these loans for "re-evaluation." In real life as for the Ivys, re-evaluation means that the farmer must immediately pay off that \$100,000 loan margin.

The result is liquidation and foreclosure. Over 200,000 farm families have lost their farms since Reagan took office—equivalent to the total number of farm families in Texas. An estimated one-third of all family farms in Iowa will fail by 1986. Even the Farm Credit Administration projects that, under present policy, the family farm will be extinct in ten years.

REAGAN POLICY

One fact the movie is fuzzy on is that the FHA functionary who is cracking down on "bad loans" is shown as a bumbling bureaucrat, not an agent of deliberate Reagan policy. That policy gave us the payment-in-kind (PIK) program in 1983 that gave away \$18 billion in grain to mostly large, absentee landowners and further reduced grain prices.

The movie's epilogue is also somewhat misleading. In 1984 the courts did temporarily enjoin FHA from further foreclosures due to violations of due process, but farmers will not be able to save their farms in the long run on procedural grounds. In the words of the FHA functionary to Mrs. Ivy: she had won only a temporary battle, but he would win the war because she would not be able to stop the farm auction from being moved to another county or another state, where it would be more difficult to organize friends to help stop it.

Farmers were successful during the 1930s in stopping many foreclosure sales or turning them into "penny" sales, in which other farmers would buy the farm for a penny per acre and give it back to the farmer being foreclosed. The true message of hope, in this movie as in reality, lies in farmers organizing against, resisting and stopping foreclosure sales until they regain control over the ownership and use of the capital needed for production.

The resistance movement among farmers is growing, because more and more farmers are acting on the realization that they all are the targets of capital manipulation in this country.

—Nick Demeter

Liberation Theology in India

Bihar, India—You have asked me what I have to say about the fight between the church and followers of Liberation Theology and this is what I am going to take up today.

The Church is deeply divided all over the world and the root of this division lies in different attitudes towards revolution. There are those who want to keep up the status quo and have a terrible fear of Communism—it is like a "ghost" to them—and there are those who want to play some role and take some active part in building a new society.

Christianity, like every religion, has found itself historically always on the side of the powerful and has been a real block and obstacle to revolution. What comes to mind these days, when there is an ongoing movement in S. Africa, is how the Pope gave a medal to Botha when he visited the Vatican recently. There is, however, a growing awareness of this alliance with the powerful, and it is out of this awareness that Liberation Theology was born with the desire to participate in liberation struggles.

This movement has mostly taken place in South and Central American countries. One can think of several examples: Camilo Torres, the priest in Colombia who lost his life after joining the guerrillas; Archbishop Romero, who was killed in El Salvador; and many others in Nicaragua and the Philippines.

In India there have also been efforts to build a Theology of Liberation. Christians in India are an insignificant minority (2%). However, the Church has much power, since the best universities and educational and medical institutions are run by the Church. These institutions are mostly in the big cities and serving the rich and in many ways the Church is the servant of capital in a country like India.

There is an impressive number of priests and sisters who are becoming Marxists to different degrees. Marxist analysis of society is used by very many and the numbers are increasing. These priests and sisters automatically come in conflict with the Church. Some decide to leave by themselves, some are sent out by Church authorities and some try to go as far as they can from inside the Church institution as such.

An interesting phenomenon is how the traditional Left looks at these Christians. The Left has made public statements calling these priests and sisters "CIA agents who are trying to infiltrate the Party and destroy it from within." Some even say, "This is a new strategy of the Church to attract people for 'conversion'."

My questions are: Can the Church that is so authoritarian, patriarchal and moralistic, that has plenty of "vested interests," be a revolutionary force? The Church preaches "reconciliation," neutrality, love to all, and is deathly afraid of "class struggle" when this very class struggle is going on inside the Church. Are they not deceiving themselves? They believe that there is a "third way" between capitalism and socialism. Where is that?

I am fully convinced that the struggle has to be "secular," specifically in India where communalism plays such an important role, where allegiance to a religious group or caste overrides class consciousness and where religious revivalism (Hinduism) plays an increasing role to counteract the disintegration which goes along with the deepening crisis of capitalism. The interesting thing is that dissidents from the Church and dissidents from traditional parties go along together and come closer to each other.

Finally I should conclude by saying that Liberation Theology was my first step towards "conversion" and that surely India has made me Marxist and feminist. Were I back in Europe, I would still be a "very good Catholic."

In sisterhood,
P.

Special holiday offer

See page 12

BLACK WORLD

(continued from page 1)

More importantly, it was a people's revolt which, by its spontaneity and self-organization, challenged the 27-year-long rule of the despotic Duvalier regime outside the confines of elite Haitian opposition politics.

NEO-SLAVERY IN FACTORY AND FIELD

The exploitation of Haiti's urban poor by such U.S. corporations as TRW, GTE Sylvania and the three major U.S. sporting goods corporations, as well as numerous textile and electronics industries, sets Haiti at the lowest end of Western capitalism's Third World "free enterprise zones." Moreover, Haiti's status as the low-wage capital of the world is based on a "feminization" of poverty and production: women are two-thirds of the new industrial work force in Port-au-Prince, while women and children comprise the mass of the urban poor.

Lower still, however, are Haiti's agricultural migrant workers who have been forced down to the level of a modern day chattel slavery in the Dominican Republic's sugar industry, dominated today by American multinational corporations like Gulf and Western. It is on that Spanish-speaking side of the island of Hispaniola that Haitian labor makes up 80% of the work force in an industry which accounts for 40% of the Dominican economy's foreign exchange. And despite the fact that the Dominican peso has parity with the U.S. dollar due in large part to the surplus profits extracted from Haitian migrant labor, forced to work 12 hours a day for two pesos, it didn't prevent the Dominican masses from revolting against their government's food price increases one month before the Haitian rebellions.

Ever since 1952, when the U.S.-installed dictatorship of General Trujillo and the Haitian government signed a recruitment treaty making "official" the *bracero* system that had been unofficially practiced since the period of the 1915 imperialist invasion of Haiti by the U.S., the two governments have practiced the legalized slavery of the Haitian peasantry. The 16,000 Haitian migrants recognized and "paid for" by the Dominican government do not account for the tens of thousands of undocumented workers who flow across the border annually.

Historically, payment for Haitian migrants has its origins in Trujillo's genocidal massacre of some 30,000 Haitians living in the Dominican Republic in 1937. When news of the atrocities leaked to the world, Trujillo made a "symbolic" restitution of \$750,000 to the Haitian government. From that exchange of blood money, the two governments have traded in the exploited labor of the Haitian peasantry.

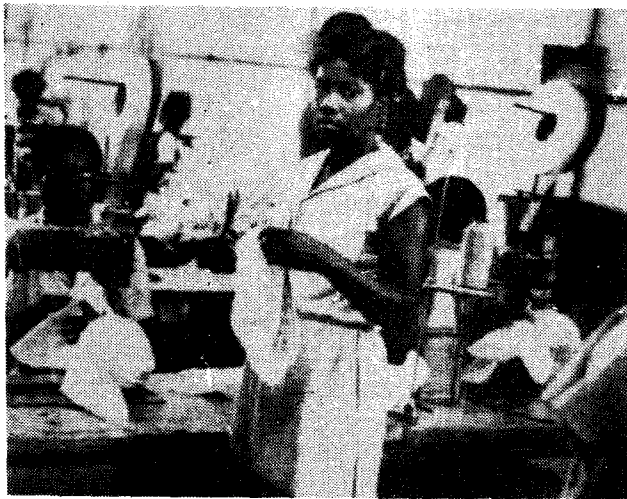
SOURCE OF PEASANT RESISTANCE

The famous Haitian ethnographer and forerunner of negritude, Jean Price-Mars, called attention to the slave conditions of the Haitian migrant, but also pointed to the cooperative elements to be found in the Haitian peasant economy. Thus, while it is true that peasant farming in Haiti is no more technologically developed than the state-owned Dominican sugar plantations, the Haitian peasantry has evolved indigenous cooperative forms of production and marketing totally removed from government interference. As Haitian economist and agronomist Jean-Jacques Honorat concluded in 1974: "The Haitian peasant purely and simply ignores the government...and opposes it with an underground customary law which alone regulates intracommunity relations."

Still, the economic pressures of the present crisis, due to the loss of land through soil erosion

Of Haitian life, labor and revolt

and deforestation plus heavy government taxation and political repression, drives the Haitian peasant by the thousands into the Dominican *bateyes*



A Haitian worker making basketballs for a U.S. company

(peasant ghettos adjoining the sugar mills), into the urban ghettos and low-wage assembly plants in Port-au-Prince, and onto the dangerous 500-mile "middle passage" to the Florida coast.

Once at sea, the Haitians are not wanted by any nation. Cuba offers them provisions for continuing their journey, but not sanctuary. Other island nations have forcibly driven them back into the sea. And in their final destination of the U.S. they are imprisoned, sent to concentration camps and ultimately forced to become the cheapest source of farm labor for American agribusiness, subsisting in conditions not much better than those in the Dominican Republic.

Therefore, the recent court decision, reversing what immigration lawyers have called "the Dred Scott Decision for refugees," finally overthrowing the Reagan Administration policy of brutally detaining Haitian emigrants, is, as we have seen, but a single episode in the ceaseless struggle of the Haitian masses to realize the idea of freedom born in the Black world 180 years ago when the Haitian Revolution helped to "unchain the dialectic of liberation."

THEORY / PRACTICE

(continued from page 5)

a reductionist, Levine never finds space anywhere to attack or even to mention Stalin's revision of dialectics and especially of Marx's *Capital*, in 1943. Then, official Russian economists were ordered to skip the first chapter of *Capital*, and to "teach" that book in chronological rather than Marx's dialectical order, paralleling Levine's concept of concentrating on "preconditions" of capitalism only. Still more seriously, the Russian Stalinists also claimed that Marx's law of value applied under "socialism."

When Raya Dunayevskaya translated this Stalinist perversion of Marx and wrote an accompanying article arguing that they were thereby laying the theoretical basis for a state-capitalist society (*American Economic Review*, No. 3, 1944), Paul Baran and Oskar Lange both debated her in that journal for a full year, in an attempt to defend Stalinist economics. The debate also reached the *New York Times* (Oct. 1, 1944).

Failing to confront the objective as well as subjective motivations in Stalin's laying his brutal state-capitalist hands on Marx's greatest theoretical work, *Capital*, with his proposal not to study Chapter One, based on the pragmatic pull of a new stage of production, it then became unavoidable for Levine as revolutionary to make an abstraction of it himself and rhetorically to attempt to force a "union" between Lenin and Mao.

LENIN AND MAO: A UNITY OF OPPOSITES

Levine's discussion of Lenin, even though it centers on what he terms "Hegelianized Leninism," again evades the central ground of Hegel's Subjective Logic, the *Doctrine of the Notion*. Another problem is his attitude of overemphasizing Lenin's 1908 vulgar materialist book *Materialism and Empirio-Criticism*, a work which Lenin had in mind when he declared in his 1914-15 *Philosophical Notebooks*: "It is impossible completely to understand Marx's *Capital*, and especially its first chapter, without having thoroughly studied and understood the whole of Hegel's *Logic*. Consequently half a century later none of the Marxists understood Marx!" (Collected Works, Vol. 38, p. 180) The phrase "none of

the Marxists" is a repudiation not only of Plekhanov and Kautsky, but also of his own 1908 book. Unfortunately, Lenin's own "philosophical ambivalence" left the road open for Levine's type of misinterpretation when he allowed that 1908 work to be republished in Russian in 1920, and did not make his *Philosophical Notebooks* public.

When Levine does finally get to those *Philosophical Notebooks* on Hegel, he gives them short shrift, spending most of his time discussing the early parts of the *Notebooks* where Lenin was still clinging to "materialism" versus Hegel's "idealism." Since he does not discuss fully what Lenin discussed most in his *Notebooks*—the final book on the *Notion*, including the *Absolute Idea*—he ends not with Hegel's concept of subjectivity, but rather with a voluntarist reading of Lenin: "Lenin had broadened the eleventh thesis in Marx's *Theses on Feuerbach* to the level of consciousness..." (301)

Marx's eleventh thesis reads: "Philosophers have only interpreted the world, in various ways; the point is, however, to change it." Most post-Marx Marxists, including Levine, read this as a rejection of philosophy in favor of changing the world. In fact, a careful reading of the eleventh thesis plus the first ten theses shows no such separation in Marx between philosophy and activity, as is clear beyond the peradventure of a doubt when Marx gives credit to the idealist Hegel and not the materialist Feuerbach for developing the dialectic. A more thorough reading of Lenin's *Philosophical Notebooks* than Levine presents would show that Levine has misread both Lenin on dialectics and Marx's eleven theses.

Not fully grasping the Marxian type of subjectivity is in fact Levine's central flaw. All of Lenin's creative discussion of Hegel is reduced to the imperative to "change the world," i.e. philosopher as activist. Lenin certainly did not have to read Hegel to become a revolutionary. What Hegel did help him to do was to break with many old concepts of politics and philosophy carried over from the Second International.

Levine's last chapter, which praises Mao to the skies, in both politics and philosophy, makes a sad ending to a work which had wrestled with some key questions. The voluntaristic bent of Levine here reaches its full fruition whether in denying Mao was a voluntarist (393) or two pages later nonetheless praising him because: "Will was vital to Mao." (395) This work shows more than the fact of one theorist continuing to cling to Mao. It shows, even more disturbingly, the possibility of falling into such a trap as Maoism, once one philosophically limits subjectivity in Marx, Hegel and Lenin to a mere rejection of the determinism of Engels and the Second International.

In reducing philosophical subjectivity to antideterminism, the road is then open to grab onto Mao's or some other form of vanguardism, rather than appreciating the masses themselves as creative, self-developing subjects of history, whose practice is itself a form of theory. When one makes that reduction to anti-determinism, one can avoid the hard intellectual labor of working out a new relation of philosophy to revolution based on an appreciation of mass creativity in the international freedom movements.

6. For discussion of this see Dunayevskaya, *Philosophy and Revolution*, pp. 95-120.

Who We Are and What We Stand For

News and Letters Committees, an organization of Marxist-Humanists, stands for the abolition of capitalism, whether in its private property form as in the U.S., or its state property form as in Russia or China. We stand for the development of a new human society based on the principles of Marx's Humanism as recreated for our day.

News & Letters was created so that the voices of revolt from below could be heard not separated from the articulation of a philosophy of liberation. A Black production worker, Charles Denby, author of *Indignant Heart: A Black Worker's Journal*, became editor of the paper. Raya Dunayevskaya, the Chairwoman of the National Editorial Board and National Chairwoman of the Committees, is the author of *Marxism and Freedom, Philosophy and Revolution* and *Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution*, which spell out the philosophic ground of Marx's Humanism internationally as *American Civilization on Trial* concretizes it on the American scene and shows the two-way road between the U.S. and Africa. These works challenge post-Marx Marxists to return to Marx's Marxism. At a time when the nuclear world is threatened with the extinction of civilization itself it becomes imperative not only to reject what is, but to reveal the revolutionary Humanist future in-

herent in the present.

News & Letters was founded in 1955, the year of the Detroit wildcats against Automation and the Montgomery Bus Boycott against segregation — activities which signalled a new movement from practice which was itself a form of theory. We organized ourselves in Committees rather than any elitist party "to lead." The development of Marxist-Humanism in the U.S., 1941 to Today is recorded in the documents and on microfilm available to all under the title, *The Raya Dunayevskaya Collection*, on deposit at the Labor History Archives of Wayne State University.

In opposing the capitalistic, racist, sexist, exploitative society, we participate in all class and freedom struggles, nationally and internationally. As our *Constitution* states: "It is our aim ... to promote the firmest unity among workers, Blacks and other minorities, women, youth and those intellectuals who have broken with the ruling bureaucracy of both capital and labor." We do not separate the mass activities from the activity of thinking. Anyone who is a participant in these freedom struggles for totally new relations and a fundamentally new way of life, and who believes in these principles, is invited to join us. Send for a copy of the *Constitution* of News and Letters Committees.

YOUTH

Yale: stop discrimination

by Mary Holmes

New Haven, Conn.—With spirits high, striking Yale University workers of Local 34 Clerical & Technical, students, faculty and community supporters organized a three-day Moratorium Nov. 14-16 to show the Yale Corp. they will not be starved into submission after seven weeks on the picket line.

During the Moratorium, strikers and supporters engaged in roving pickets, mass marches and rallies, speak-outs and teach-ins. Workers held classes on the history of their union and issues in the strike. Students and faculty gave workshops on comparable pay, the Black and labor movements, and organizing a student union. Feminists and minority students held meetings and vigils.

LABOR SOLIDARITY

On Friday, over 1,000 people joined a Rally Against Discrimination on the medical school campus and listened as workers and supporters spoke out (see statements below). During the rally, Local 34 members announced messages of solidarity and contributions to the strike relief fund from VA hospital workers in West Haven, from campus workers at the NY Fashion Institute of Technology, and three-days-pay donations from non-scabbing medical school personnel continuing to work but supporting the C&T strikers. A contingent of professors from New York City marched in to join the rally, and Local 1199 Yale workers wore armbands and held a two-hour slowdown to show support.

One student carried a picket sign stating, "Yale is too busy union busting to bother educating." Students have been carrying on their own education through the strike. They have held potlucks and other events to raise money for the strike relief fund. One grad student said the Moratorium had been organized to put pressure on the Yale

Corp.: "Students for a Negotiated Settlement went door-to-door on campus and spoke out in their class on the issues workers have raised in the strike, asking other students to participate. The strike has raised everyone's consciousness. Now undergrads are talking about organizing their own union: for example, as a way to get funding for student organizations which is hard at Yale because of the 'college system.' Grad students are talking union as a way to give teaching assistants a voice and rights."

NO SETTLEMENT, NO SERVICE

Another student related an incident of community support: a waitress at a local diner refused to serve Yale president Giametti, telling him she opposed his attitude to the women workers and his refusal to settle the strike.

One of the most significant acts of solidarity was the refusal of maintenance and food service workers in Local 35 to cross the C&T picket line. Their contract is up at the beginning of the year. But the heart and power of the strike are the C&T workers themselves, overwhelmingly women, whose determination, eloquence and creativity in carrying on their own fight has inspired the students and so many others far beyond the Yale campus.

At the Friday rally, the striking women did not speak about comparable pay or discrimination "as such," so much as they spoke about how they want to change their lives and work inseparable from changing this Ivy League citadel of racism and sexism. At the very same time, Reagan appointees Clarence Pendleton and Linda Chavez of the U.S. Civil Rights Commission called a press conference to attack the idea of comparable pay and ridicule it as "looney."

The Yale Corp. knows it has an ally in Ronald Reagan, strike-breaker. Yet, Yale workers know who their supporters are. Messages and contributions can be sent to: Local 34, Federation of University Employees, 88 Prospect St., New Haven, CT 06511.

Youth in Revolt

On Nov. 15, 264 students occupied the headquarters of South Korea's ruling "Democratic Justice" Party, demanding adoption of a minimum wage and other reforms. Most critical is a new unity with workers, as shown for instance by a September march of 2,000 students and garment workers in a Seoul's Kuro sweatshop district, in protest of working conditions and Gen. Chun's dictatorship. So potent has the movement become that in October the Government dropped its months-old "reform" of letting campuses police themselves and sent 6,000 cops to Seoul National University to break a student strike.

Twenty-five students surrounded a CIA recruiter at Tufts University in Massachusetts Oct. 3, preventing him from recruiting students. After 150 student and faculty supporters attended a disciplinary hearing at which the original protestors presented a defense that attacked the CIA's crimes, the protestors were vindicated and CIA recruiting on campus was suspended. Only three weeks later the president of Tufts lifted the ban, saying he would not "discriminate against the government of the U.S."

School officials in Peoria, Ill., have banned from school libraries three books by Judy Blume, one of the most popular authors of children's books in the U.S. Officials called the books "inappropriate" for young children, meaning that they portray children as real human beings with developing sexuality.

Two hundred anti-nuclear demonstrators formed a blockade at the Great Lakes Naval Training Center north of Chicago to protest against U.S. naval maneuvers in Central America. Twenty-one demonstrators were arrested but the rest continued to picket and moved their demonstration to Sheridan Road where they blocked the street.

Other Yale voices

Dolores, Local 34 and the Minority Alliance: Yale is surrounded by poverty neighborhoods in the seventh poorest U.S. city, and it continues to discriminate. At the medical school, Blacks are only 13% of C&Ts. Recently, a number of them were laid off or reduced to part-time hours. We are fighting for a better Yale and we can only get it through a better contract.

Woman worker: To talk about sexual discrimination makes Yale nervous. They say it's too big an issue, or that it's a social problem they can't solve here, or that it's our own fault we take low-paying jobs. They say that when women take time out to have children, they lose training and experience. But I'm tired of being penalized because I have the ability to bear children. We need maternity leave with no loss of seniority.

Velma, Black worker: I've worked at Yale four years. I started at \$6000. A Black man came here two years ago at \$8000. White workers, women and men, start higher up than that. This is Yale's fault.

Latin American student: Where I come from students are in the forefront of many struggles. It was strange for me to see some students against the union or for the Grenada invasion. That is why it is important to see students here in support of what the workers are trying to do.

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Study and Struggle
Poor psychology, poor Marx

by Ida Fuller

Ever since the Free Speech Movement raised the concept of alienation in education, and aroused interest in Marx's theory of the individual and his philosophy of a "new Humanism," many books have been written on the topic of Marxism and alienation. A recent one by Peter Leonard (*Personality and Ideology: Towards a Materialist Understanding of the Individual*), while it pretends to be Marxist, is an actual diversion from Marxism, turning his philosophy of freedom into a justification of alienation as a permanent condition of life. Since this book might be used in college campuses, it becomes important to critique it.

Leonard is a social worker who claims to have moved from the "reformism" of psychoanalysis to "Marxism." By taking the premise that the "ideological victories of the Right" have "manipulated" human consciousness, he aims to combine Marxism and psychoanalysis to present a historical materialist theory of the individual. But before bringing in a word from Marx, he jumps to conclude that there has been a "historical gap in Marxist theory about the individual." He wants to fill it by developing further "feminist" theory.

FEMINISM MINUS WOMEN'S MOVEMENT

Not once does he discuss the history of the Women's Liberation Movement. Instead feminism is reduced to "rendering an account of the oppression of women," and Michelle Barrett's conclusions on the "uneasy relationship" of Marxism and feminism are presented as given.

He tries to develop a similar theory for the individual by quoting Sartre in *Search for a Method*: "Marxism lacks any 'hierarchy' of mediations...to grasp the process which produces the person." He claims that with Freud's theory of the unconscious, Reich's theory of internalized repression and Marcuse's theory of surplus repression, he can fill the "gap" in Marxism. Thus, theory becomes a mere explanation of how the system "manipulated" individuals.

One expects to find the high point of the book in his chapter "Personality theory from within Historical Materialism," since two very appropriate works from Marx are chosen: the 1844 *Economic-Philosophic Manuscripts* and chapter 1 of *Capital* on the "fetishism of commodities." In those essays Marx separates himself from "quite vulgar and unthinking communism" which "negates the personality of man." He calls his philosophy a "new Humanism," and develops a vision of totally new man/woman relations, of the individual as the "social entity." There, he discerns the alienation in the process of labor and the laborer responding with its absolute opposite, a "quest for Universality."

One is surprised that Leonard does not discuss any of these Universals but merely uses Marx's essays to "prove" his own point about "capitalism inducing" in the individual an acceptance of alienated labor. This is the exact opposite of Marx's view on labor as resistance that matures into revolution.

FETISHISM PROVED

Furthermore, Leonard bases himself on the writings of the French Communist Party theoretician Lucienne Seve to prove that the "fetishism of commodities" creates a "positive lack of awareness" because only skilled workers who have free time can think! But Marx's "fetishism of commodities" long ago singled out intellectuals who become "prize fighters" for capital and accept its mode of thought.

Leonard dismisses Black, working-class women and welfare mothers as depression victims, puts the unemployed and physically handicapped in the category "subordinate marginality," and considers youth and Blacks "multiply subordinate" because they are taught to "identify" with the system.

While holding on to his theory of "manipulation," Leonard calls for "praxis," which he identifies with Mao. To Marx, praxis was critical-practical revolutionary activity, to Leonard it is "negotiating with state officials" and "understanding the social order."

What could be further from the reality of our age, the totality of its crisis and the passion for uprooting this exploitative, sexist, racist society?

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OUR LIFE AND TIMES

Marxist humanists on trial in Yugoslavia

by Kevin A. Barry and Mary Holmes

A disgusting Stalinist-type trial is underway in Belgrade, Yugoslavia, where six Left and mainly Marxist humanist oppositionists — Vladimir Mijanovic, Dragomir Olujic, Miodrag Milic, Pavlusko Imsirovic, Gordan Jovanovic and Milan Nikolic — face five to fifteen years in prison simply for holding political discussion meetings. Most of the six were active in the student revolt of 1968. Most are associated with members of the Praxis group of philosophers and sociologists who have, since the early 1960s, published first the Marxist humanist journal *Praxis* inside Yugoslavia and later *Praxis International* from abroad when *Praxis* was banned.

The pretext for the current trial developed out of a discussion meeting of these Belgrade intellectuals, held last April and attended by 28 people at a private apartment. Such meetings, called the "Free University," have been organized by members of the Praxis group for the past seven years without incident. The April 20 meeting was unusual because of the presence of a single liberal, pro-American dissident Milovan Djilas. Police swooped in and arrested the 28. Djilas is not on trial. But eight

people were arbitrarily singled out to go on trial. One, Radomir Radovic, committed suicide, apparently because of police pressure. Another, Vojislav Seselj, has already received an eight-year sentence, reduced to four after protests.

Inside Yugoslavia, over 1,000 people signed a defense petition, stunning the government. The six carried on a hunger strike and won pre-trial release, a rarity in Yugoslavia. We can give the following information on the six defendants:

●Vladimir Mijanovic, a 38-year-old philosophy student who has already served a year in prison twice for "hostile propaganda." Mijanovic was a prominent leader of the 1968 student uprisings. He has refused to take part in his obviously staged trial, stating that the trial proceedings are meaningless because "the final decision rests with the politicians." Though not even at the April meeting, he was arrested after protesting the death of Radovic.

●Dragomir Olujic, a 35-year-old radio journalist. Olujic was part of a small group who were arrested in 1982 for suddenly hoisting Solidarnosc banners in the middle of an officially-sponsored pro-PLO youth rally, just as

the PLO representative began to speak.

●Gordan Jovanovic, a 23-year-old philosophy student who has held previous dissident meetings at his apartment, and who was also arrested for the 1982 pro-Solidarnosc picket.

●Miodrag Milic, 55 and unemployed. He had asked that Djilas be invited and has since said that a security policeman threatened him with death during an interrogation.

●Pavlusko Imsirovic, a 36-year-old translator, also arrested in the 1982 pro-Solidarnosc incident.

●Milan Nikolic, a 34-year-old sociologist. Other "charges" against him include owning a copy of *New Left Review* with an article on Yugoslavia's Kosovo province and having written a term paper critical of the Yugoslav bureaucracy for a course with Ralph Miliband at Brandeis university. He has also served time previously for political offenses.

International support is beginning to build for the six Belgrade defendants. Contact: Helsinki Watch, 36 W. 44th St., New York, N.Y. 10036, or Committee Against the Repression of Yugoslav Intellectuals, c/o Profs. Lucius Outlaw and Richard Bernstein, Haverford College, Haverford, PA. 19041, Tel. 215-896-1025.

India after Indira

The assassination of Indira Gandhi horrified the world and yet was predictable from the moment her troops, urged on by her son and successor, Rajiv Gandhi, stormed the Sikh temple in Amritsar. The massacres which followed her death killed hundreds of innocent Sikhs and, even more horrifically than in the Hindu-Muslim riots which accompanied independence in 1947, these massacres seemed planned rather than spontaneous. Rajiv Gandhi, the son, disappeared, supposedly into his private grief, for several days after the assassination of his mother, during which time the Congress Party-inspired mobs raged. Even after these outrages, Rajiv could still state in a public speech on Nov. 19: "We have to take revenge" for his mother's death. After the applause died down, he added that he didn't mean "through anger or hatred."

The assassination was a tragedy for India, not because Indira Gandhi had reformed Indian social conditions, as she had frequently promised, but for the opposite reason. It sharply exposed her failure and that of her father Nehru to change the class, caste and religion-based oppressive conditions of Indian society, after India's winning independence in 1947.

As Raya Dunayevskaya wrote in *News & Letters* over 20 years ago, "No fundamental change in human relations followed independence...The dominant Congress Party, which had succeeded in uniting all classes against foreign domination, first began showing its true class nature by leaving production relations, in the city or the country,

basically unchanged." (N&L, 11/63)

Today within India the Congress Party is fragmented, with an even more conservative opposition waiting in the wings. And from without, the U.S. and Russia and China wait to move into any void.

British, Polish miners

When it was revealed Oct. 28 that miners' representatives from Scargill's leadership had met with Libyan dictator Qaddafi to gain his "support," this "support," gleefully publicized by the bourgeois press, was instead the greatest blow so far against the British miners.

A very different type of support has been building from the grass roots of the Polish Solidarnosc movement. While top leaders in Poland such as Walesa have hesitated to support British miners, and Britain's Scargill has done likewise toward Solidarnosc, new rank-and-file pressures in Poland and Britain have created a far different type of relationship. From deep within the underground in the Polish mining region of Upper Silesia, David Jastrzebski, a Solidarnosc regional leader, wrote to Scargill:

"We believe that you will achieve your aim. Neither the charges of the mounted police, nor the truncheons of the British government, any more than the doors forced down by the tanks or the firing upon disarmed miners by the junta of Polish generals, will be able to break our willingness to struggle for a better future for the working class.

"We understand that your struggle is in fact a struggle for the survival of the British trade union movement. We have already condemned, and we repeat with vigor our condemnation (of) the export of coal to Great Britain by the Jaruzelski regime. Given that Thatcher is on such good terms with Jaruzelski, we think that the time has come to draw certain lessons. We hope, therefore, that in the name of worker solidarity you will modify your negative attitude towards our movement."

By mid-October, a British miners' delegation was visiting Poland and began thus to create worker-to-worker solidarity across international lines. They did not get to see Walesa directly, but it is perhaps the beginning of a new type of relationship in the international labor movement.

Dominican Republic demonstrations

On Nov. 7, students confronted the government directly as police invaded the Autonomous University of Santo Domingo (UA) campus to break up a demonstration against any government cuts in the university budget. The students fought police for several days running, and the struggle was picked up by senior and junior high school youth who took to the streets in support of UA students and against the hunger and misery of their own lives. Hundreds of students were arrested. Authorities were forced to suspend classes in the schools.

By the next week, primary and secondary students had organized in all

the major cities in support of the UA demands and against negotiations begun by Blanco for a stand-by agreement with the IMF. Each such move has meant more hardship for the poor. Prices in the D.R. continue to skyrocket. Most recently, milk went from 25 to 75 centavos. In one year the cost of living has risen 50%. As the protests continued, youth in the barrios set up barricades of burning tires and in some instances caught and disarmed police. Parents cursed police who invaded their homes to drag off their children in sweeps of poor neighborhoods for "leftists." Police used tear gas bombs on the students and many were seriously injured.

A study critical of Pres. Jorge Blanco's economic policies released last month told the poor and rebellious of the Dominican Republic what they know already in their daily lives: that conditions have gone from bad to worse. Besides the 25% unemployed, nearly half those who do work are underemployed. Their monthly pay comes nowhere close to the 175 peso (about \$58) minimum wage. Many marginal workers ("chiriperos") survive by selling pencils, postcards and other trifles, cleaning tombstones in cemeteries, peddling at sports events, or washing windshields at highway intersections.

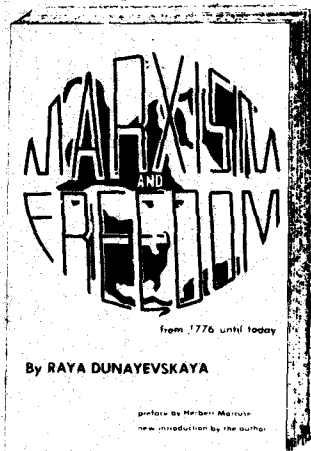
Azania labor revolt

The Nov. 5-6 strike of 500,000 Black workers in apartheid South Africa's key Johannesburg-Pretoria area marked a new stage of Black revolt. Fully 40% of the Black workers joined in. At the same time 250,000 students struck. Sixteen Blacks were killed by the white government's soldiers, bringing the death toll since August to over 160 as the wave of revolt brought about by the new constitution continues, despite massive arrests and military searches in the Black community.

The protest strikes, organized by the Transvaal Regional Stayaway Committee, involved a close alliance of community, labor and student groups, and Black Consciousness as well as ANC-oriented organizations. One strike leader, Chris Dhlamini, President of the Federation of South African Trade Unions (FOSATU), stated before he was arrested:

"Our members and other workers are being sucked dry by bloodthirsty industrialists and the government. How can we be silent when the children of our members are killed like animals in the streets of the townships? How can we be silent when we are denied basic human rights in the land of our birth?"

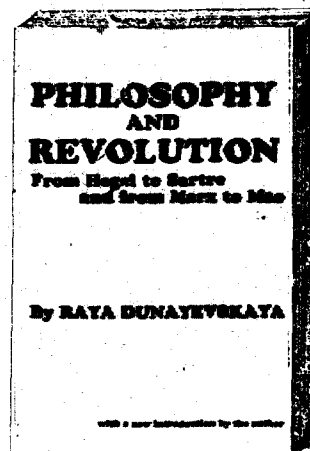
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